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JANUARY 1949

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DR. B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.,
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

———)o(———

Page 2, line 8.—*For* Mahāmātragaṇa *read* styled Mahāmātragaṇa

„ 5, line 1.—*For* Āshaḍhā *read* Āshāḍha

„ 20, text, line 2.—*For* mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ *read* manavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ

„ 22, text, line 34.—*For* 100 9 10 3 *read* 100 6 10 3

„ 22, foot-note 4.—*Read* kapilā-śata-ghātīyam=ēnaḥ sa pratipadyatē

„ 24, foot-note 1, line 5.—*For* sahōdaraṁ *read* sahōdaraṁ

„ 25, line 5 *et passim*.—*For* Śankhavarma *read* Śaṅkhavarman

„ 25, line 15.—*For* by *read* in

„ 25, foot-note 5, line 2.—*For* Jamkhanḍi *read* Jamkhanḍi

„ 26, foot-note 7, line 9.—For *karṇnamaṁ* read *karṇṇamaṁ*

„ 26, foot-note 9.—*For* Ibid. *read* Ep. Carn.

„ 27, foot-note 7.—*Add note* ; 'There is no proof that Kālañjara was the ancestral seat of the Kalachuris.'

„ 29, text, line 7.—*For* datvā *read* datvā(ttvā)

„ 29, foot-notes, last line.—*Add before the line* 3

„ 37, line 39.—*For* crest-jem *read* crest-gem

„ 38, article No. 6, para. 3, last line.—*Add note* : 'The personal name of the Vēḷān seems to have been purposely omitted (cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 52 ; *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, App. C, No. 84).'

„ 39, lines 24-25.—*Read* which correspond to 875 A.D., November 14, Monday

„ 41, line 13.—*For* of *read* dated

„ 43, para. 3.—*Add note* : 'The relationship between Kanishka and Huvishka is as yet unknown. The earliest inscription of Huvishka is dated in the year 28 of the Kushāṇa era.'

„ 43, foot-note 2.—*Add note.* 'The name *Matsyagupta* seems to mean "protected by the Matsya incarnation of Vishṇu".'

„ 44, text, lines 1-2.—*Add note* : 'The reading seems to be : … *gri* … *vahār[i]sya* … *gut[t]asya* … *Bodhisatva*. The intended reading for *vahāri* may be *vohāri*=Sanskrit *vyavahārin* (cf. Lüders' List, p. 174, No. 140).'

„ 47, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read* vinišchitya

„ 47, foot note 4.—*Add see JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff. ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 298 ff.

„ 48, lines 34-35.—*Read* Gandharāḍhi in the Baudh State

Page 48, foot-note 1.—*For* Aichar *read* Aicharā

" 49, foot-note 16, lines 4-5.—*Read* Ḍōmbi-nāmakaś=ch=ēti

" 51, line 3.—*Read* R. G. Basak

" 56, text, line 7.—*For* jātakam-aṅka *read* jātakam=aṅka

" 57, text, line 13.—*For* śrīḥ *read* śrīḥ |

" 57, text, line 16.—*For* jan-āvidhēyaḥ *read* jān-āvidhēyaḥ |

" 57, text, line 23.—*For* gōchcha[ka] *read* gōchchha[ka]

" 57, text, line 24.—*For* gō=mahishy° *read* gō-mahishy°

" 57, text, line 29.—*For* yaśō='bhiva(vṛi)ddhayē *read* yaśō-'bhiva(vṛi)ddhayē |

" 57, text, line 30.—*For* sōma-pītimaḥ(naḥ) *read* sōma-pītimaḥ(naḥ) |

" 57, text, line 30.—*For* Tad=anvayē *read* Tad-anvayē

" 57, text, line 31.—*For* dvijaḥ *read* dvijaḥ [|*]

" 57, text, line 32.—*For* sutō=bhavat *read* sutō-bhavat |

" 57, text, line 33.—*For* iv-āparaḥ *read* iv=āparaḥ [|*]

" 57, foot-note 3.—*For* gōchchaka *read* gōchchhaka

" 58, text, line 35.—*For* bhāshiṇē *read* bhāshiṇē |

" 58, text, line 39.—*For* vasundharāṁ(m) *read* vasundharāṁ(rām |)

" 59, line 36.—*For* respects *read* respect

" 60, line 12.—*For* as *read* to

" 61, line 3.—*For* date *read* dates

" 61, lines 5-6.—*For* Chipluṇ grant *read* Chipluṇ plates

" 62, text, line 9.—*For* nitiśāstra *read* nītiśāstra

" 62, text, line 11.—*For* °ahv-asādhāraṇa *read* °ahv-asādhāraṇa

" 65, line 36.—*For* Jaipur in the Ganjam District *read* Jeypore in the Koraput District

" 71, line 30.—*For* interests *read* interest

" 73, line 28.—*For* age *read* centuries

" 75, text, line 3.—*For* Bhōjānām-anva° *read* Bhōjānām=anva°

" 75, text, line 4.—*For* Kottipeggilin-ābhya° *read* Kottipeggilin=ābhya°

" 75, text, line 10.—*For* vasundharāṁ *read* vasundharāṁ(rām)

" 77, foot-note 4.—*Add note*: 'The inscription actually records the gift of a Chaitya-gṛiha by Pavaitirā, daughter of Ghaparā, in favour of the Saṅgha and the Buddha. There are numerous cases of the use of the dative in the Prakrit inscriptions. The sentence *bhata-virayehi samāpito* means to say that the Chaitya-gṛiha was constructed by workers (*virakas*) devoted (*bhakta*) to the donatrix.'

" 81, line 14.—*For* Dāṇḍavāśika *read* Dāṇḍapāśika

" 84, foot-note 6.—*Read* Dāṇḍapāśika

Page 89, foot-note 2, line 2.—*Read* Coll. (above Vol. XXVI, p. 38, note 8)
,, 90, line 32.—*Read* from *śrāvaṇam*
,, 92, translation, line 3.—*Read* dēvadāna-brahmadēya
,, 92, translation, line 8.—*Read* Ichchuvaraṭṭudēvar
,, 92, text, line 18.—*Omit* (=iḍuvāṇ=ena)
,, 93, foot-note 5.—*Add note:* 'Lines 55-59 may be translated : "This order will apply to all these 35 *pāṭakas (of land)*, be it *(cultivated)* land or land *(covered with)* thorny shrubs".'
,, 98, text, line 18.—*Read* Taḍavalageyali
,, 100, foot-note 1, line 6.—*For* V., 8. *read* V. 8.
,, 103, text, line 14.—*For* kambu(bu) *read* kaṁvu(bu)
,, 108, paragraphs 2 and 3.—*Add note:* 'For the date of the inscription, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 190, note.'
,, 110, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read* Gaṇḍalēkhamālā
,, 111, foot-note 6, line 1.—*For* kāṇḍa *read* kāṇḍa
,, 112, line 5.—*For* liṅga *read* liṅga
,, 112, lines 6 ff.—*Read* Tushṭikāra
,, 113, text, line 21.—*For* asya* *read* sya*
,, 114, text, line 30.—*For* vu(bu)dhvā *read* vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā)
,, 115, line 10 *et passim*.—*For* sanyāsin *read* sannyāsin
,, 116, line 24.—*For* saṅghaṭṭaṇōpalabdha *read* saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha
,, 119, foot-note 6, lines 24-26.—*Read* Vāg-daṇḍo='tha . . kāya-daṇḍas=tath=aiva cha . . . . . . mānavaḥ |
,, 120, line 4.—*For* vaiṇavam-daṇḍam *read* vaiṇava-daṇḍam
,, 124, foot-notes 3 and 5.—*Read* 3 *for* 5 *and* 5 *for* 3
,, 126, line 7.—*For* occur *read* occurs
,, 131, foot-note 4, line 2.—*Read* A new History of the Indian People, Vol. VI.
,, 133, text, line 2.—*For* puṇyā[nā*]m-parirakshaṇ* *read* puṇyā[nā*]m=parirakshaṇ*
,, 133, foot-note 3, line 3.—*For* saptami *read* saptamī
,, 135, last line.—*For* vochhiyāna[m]-Kaṭṭahārāma *read* vochchhiyāna[m] Kaṭṭahārāma
,, 136, lines 1-3.—*Add note:* 'The reading and interpretation of the inscription are doubtful.'
,, 137, line 17.—*Omit* that
,, 137, foot-note 2.—*Read* 'Kalinganagara . . . . Kalingapatnam.'
,, 144, foot-note 11, line 2.—*Read* Vol. XVII, p. 25
,, 145, foot-note 2.—*Add note:* '*Ajhuka* as a female name occurs in another inscription from Bihar (*A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, App. B, No. 149).'

Page 145, foot-note 9.—*Add note* : 'In the Gauḍīya or Proto-Bengali alphabet there is often no difference between the signs for medial *u* and subscript *v* (cf. below, Vol. XXX, p. 52, note 1) and often the same sign looks either like the *ā-mātrā* of the previous consonant or the *i-mātrā* of the following *akshara*. The second characteristic is often noticed in the early medieval epigraphs in Nāgarī as well (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 309).'

" 150, foot-note 5.—*For* 27 *read* 127

" 151, line 1.—*Read* Purushōttama

" 151, line 2.—*Read* Talahāri |

" 153, text, line 17.—*For* samāhṛta *read* samāhṛita

" 156, line 7.—*For* single *read* single-handed

" 171.—*Read lines 34-40 after line 26.*

" 175, foot-note 3, line 3.—*For* ārāma *read* ārāma

" 176, line 1.—*For* south-east *read* south-eastern

" 177, line 1.—*Read* lotus-feet

" 177, line 2.—*For* Māthara *read* the Māṭhara

" 177, line 17.—*For* matronymic *read* metronymic

" 178, text, line 11.—*For* yushmābhi° *read* yushmābhi°

" 178, foot-note 4, line 6.—*For* ṝ. *read* p.

" 178, foot-note 4, line 9.—*For* an *read* in

" 178, foot-note 4, line 11.—*Add note* : 'As *Sandhi* is optional in prose composition, the composer could have written "*varmā Āndō*" which is apparently the reading intended.'

" 178, foot-note 5, line 2.—*For* perfectly *read* is perfectly

" 179, text, line 14.—*For* manu *read* Manu

" 179, text, line 17.—*For* mahim° *read* mahīm°

" 179, foot-note 6.—*For* Surāshṭrā *read* Surāshṭra

" 180, line 13 *et passim*.—*Add note* : 'For the date of the Bhauma-Kara kings, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 180, note.'

" 182, foot-note 2.—*Add* : 'See below, Vol. XXIX, p. 27, text, line 2.'

" 183, foot-note 9.—*For* Mālini *read* Mālinī

" 184, lines 3-5.—*For* Māṭrikā *read* Mātṛikā

" 193, line 22.—*Read* Pannāḍi-raṇā. *Add note* : '*Raṇā* or *Mahāraṇā* is the family name of a class of Oṛiya artisans. Pannāḍi belonged to this community.'

" 193, line 25.—*Omit the sentence* : '*Pannāḍi-raṇā*.... Pannāḍi.'

" 195, line 27.—*For* has been *read* have been

" 198, line 4.—*For* diameters *read* diameter

" 199, line 20.—*For* Sēndrakan *read* Sēndraka

" 201, text.—*Add note* : 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'

Page 202, text, line 20.—*For* yaśa(śa)ś=cha *read* yaśa[sa*]ś=cha

" 205, text, line 31.—*Add note :* 'The contraction *dē* may stand for Sanskrit *dvitīyā* so that the reference is to the second of the two Āshāḍhas (including intercalary Āshāḍha) in the year in question.'

" 209, text.—*Add note :* 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'

" 213, lines 26 and 31.—*For* Siddhagauri *read* Sindagauri

" 214, line 5.—*Read* Dharakota plates]

" 215, line 2.—*For* taṭhākāra *read* taṭṭhakāra

" 215, text, line 7.—*For* vaikarttana *read* Vaikarttana

" 216, text, line 30.—*Read* taṭṭhakār-Āghāka

" 229, line 36.—*For* Chicacole *read* Narasannapeta

" 235, text, line 16.—*For* mahi° *read* mahī°

" 237, line 26.—*Read* Chaitra-śudi 9

" 238, genealogical tables.—*Read* 6. Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma (Anaṅgabhīma I)

" 239, line 18.—*Read* in the later records of his grandson

" 240, foot-note 2.—*Read* Śabarāditya *for* Bālāditya *and* Pōtāṅkuśa *for* Jitāṅkuśa. *Add note :* 'See *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, p. 61.'

" 246, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read* śō(sō)nāpaty-Allāla

" 249, text, line 3.—*Read* Śambhu-Vra(Bra)hma

" 249, text, line 8.—*Read* samabha[va*]ntō(vaṁśa-tō)?

" 249, text, line 11.—*Read* saṅkīrttanaṁ(nam)

" 249, foot-note 1.—*Add* For errors in the transcript, see below, Vol. XXXI, p. 249, note 2.

" 250, foot-note 10.—*Read* °ṇ=chiraṁ

" 252, text, line 57.—*Read* prasiddha-kī°

" 255, text, line 102.—*Read* dig-gajānāṁ

" 262, text, line 8.—*For* śrimad *read* śrīmad

" 262, foot-note 3, line 2.—*Read* there is

" 263, text, line 21.—*Read* Vaṇḍutuṅga°. *Add note :* 'Vaṇḍutuṅgam may be identified with modern Bāṇatumbu where the inscription was discovered (cf. *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, part iv, p. 267).'

" 266, text.—*Add note :* 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'

" 266, text, line 19.—*For* mahi *read* mahī

" 277, foot-note 1.—*Add note :* 'There is no metrical defect in the emendation if the last long syllable is taken as short (cf. Kale, *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, Appendix, pp. 1-2 ; Apte, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1035).'

Page 282, foot-notes 3 and 4.—*Add note*: 'The long syllable at the end of the feet in the stanzas in question has been regarded as short (cf. Kale, *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, App., pp. 1-2; Apte, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1035).'

,, 282, foot-note 10.—*For* °ānupvarāya *read* °ānupravarāya

,, 284, foot-note 5, line 3.—*Read* the *dvija-rāja*

,, 287, line 13.—*For* Sōmēsvarndēva *read* Sōmēśvaradēva

,, 294, line 17.—*For* Dēśiya *read* Dēśīya

,, 300, last para.—*Add note*: 'The duplication of Umavarman seems to be unwarranted.'

,, 300, foot-note 4.—*Add note*: 'Viśākhavarman cannot be regarded as the son of Umavarman on the ground that Viśākha is repersented in Hindu mythology as the son of Umā. We know that Budhagupta was not a son of Chandragupta in spite of the mythological representation of Chandra as the father of Budha.'

,, 302, text, line 2.—*Read* samavētān=ku°

,, 302, text, line 9.—*Add note*: 'Some words of the passage *dharmakrama-vikramābhyām=anyatama-yōgād-avāpya mahīm=anuśāsatām=idaṁ dānam* are omitted in the original.'

,, 302, text, line 11.—*Read* vasudhā

,, 302, text, line 12.—*Read* bhūmi[s*]=tasya

,, 302, text, line 15.—*For* kri° *read* kṛi°

,, 303, lines 5-6.—*Read* the grant portion of the inscription incised on plates VI-VII

,, 303, line 8.—*Read* Jagannātha temple

,, 303, line 9.—*Read* seven plates; but

,, 305, line 9.—*For* kar *read* kari

,, 305, line 10.—*For* rājyaru-e *read* rājyaru e

,, 307, line 43.—*Read* (mudhya kari)

,, 308, line 36.—*Read* approximately

,, 308, foot-note 4, line 1.—*Read* ink or point

,, 309, text, line 7.—*Read* sa[ṁ*]dhivigraha

,, 312, text, line 23.—*Read* śubham=astu

,, 317, line 19.—*For* has *read* have

,, 317, line 32.—*For* incidently *read* incidentally

,, 320, text, line 12.—*For* dhanaṁ *read* dhanaṁ(nam)

,, 321, line 19.—*Read* put in. The reasons

,, 321, line 20.—*Read* now apparent." In a note

,, 322, line 35.—*For* does not *read* do not

,, 331, foot-note 7.—*For* drāngika *read* drāṅgika

,, 332, foot-note 5.—*For* pēdā-pāla *read* pēḍā-pāla

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—NAGARDHAN PLATES OF SVAMIRAJA

(*1 Plate*).

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

These copper-plates were discovered in 1948 at **Nagardhan,** a small village, about 3 miles south of Ramtek, the chief town of a tahsil of the same name in the Nagpur District. Shri Hiralal, Upasrao Mahadule of Nagardhan, who obtained possession of the plates, handed them over to me for decipherment. I am obliged to him for permission to publish this interesting record.

They are **three copper-plates**, each measuring 7·9" in length and 4·1" in breadth. The first and third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. The plates are held together by a ring, ¼" in thickness and 2" in diameter, on which slides a small circular band with a rectangular **seal** measuring 1·2" by 1" soldered to it. The surface of the seal is divided into two almost equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains a symbol, apparently a goad, lying horizontally, while the lower has the legend *Gaṇa-dattiḥ* 'A gift of the Corporation', inscribed in the same characters as the grant. The plates together weigh 67¼ *tōlas* and the ring and the seal 2¼ *tōlas*. This mode of stringing the plates together resembles that of the Vākāṭaka grants, though the seal here is rectangular, not round as in the latter grants. The plates are in a state of good preservation and there is no uncertainty in the reading of any part of the text.

The record consists of 28 lines, which are evenly divided on the four inscribed faces of the three plates. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety, the boxes at the top of letters being scooped out hollow. They are very beautifully formed, being more cursive and round than those of the Vākāṭaka grants. They resemble very closely the characters of Early Gāṅga grants[1] of the sixth or seventh century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note the forms of initial *u* which occurs in ll. 8, 14, 19, 24 and 27, of initial *ī* in l. 13 and of initial *au* in l. 10. The right stroke of *l*, which is mostly vertical in Vākāṭaka grants, sharply turns to the left and encircles the letter as in later records of the Kalachuris and the Gurjaras of Gujarat, see *kuśalī*, l. 2; a final consonant is indicated by its small size, see *Nāndivardhanāt*, l. 1; punctuation is generally indicated by a small horizontal stroke, but in some cases by two vertical strokes, the first of which is sporadically hooked at the top.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for two verses at the end in ll. 24-27, the record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, the only peculiarities that call for notice are the use of *ri* for the medial vowel *ṛi* in *bhrātri*, l. 2 and *nisrishṭaḥ*, l. 20; of the guttural nasal *ṅ* for *anusvāra* in *daśāṅśē*, l. 28, and of *anusvāra* for final *n* in *dvīpikādīṁ*, l. 3. In other respects the record is remarkably free from errors of orthography, though in places it is not altogether devoid of uncertainty of meaning.

The plates were issued from **Nāndivardhana** by Nannarāja who meditated on the feet of his brother, the illustrious Svāmirāja, during whose reign the grant was made.[2] Svāmirāja also

[1] See, *e.g.* the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 39 (A. C. 537-38), above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281-8, and plate; and Tekkali plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 154 (A. C. 652-653), *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307-11, and plate. The Gāṅga era began in Śaka 420 (A. D. 498) as shown by me, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326-36. [A. C. and A. D. both stand for the Christian era.—ED.]

[2] This is shown by the word *kuśalī* 'in good health' applied to Svāmirāja, in l. 2.

is described as meditating on the feet of a *Bhaṭṭāraka* or lord paramount, which indicates his feudatory status. Neither the family to which the princes belonged, nor the suzerain to whom they owed allegiance, is mentioned in the present grant. No ancestors of Svāmirāja have been named. In all these respects the present grant resembles those of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh.[1]

The **object** of the inscription appears to be to record two gifts—(i) one of twelve *nivartanas* of land in the village Chiñchapaṭṭikā which was made at the request of the President (*Sthavira*) and Members of the Executive Committee (*Pramukhas*) of the assembly (*Samūha*) of the Corporation (*Gaṇa*) Mahāmātragaṇa, and (ii) the other of the village Aṅkōllikā which was made by Nannarāja (or perhaps by Svāmirāja) on his own account near Chaṭuka Vaṭa[2] situated in the stream of the Gaṅgā on the occasion of an **eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of Chaitra in the cyclic year Āshāḍha.** The donated village Aṅkōllikā was situated on the right bank of the river Śūla, to the west of the *agrahāra* of Achalapura and to the east of Śrī-Parṇikā. The donees were certain Brāhmaṇas of the White and Black Yajurvēdas and of the Sāmavēda. The inscription contains another date at the end when the plates were issued, *viz.*, **the fifth** *tithi* (expressed by a symbol) **of the bright half of Kārttika in the year three hundred and twenty-two** (expressed in words) of an unspecified era. The engraver was the Kshatriya Durgāditya, the son of Chandra.

The present record is interesting in several respects and sheds important light on the history of Vidarbha in the post-Vākāṭaka age. As stated before, the royal family to which Svāmirāja and Nannarāja belonged is not specified in the present grant, but since these names occur in two early Rāshṭrakūṭa records discovered in Vidarbha, *viz.*, Tivarakhēḍ[3] and Multāi[4] plates, with the slight change of Svāmirāja into Svāmikarāja, it seems very likely that the princes mentioned here also belonged to the same lineage. Nay, *prima facie*, it appeared quite plausible that Svāmirāja and Nannarāja of the present plates were identical with Svāmikarāja and Nannarāja mentioned in the aforementioned two Rāshṭrakūṭa grants. The date of the present record seemed also to lend colour to this view; for the year 322 mentioned in it, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A. C. 641-42 which is not very remote from Śaka 553 (A.C. 631), the date of the Tivarakhēḍ plates of Nannarāja. A close examination of the aforementioned Rāshṭrakūṭa grants and their dates, however, soon convinced me that the identification is untenable. I shall now proceed to state my reasons for this view.

As stated before, two grants of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja discovered in Vidarbha have been published, *viz.*, the Tivarakhēḍ plates, dated Śaka 553 (A.C. 631-32) and the Multāi plates dated Śaka 631 (A.C. 709-10). The genealogy and, to some extent, the wording of the two grants are identical, but there is a difference of 78 years between the two dates. The two grants were, therefore, in all probability, not made by the same ruler; for a reign of more than 78 years is extremely unlikely. Dr. Altekar has already discussed this question in his work on the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[5] He has concluded that the Multāi plates were spurious on the following grounds :—' The genealogy

[1] See the Indore grants of Svāmidāsa dated (K.) 67 and Bhulunda dated (K.) 107 and the Sirpur grant of Rudradāsa dated (K.) 117. These grants have been shown by me to have been dated in the Kalachuri era (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159-68). They therefore belong to the fourth and fifth centuries A. C.

[2] The grant was apparently made at the *akshaya-vaṭa* near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. It is also possible that the grant was actually made by Svāmirāja and was only recorded by his brother Nannarāja. For a similar grant made at Prayāga at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā by a ruling king of Vidarbha and recorded afterwards by his relative at Nandivardhana, see the Riṭhapur plates of Bhavadatta-varman, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 f.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 f.

[5] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 6 f.

of the Multāi plates starts in verse, but after the first verse there is a sudden break. A sentence in prose follows, but the concluding portion of it, *tasy-ātmavān=ātmajaḥ* is again the fragment of a verse.[1] These reasons are not quite convincing ; for similar mixture of prose and verse is noticed in several genuine ancient grants. They, however, led Dr. Altekar to regard the date of the Multāi plates as suspicious. I also adopted this view in my article on the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura and taking the date A.C. 631 of the Tivarakhēḍ plates as genuine, I suggested that Gōvindarāja mentioned in the plates as the grandfather of Nannarāja flourished in *circa* A.C. 590-610 and was thus probably identical with Gōvinda who, as mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription, invaded the territory north of the Bhimarathī at the time of Pulakēśin II's accession. I suggested further that the great Chālukya Emperor Pulakēśin II placed Gōvindarāja's successor Svāmikarāja in charge of Berar when he conquered it from the Kalachuri Buddharāja.[1] These conclusions will now have to be revised in the light of the information derived from the present plates.

A close examination of the two aforementioned Rāshṭrakūṭa grants has convinced me that the Tivarakhēḍ plates are spurious. My reasons are as follows—(i) The text of the Tivarakhēḍ plates is very corrupt. The mixture of fragments of prose and verse appears in it in a more flagrant manner than in the Multāi plates. (ii) The inscription purports to record two grants in favour of the same Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍibhaṭṭa,—one made by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja on Mahā-Kārttikī (full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika), and the other by Śaṅkaragaṇa[2] of an unspecified lineage, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There is, however, no mention of Śaṅkaragaṇa in the genealogical portion of the grant. Besides, there was no Śaṅkaragaṇa ruling in Berar in Śaka 553 (A.C. 631-32) when the plates purport to have been issued.[3] There was, again, no solar eclipse before Kārttika in Śaka 553. There were, however, two in the previous year Śaka 552—one in Śrāvaṇa and the other in Māgha. It is stated at the end that the gift was recorded when eight months of the Śaka year 553 had expired. We shall therefore have to suppose that the grant, made on the occasion of the solar eclipse in Māgha in Śaka 552, remained unrecorded for nearly nine months. No reason is stated for this unusual delay. (iii) The date of the plates is recorded in decimal figures as 553.[4] As I have shown elsewhere,[5] the decimal notation came to be used in Mahārāshṭra in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., the earliest genuine instance of it, so far known, being the Dhūlia grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Karkarāja, dated Śaka 701 (A.C. 779-80). The Tivarakhēḍ plates which purport to belong to the second quarter of the seventh century A.C. could not therefore have been dated in decimal figures.

The Tivarakhēḍ plates thus appear to be spurious. This conclusion is corroborated by the recent discovery, in the Akola District of Berar, of another set of plates issued by the same Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja.[6] These plates, in their formal portion, closely agree with the Multāi plates. They are dated in Śaka 615 (A.C. 693-94). This date plainly shows that the Multāi plates are genuine ; for there is a difference of only 16 *years* between the dates of the two grants made by the same king Nannarāja, which is not unusual.

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[1] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 47.

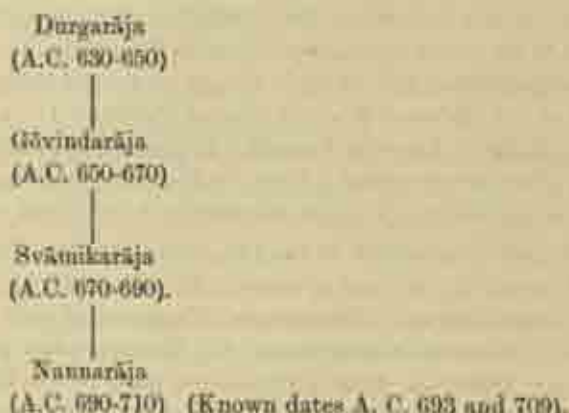
[2] *Śaṅragaṇena* in l. 9 of the Tivarakhēḍ plates *is evidently* a mistake for *Śaṅkaragaṇena*. For a similar mistake see *Bhavattavarmmaṇa* for *Bhavadattavarmmaṇa* in l. 1 of the Ṛithapur plates, above, Vol. XIX, p. 102.

[3] The only Śaṅkaragaṇa who is known to have flourished in this period belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. He however closed his reign in c. A. C. 600. Two grants of his successor Buddharāja, dated K. 360 and K. 361 (A. C. 610) have been discovered. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 30 f. and VI, pp. 294 f.

[4] The year is specified in words in text lines 15-16, and the corresponding numerals occur, one below the other, on the left-hand margin of the plate, at the commencement of text lines 12—14. The figures recording the date are not 'after additions' as supposed by Hiralal. The form of the figure 5 is as in the Sāmāngaḍ plates of Dantidurga. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 108 ff.

[5] *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I, pp. 381 f.

[6] These plates were discovered in a village near Akōla. It is No. 59 of the copper-plate inscriptions, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1949-50.

The Multāi grant being thus proved to be genuine, the Tivarakhēḍ grant, which though purporting to be made by the same king Nannarāja, is dated 78 years earlier, must be held to be spurious. The approximate reign-periods of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes mentioned in the Multāi and the Vaṭapuraka grant of Nannarāja discovered near Akōlā may therefore be stated as follows—

We have seen above that the year 322 of the present plates, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there were no kings named Svāmirāja and Nannarāja ruling in Berar in that period, as shown above. Besides, apart from the difference in their age, the princes Svāmirāja and Nannarāja could not have been identical with the two rulers mentioned in the Multāi plates; for (i) Svāmirāja was probably different from Svāmikarāja as the latter name occurs invariably in this form in all the three grants—two genuine and one spurious—of Nannarāja; and (ii) Nannarāja is mentioned in the present plates as the *brother* of Svāmirāja, while Nannarāja of the three other grants was the *son* of Svāmikarāja.

The date of the present grant is thus *not* recorded in the Gupta era. There is one other circumstance which supports this conclusion. The plates state in ll.14-15 that the grant of Nannarāja was made on the occasion of a (solar) eclipse on Chaitra *amāvāsyā* in the cyclic year Āshāḍha. This year was evidently of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter. The system of citing the years of this cycle was current in early times and continued till the sixth century A.C.[1] In North India five such dates with the word *mahā* prefixed to the name of the year were discovered in the grants of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* Hastin and Saṅkshōbha, from which Fleet and Sh. B. Dikshit calculated the epoch of the Gupta era. Some more dates of the same type have since been discovered. In South India some dates of this kind have been discovered in the records of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas[2] Kadambas[3] and kings of Kaliṅga[4] but they do not admit of verification, in the absence of details necessary for calculation. The present grant is thus unique in that it mentions such details together with the name of the cyclic year and the date of an era. Let us see whether these details work out regularly for any of the known eras.

If the year 322 is referred to the Gupta era, it would, as stated above, correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there was no solar eclipse in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra of that year. Besides, the cyclic year was Phālguna, not Āshāḍha as stated in the grant.[5] The nearest solar eclipse in Chaitra

[1] The last known date of this type is G. 209 (A.C. 528) which occurs in the Khoh grant of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṅkshōbha.

[2] See my article on the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 42.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 35 f.; Vol. VI, pp. 24 f.

[4] See Siripuram plates of Anantavarman, above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 f.

[5] This is according to the mean-sign system. See Cunningham, *Indian Eras*, p. 156. The year according to the heliacal rising system also would be the same according to the calculations of Dr. K. L. Daftari of Nagpur.

occurred on the 21st March A.C. 638, but then too the cyclic year was Mārgaśirsha, not Āshāḍha. Again, there is no evidence that the Gupta era was ever current in Vidarbha or, for the matter of that, anywhere else in Mahārāshṭra. For all these reasons the date 322 of the present grant cannot be referred to the Gupta era.

The only other era to which this date can be referred is the Kalachuri era which, as I have shown elsewhere, was current in the neighbouring districts of Khandesh[1] and Nasik.[2] Let us see if the details work out satisfactorily for this era.

The epoch which suits early dates of the Kalachuri era is A.D. 248-49.[3] If the year 322 is referred to this era, it should be equivalent to A.C. 570-71 or 571-72 according as it was current or expired. But in neither of these years was there a solar eclipse in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra. There was, however, one in the immediately following year A.D. 573, on the 19th March, which was the *amāvāsyā* of the *amānta* Chaitra. The year of the twelve-year cycle was also Āshāḍha according to the mean-sign system. The agreement of these three details, *viz.*, the solar eclipse, the lunar month and the cyclic year shows that the **19th March A.D. 573 is undoubtedly the correct date of the grant.** The palaeography of the grant also supports this date, for, as stated before, the characters of the grant closely resemble those of the early Gaṅga grants and must therefore be referred to the sixth century A.C. Besides, the wording of the formal portion of the present grant shows that it must be classed with such early grants as those of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh, Subandhu of Māhishmatī and the Traikūṭakas of Western Mahārāshṭra.

As stated above, the epoch of A.C. 248-49 does not hold good in the present case. Supposing the year of the present grant to be *Kārttikādi* and expired as in most other early dates, the epoch of the era applicable in the present case should be A.D. 250-51. The solar eclipse in Chaitra when the grant was made must have occurred in the *Kārttikādi* Kalachuri year 321. The *amāvāsyā* of the *amānta* Chaitra in the expired year 321 fell, according to this proposed epoch of A.D. 250-51, on the 19th March A.D. 573. On this day there was a solar eclipse visible in India and the *Bārhaspatya saṁvatsara* was Āshāḍha as stated in the grant.

But, it may be asked, have we any other date of the Kalachuri era to which this new epoch of A.D. 250-51 is applicable? In reply to such a question, I would refer to the date of the Ellōrā grant of Dantidurga. This date has been read as Monday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina in the year 663 of an unspecified era.[4] This year has been referred to the Śaka era. The details of the date do not, however, work out satisfactorily either for Śaka 663 current or for Śaka 663 expired. The date is thus irregular. It is, therefore, doubtful if it really refers to the Śaka era at all. A close examination of the wording of the date strengthens the suspicion. The date is given as follows—*Saṁ 600 60 3 Āśvayuja śuddha trayōdaśyāṁ Sōmavārē.* This is, however, not the usual mode of citing dates of the Śaka era. In all early Śaka dates whether occurring in the records of the Early Chālukyas or the Rāshṭrakūṭas, there is a clear reference to the Śakas or to the Śaka kings. See, for instance, the wording of the following Śaka dates from Mahārāshṭra preceding and following the date Śaka 663 in question—

(i) Śaka 609—Jējuri Plates of Vinayāditya (above, Vol. XIX, p. 64)—*Nav-ōttara-shaṭ-śatēshu Śaka-varshēshv-atītēshu.*

(ii) Śaka 680—Poona Plates of Kṛishṇarāja I (*B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 165 f.) *Śaka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkē aśīty-uttarē Hēmalamba-saṁvatsarē Āśvayuj-āmāvāsyāyāṁ Sūrya-grahaṇē.*

[1] See my article 'An ancient dynasty of Khandesh' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 160 f.

[2] See the Añjanērī plates of Bhōgaśakti, dated K. 461, above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f.

[3] See my article 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 18 f.

[4] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 31.

(iii) Śaka 690—Talegaon Plates of Kṛishṇa I (above, Vol. XIII, p. 279)—*Śaka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara-śata-sha(ṭkē navaty-uta(tta)rē Plavaṅga-varshē Vaiśākh-āmāvāsyām-Āditya-grahē.*

Several dates of a similar type can be cited. In his examination of the dates of the Śaka era Kielhorn also noticed this peculiarity.[1] Says he, 'What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the lists, and what distinguishes these dates in a remarkable manner from those of the other principal eras, is this that, with insignificant exceptions, all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong. Of the 400 dates of my chronological list only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or its derivative *Śāka*.' And even in regard to the five dates Kielhorn showed that the absence of the word Śaka was due to the exigencies of the metre, spuriousness of the record or doubtful reading. This explicit reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings in the dates was quite necessary; for there were then two eras current in Mahārāshṭra, *viz.*, the Kalachuri era and the Śaka era. The latter had therefore to be clearly specified to prevent confusion.

Since the date of the Ellōrā plate contains no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, it is plainly *not* in the Śaka era. A close examination of the numerical symbols reveals that the reading of the year is incorrect. The first symbol, which consists of a sign for 100 followed by another[2] denoting 4, evidently stands for 400, not for 600. The date is thus 463 which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The usual epoch of A.D. 248-49 which is seen to hold good in the case of other early Kalachuri dates does not suit this date; for, according to it, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the current year K. 463 fell on a Saturday (the 17th September, A.C. 712) and in the expired year K. 463 on a Friday (the 6th September, A.C. 713). In either case it will have to be regarded as irregular, as it did not fall on a Monday. But if we apply the epoch of A.C. 250-51 suggested by the grant under consideration, the date becomes regular; for according to that epoch, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the expired Kalachuri year 463 ended at 1 h. 45 m. on the 16th September, A.D. 715 which was a Monday as required. These two grants thus show that **the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era at least in some parts of Mahārāshṭra was A.C. 250-51.**[3]

The grant under discussion is unique in another respect. **It is the only grant dated in the Kalachuri era which has been found in Vidarbha.** The earlier grants of the Vākāṭakas found in Vidarbha were dated in regnal years while the later ones of the Rāshṭrakūṭas are recorded in the Śaka era. The present grant which belongs to the intervening period is dated in the Kalachuri era evidently because that era had spread to Vidarbha with the extension of Kalachuri power. The unnamed suzerain of Svāmirāja was probably the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja (*circa* A. C. 550-575). It is noteworthy that the silver coins of this Kalachuri Emperor have been discovered at several places in Vidarbha, *viz.*, at Dhāmori in the Amraoti District and Paṭṭan in the Betul District.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 148.

[2] This sign is a curious combination of the symbols for 4 and 6. Its upper portion which contains a loop resembles the symbol for 6, while the lower portion which has the shape of *ka* clearly shows that it was intended to signify 4. Except for the loop in the upper portion, the symbol closely resembles that for 4 used in the Kanārr plates of Allaśakti.

[3] From a large number of later Kalachuri dates Kielhorn showed that the epoch of the Kalachuri era was A. C. 247-48, but two early dates presented difficulties which he acknowledged in a foot-note to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Ep. Ind. Vol. V, Appendix. From several other dates discovered since then, I have shown that the epoch which suits early dates is A. C. 248-49 and I have reconciled the two epochs on the hypothesis that the current years of the era were wrongly supposed to be expired when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India. The commencement of the era thus came to be antedated by one year. See *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 34 f.

This Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Vidarbha, which owed allegiance first to the Kalachuris and then to the Early Chālukyas, must be distinguished from the family of Dantivarman which was originally ruling over Mūlaka (Aurangabad District).[1] That the two families were ruling contemporaneously and not successively will appear from the following chronological table :—

The family of Dantivarman attained imperial status after overthrowing the Early Chālukyas and soon extended its sway to Vidarbha. The earliest record of this family found in Vidarbha is the grant of Kṛishṇarāja I, dated Śaka 694 (A.C. 772), discovered at Bhāndak in the Chanda District. The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha then sank to a feudatory status and probably ruled from Achalapura[2] (Ellichpur). We find occasional references to their conflicts with the imperial house of Mānyakhēṭa.

The present grant is interesting in several other respects also. It is one of the few copper-plate grants to which a *Gaṇa* (Corporation) is seen to have affixed its own seal. The corporation was

[1] The earliest genuine records of this family, *viz.*, the Ellōrā plates and the Daśāvatāra Cave inscription—both of the reign of Dantidurga— have been discovered in the Aurangabad District. The Sāmāngaḍ plates of Dantidurga found in the Kolhapur State are spurious. To the reasons stated by Drs. Sukthankar and Bhandarkar may be added this, that the date of the plates is given in decimal figures. See above, p. 3.

[2] Nandivardhana from where the present plates were issued may have been their earlier capital. It was previously the capital of the Vākāṭakas and then of the Nala kings, Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati. Later on the capital may have been shifted to Achalapura (modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District). The Tivarkheḍ plates of Nannarāja were issued from Achalapura, but, as shown above, they are spurious. His Multāi plates mention no place of issue. The plates recently discovered in the Akola District were issued by Nannarāja from Padmanagara which may be identical with Padmapura mentioned in an unfinished plate of the Vākāṭakas and in Sanskrit literature as the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti. Later references to this branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas as well as the description of a fight in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* suggest that its capital was at Achalapura. See also *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 611 f.

of Elephant-riders (*Mahāmātras*).[1] Its President was called *Sthavira*[2] and the members of the Executive Committee, who seem to have numbered twelve, *Pramukhas*.[3] The assembly of the Corporation was called *Samūha*.[4] The *gaṇa* evidently consisted of elephant-riders ;[5] for one of the elders was called *Pīlu-pati* (Chief of the Elephant Force) and another was *Hasti-vaidya* (Physician of Elephants). The Corporation had apparently no authority to make any grants of land ; for it had to request the ruling prince to make one on their behalf, but it was allowed to affix its own seal containing its own peculiar emblem of a goad.[6] This shows that it wielded considerable power in the State.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nāndivardhana** from which the plates were issued has already been identified with Nagardhan. This identification has been corroborated by the discovery of the present record. Another name of the place is said to have been Nandardhan which corresponds to Nandivardhana. There is a small village named Nandipuri, about a mile south by east of Nagardhan which may represent ancient Nandivardhana. **Achalapura** is usually identified with Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, but there is no river named Śūlanadī flowing by its side. The Achalapura mentioned in the present plates as an *agrahāra* village was probably situated not far from Nandivardhana. The **Śūlanadī** on the bank of which it lay is probably identical with the river Sūr which flows only about [illegible] miles, east of Nagardhan.[7] **Aṅkōllikā** which was situated on the bank of the Śūlanadī may be identical with modern Aroli, on the right bank of the Sūr, about 8 miles south by east of Nagardhan, but there are no places corresponding to Achalapura and Śrī-Parṇikā in its vicinity. **Chiñchapaṭṭikā** is probably represented by the village Chichāl, about a mile and a half, north by east of Nagardhan.

TEXT[8]

First Plate

1 ओम्[9][।*] स्वस्ति [।*] नान्दीवर्द्धनात्[10] [।*] भट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीस्वामि-

2 राजः कुशली । तदनुद्ध्यातभ्रात्रि(तृ)नन्नराजः सर्व्वानेव स्वाज्ञासञ्चारी-

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[1] The Marathi word *māhūt* meaning an elephant driver is derived from *mahāmātra* (Prakrit, Mahamatta).

[2] *Sthavira* seems to be used in the same sense as *Jeṭṭhaka* of which it is a synonym. The latter term occurs in the *Jātakas* as the head of a corporation.

[3] The Indor Copper-plate inscription uses *pravara* in the sense of *pramukha*. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 70 text line 8.

[4] For *samūha* meaning the assembly of the *gaṇa*, see *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, XVII, 20.

[5] It is noteworthy that Viśvarūpa, the oldest commentator of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* explains *gaṇa* as a corporation of elephant-drivers and others. Cf. *vaṇik-samūhā gaṇaḥ, hasty-ārōh-ādi-samūho vā-gaṇaḥ*; Viśvarūpa on *Y. S.*, II. 196.

[6] For another grant to which the Corporation of *Mahāmātras* has affixed its seal, see the Banaras plates of Harirāja ; *Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Twelfth Session, pp. 560 f. This seal also contains the emblem of a goad (not a flag-staff as stated by the editor). In this case the plates also were issued by the Corporation, though the grant was made with the consent of the reigning king and his chief queen.

[7] This river is called *Suranadī* in l. 39 of the Ramtek Stone Inscription of the time of Rāmachandra, above, Vol. XXV, p. 16. The name of the river seems to have changed from *Sūlanadī* to *Suranadī* in the course of the seven centuries that separate these two records.

[8] From the original plates and ink impressions kindly supplied by Shri V. K. Aiyar, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

[10] The place is called नन्दिवर्द्धन in the Poona Plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā (above, Vol. XV, pp. 41 f.) and the Bēlōrā plates of Pravarasēna II (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 260 f.). In two other grants (viz., Riṭhapur plates of Bhavadattavarman, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f. and Koṭhūraka grant of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 155f.) the place-name appears as नन्दिवर्द्धन

i.

ii,a.

ii,b.

iii.

Seal

3 षोपरिकदाण्डवासिकचाटभटकुलसंप्रेषणिकदाङ्गिकादी(दीन्) सम-

4 नुदर्श्य संपूजयत्यस्तु वो विदितं(तम्) [।*] यथा महामात्रगणस्यचिरकलिङ्ग-

5 केटन ।[1] रोलदेव । प्रदीप्तभट । शिव । देवभटद्वय[2] । मातृस्वामि । गण-

6 देव । कोट्टभट । हस्तिवंशसामस्वामि । धमंगत । पोलुपतिमाल्ला-

7 चिक । प्रभाकरप्रमुखगणस[मु]दायस्यानया मातापित्रोरात्म-

Second Plate : First Side

8 नश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये[3] उपमन्यु(न्यु)सगोत्रविद्वाजसनेयदिवाकर-

9 गौतमसगोत्रदेवस्वामिकौशिकसगोत्रठक्कुरभारद्वाजसगोत्र-

10 आदित्य औपमन्यु(न्यव)दामोदराद्याः कान्वा(ण्वाः) ।[4] गण । सोम । वत्स । चण्डि । सु-

11 प्रभ । कुमारादयस्तैत्तिरिकाः[5][।*] छन्दोगाग्न । कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रकण्वी(ण्वौ)

12 रविचन्द्रगर्भिणौ । वत्ससगोत्रकर्कस्वामिने[6] चिञ्चापट्टिकाया(यां) निवर्त-

13 नानि द्वादश शासननिमित्तं(त्तम्)[7][।*] एवमेतेषां ब्राह्मणानां बलिचरुवैश्वदे-

14 वाग्निहोत्रादीनां क्रियाणां । उत्सर्प्पणार्थं[8] । आषाढसंवत्सरे चैत्रामा-

Second Plate : Second Side

15 वास्यायां चन्द्रग्रहणे चतुष्पदसंस्थितेन ग्रहोपरागे ।[9] मूलन-

16 धाः उत्तरतटे ।[9] नन्दपुरायाहारात्पश्चिमेन ।[9] श्रीपर्णिकायाः पूर्व्वेण

17 अङ्कोल्लिका नाम ग्रामः आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिधरवह्निपवनव्योम-

18 समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्योविनिरन्ध्रन्यायेन ।[9] सर्व्वविसविष्टि-

19 क्षेमककरभरपरिहीणः सर्व्वादियविशुद्धोन्तःसिद्धिकः उदकपूर्व्वः[10] मो-

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[1] This and other similar marks of punctuation in ll. 5-7 are superfluous.

[2] Read शिवदेवभटद्वय.

[3] Here and in some places below, the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.

[4] This and similar other marks of punctuation in ll. 10-12 are superfluous.

[5] Read तैत्तिरीयाः.

[6] Read कर्कस्वामी एतेभ्यः.

[7] Supply दत्तानि ।

[8] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[9] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[10] Read उदकपूर्वम्.

20 गाय लिखि(ख)ष्ट: [।*] यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्चागामिविषयभोगपतिभिरनुमन्त-

21 व्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यो वा तत्कालतयास्वादमात्रतृष्णातिरिक्तलोभिन्य-

Third Plate

22 भिद्ह्यमानमानसोऽज्ञानपटलावृतमतिर्गिरिनदीजलतरङ्गभ-

23 ङ्गुरमायुर्गत्वरमश्वत्थपत्रचञ्चलं धनमासादयेत् स पञ्चमहा-

24 पातकसंयुक्तः स्यादिति ॥ उक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन । बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता

25 राजभिः सगरादिभि[:][।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[१॥*]

26 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव-

27 व[1] नरके वसेत् ॥[२॥*] उक्तौ(क्तौ)र्व्वमेतच्छासनं मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्ताप्तये कन्ह-

28 पुत्रेण क्षत्रियदुर्गादित्येनेति ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये द्वाविंश्[2] कार्त्तिक सुदि ६ [।*]

Seal

गणवर्त्ति[:][।*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! From **Nāndivardhana**—The illustrious **Svāmirāja**, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and meditates on the feet of the lord paramount, is in good health. His brother **Nannarāja** who meditates on his feet, honours all his[3] (*Officers*) such as *Rājasthānīya*,[4] *Uparika*,[5] *Dāṇḍapāśika*,[6] *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa*,[7] *Dūta-saṁprēshaṇika*[8] and *Drāṅgika*,[9] communicating (*the following order to them*)—

(Line 4) Be it known to you that at the request of the Assembly of the Corporation (*Gaṇa-samūha*), whose Executive Officers (*Pramukhas*)[10] are Kaliṅga, the President (*Sthavira*) of the *Mahā-Mātragaṇa*, (*and*) Kēṭabha, Rōladēva, Pradīptabhaṭa, two Śivadēvabhaṭas, Mātṛisvāmin, Gaṇadēva, Kōṅkabhaṭa, the Physician of Elephants (*named*) Sāmasvāmin, Asaṅgata, the Chief of the Elephant Corps (*named*) Māllāyika (*and*) Prabhākara, (*and*) for augmenting the religious merit and fame of (*my*) mother and father and of myself (*I have granted*) by a charter, twelve *nivartanas* (*of land*) in (*the village*) Chiñchapaṭṭikā to (*the Brāhmaṇas*) (*viz.*) the learned Divākara of the

[1] This *akshara* is superfluous.

[2] Read द्वाविंशत्युत्तरे.

[3] As the text stands, these officers would be of Nannarāja, but they are probably meant to be of his brother Svāmirāja who was reigning.

[4] *Rājasthānīya* means Viceroy, or Crown Representative.

[5] *Uparika* was the Governor of a province.

[6] *Dāṇḍapāśika* was a police officer.

[7] *Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* were policemen and soldiers whose duty was to apprehend criminals.

[8] *Dūta-saṁprēshaṇika* was one who appointed *dūtas* for the execution of royal charter.

[9] *Drāṅgika* was probably the Mayor of a town (*drāṅga*).

[10] The *pramukhas* correspond to the *kāryachintakas* mentioned in Smṛitis. See *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II 191.

Upamanyu *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *śākhā*, Dēvasvāmin of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, Śaṅkara of the Kauśika *gōtra*, Āditya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Dāmodara of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and others, these (*being*) of the Kāṇva (*śākhā*) ; Gaṇa, Sōma, Vatsa, Chaṇḍi, Suprabha, Kumāra and others, (*these being*) of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*) ; Īśāna of the Sāmavēda ; Ravichandra and Ravigaṇa of the Kauṇḍina *gōtra* (*and*) Kāṇva (*śākhā*) ; (*and*)Karkasvāmin of the Vatsa *gōtra*.

(L. 13) And to the same Brāhmaṇas (*I*),[1] while staying at the Chaṭuka banyan tree[2] in the midst of the Gaṅgā on the occasion of **an eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra in the year Āshāḍha**, donated with a libation of water, according to the maxim of uncultivated land,[3] the village named **Aṅkōllikā** on the left bank of the river Śūla, (*situated*) to the west of the *agrahāra* Achalapura and to the east of Śrī-Parṇikā, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, the mountains, fire, wind and sky would endure, which is free from the obligations of gifts, forced labour and cess for providing meals[4] (*to royal officers*), which is exempt from all taxes and is invested with the powers of internal adjudication,[5] in order that they (*i.e.*, the Brāhmaṇas) should enjoy it and perform religious duties such as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, (*and*) *agnihōtra*.

(L. 20) Wherefore our descendants as well as others who will, in future, be the rulers of this *Vishaya* and *Bhōga*, should consent to and preserve this, our gift. And whoever, with his mind tossed by the waves of the river water, namely, the greed for enjoying even the least product of this (*gift*) and with his intellect clouded by a mass of ignorance, would (*seek to*) attain life which is transitory like the ripples on the water of a mountain stream and fleeting wealth which is as unsteady as the leaves of the *Aśvattha* tree, will incur the five great sins.

(L. 24) And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa—
(*Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 27) This order has been engraved by the Kshatriya Durgāditya, the son of Chandra, for the attainment of religious merit by (*his*) mother and father.

In the **year three hundred** (*increased by*) **twenty-two** on the **lunar day 5** of the **bright fortnight of Kārttika**.

Seal

A gift[6] of the Corporation.

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[1] This may refer to the reigning king Svāmirāja.

[2] *Chaṭuka-vaṭa* may be *akshaya-vaṭa* at Prayāga, but I have not come across this designation of it elsewhere.

[3] *Araṭi-randhra-nyāya* is the same as *bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāya*. It refers to the conferment of full proprietory rights as when one brings fallow land under cultivation.

[4] *Jēmaka-kara* was a cess levied on villagers for providing boarding to royal officers camping in the village. Cf. *Rāja-purushāṇām-āvāsakō jēmakakaraś-cha ēvam=vidham na-āsti* in the Añjanēri plates (second set) of Bhōgaśakti, above, Vol. XXV, p. 237. In later records, the expression *vasati-daṇḍa* is used in the same sense, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 218.

[5] *Antaḥ-siddhika* means 'invested with the powers of internal adjudication'. Such villages were not required to send their criminal cases for adjudication outside. In some records the expression *sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādhaḥ* is used in the same sense. For the fines which used to be levied in such cases, see Anjaneri plates (second set) above, Vol. XXV, p. 237.

[6] For *datti* in the sense of a gift, see the expression *a-pūrvadattyā* 'as a gift not previously made' which occurs frequently in Vākāṭaka records.

No. 2—KESARIBEDA PLATES OF NALA ARTHAPATI-BHATTARAKA.

(1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND.

IN February 1944, the Amin of the Umarkōṭ Police Station in the Jeypore State (Koraput District, Orissa) reported to the authorities of the State that a set of copper plates had been discovered in a forest adjoining the village of **Kēsaribēḍā** within the jurisdiction of the said Police Station. The plates are said to have been found exposed on the ground at the foot of a mango tree in the forest. The news of the discovery soon reached the ears of Mr. G. Ramadas of Jeypore, who is an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy, and he secured the plates from the Pūjāri of the village with the help of his friend, the late Mr. Talisetty Rama Rao who was then the Assistant Diwan of the Jeypore State. Mr. Ramadas cut the ring passing through the plates in order to read the inscription on them ; but soon afterwards he sent the entire set of plates for registration to the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. I edit the inscription with the permission kindly accorded to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

Mr. Ramadas has earned the gratitude of the students of Indian history by publishing recently an interesting note on the Kēsaribēḍā copper-plate inscription in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 33-42. Unfortunately the text of the record as made out by him as well as his interpretation of it is not free from errors. Besides, most of his suggestions regarding Nala history appear to be mere wild guesses. As I am inclined to disagree with almost all of Mr. Ramadas's theories about the Nalas, I would prefer not to comment on them in detail for the present.

The set consists of **three copper plates** strung together on a copper ring. The circumference of the ring, which is fixed in a thick and somewhat oval mass of copper having three square holes in a line at the top, is 7·4" and its diameter 2". The plates are roughly 7·5" in length and 1·5" in breadth and have their corners rounded off. The hole for the ring to pass through is at the proper right end of the plates and has a diameter of ½". The weight of the ring is 6·75 *tolas* and that of the plates together with the ring is 31·75 *tolas*. Of the three plates, the second and the third are inscribed on both sides, while the first has writing on one side only. Altogether there are fourteen lines of writing, each side having three lines, except the second side of the third plate which has two lines only.

The **alphabet** used is of the ' scooped out ' type of the box-headed variety of South Indian script. The characters are not of the angular type like those in the Rithapur plates[1] of Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati and suggest a rather earlier date than that record, although both the Kēsaribēḍā and Rithapur charters were drafted by one and the same official (the *Rahasyādhikṛita* Chulla) and issued by the same king (Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka), and have therefore to be referred to the same epoch sometime in the sixth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels *a*, *ā* and *u* in lines 5 (*a*, *ā*, *u*), 6 (*a*), 9 (*a*), 11 (*u*), 12 (*ā*) and 13 (*a*). Final *n* occurs in line 3 and *m* in line 13 ; but *t* is found in lines 6, 9, 10 and 11. The letter *t* is found in three different forms. In some cases it has the ordinary form with the right hand side straight and the left arm slightly bent downwards. Often, however both the arms are bent towards the left. In a few cases, the left arm has formed a loop and become undistinguishable from *n* (*cf. ttu* in line 3 and *ntā* in line 7). The figure for 7 occurs in the date in line 13.

The **language** of the record, which is not free from errors, is Sanskrit. It is written in prose, but has two imprecatory verses in the *anushṭubh* metre about the end. Of **orthographic** peculiarities, mention may be made of the usual duplication of the consonants when preceded or followed

[1] See discussion on this record below, p. 13.

by *r*; but *v* in one case in line 7 and *d* in line 9 have not been doubled. The *visarga*, followed by a sibilant, is represented by a sibilant in line 3. The duplication of *s* in *sanvva* (for *saṁvatsara*) in line 13 is also interesting to note. There is a case of Prakritism in *muka* for *mukha* in the same line. The rules of *sandhi*, which are optional for prose composition, have not always been observed.

The **date** of the record is given as **the new moon day of the month of Mārggaśirsha in the year 7**, no doubt indicating the seventh regnal year of king Arthapati of the family of king Nala. As the issuer of the Kēsaribēḍā charter and the dynasty to which he claimed to belong are already known from epigraphic and numismatic sources, I propose, before entering into the details of the grant, to give below a short sketch of Nala history taken from one of the chapters that I have contributed to Vol. III of the *History of India* (in the press), which is being published by the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samiti of Bombay under the editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Calcutta.

The Ṛithapur copper-plate inscription [1] which may be assigned on grounds of palaeography, to the fifth or sixth century, records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri by Mahārāja Bhavattavarman while he (probably together with his queen) was staying as a pilgrim[2] at Prayāga (Allahabad), "the place blest by the favour of lord Prajāpati at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna ". The charter, however, was actually issued from Nandivardhana by a successor of the king. We know that this city was the capital of the Vākāṭakas of the main line before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasēna II. The village of Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmal District of Berar. It is thus apparent that a new line of kings was in possession of the territories formerly occupied by the Vākāṭakas.

The name Bhavattavarman is probably a mistake or a partly Prakritized form of *Bhavadattavarman*. This suggestion is supported by the evidence of coins and of another record of the family. The king is called *Nala-nṛipa-vaṁśa-prasūta* and apparently claimed descent from Nala, the ancient king of Nishadha known from epic and Puranic literature. He is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsēna (Skanda-Kārttikēya).[3] The king's banner bore the *tri-patākā* which has been explained as the representation of ' the hand with three fingers stretched out ' or ' three pennons '. The charter is dated in the eleventh regnal year. But the document is said to have been actually made, for the merit of his own parents, by Mahārāja Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka who was favoured by his *āryaka*, i.e., grandfather.[4] Arthapati has sometimes been taken to be an epithet of Bhavadattavarman, but is now usually regarded as the name of the latter's son and successor. It is, however, probable that Bhavadattavarman was actually the *āryaka*, i.e., ' grandfather ', of Arthapati. It seems that year 11, the date of the Ṛithapur grant, refers not to the reign of Bhavadattavarman but to that of Arthapati.

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[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

[2] The fact that the grant was made in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas who appear to have " blessed the matrimonial relationship " of the king and the queen may also suggest that it was made on the occasion of the royal marriage. In that case it has to be conjectured that the father of the queen was a chief or ruler of the Allahabad region. Note also the reference to "the lord of offsprings" in this connection.

[3] The passage *Mahēśvara-Mahāsēn-ātisṛishṭa-rājya-vibhava*, ' upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Mahēśvara and Mahāsēna ', may also be interpreted to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the gods Śiva and Skanda (*cf.* similar cases cited by me in *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53). Reference may be made in this connection to the Bhīṭā seal (*ARASI*, 1911-12, p. 51), bearing the legend *Mahēśvara-Mahāsēn-ātisṛishṭa-rājyasya vṛishabha-dhvajasya Gautamīputrasya śrī-Vindhyavē(dha)na-mahārājasya*. What relation king Vindhyavēdhana may have had with the early Nalas, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but, like Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati, Vindhyavēdhana seems also to have been a southerner as the characters used on the Bhīṭā seal closely resemble those of the records of the Ikshvākus of the Krishṇa-Guntur region. Vindhyavēdhana's emblem was, however, not the *tri-patākā* but the bull.

[4] *Cf.* Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 187n; *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 223-4.

Another Nala inscription[1] in verse has been discovered at Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore State, not far from the borders of the Bastar State (C.P.). It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of a king whose name seems to be Skandavarman, although the reading of its first part is not beyond doubt. This king is described as the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, very probably the same as Bhavattavarman of the Ṛithapur plates. Skandavarman is said to have recovered the lost (*bhrashṭa*) royal fortune of his family and to have re-peopled the deserted (*śūnyā*) city of Pushkari. The city, which seems to have been situated in the Poḍāgaḍh region, was probably the capital of the Nala kings. The inscription refers to the construction of a shrine (*pādamūla*) of Vishṇu by Skandavarman apparently at Poḍāgaḍh. The relation that must have existed between Arthapati and Skandavarman cannot be determined; but the former may have been the son and successor of the latter.

There has been some speculation as regards the identity of the enemy who defeated the Nalas and sacked Pushkari, but was afterwards defeated by Skandavarman.[2] As there was apparently a struggle between the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas of the main branch, this enemy has been identified by some writers with Vākāṭaka Pṛithivishēṇa II who claims to have twice rescued the fallen fortunes of his family. Skandavarman's adversary may also have been the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Nanna of South Kōsala. Nanna's occupation of practically the whole of the western C.P. is possibly indicated by an inscription at Bhandak in the Chanda District, although it is sometimes believed that the record originally belonged to a place in the eastern C.P. in the heart of South Kōsala.[3] Most probably, however, the enemy of the Nalas was the Chālukya king Kīrttivarman I (A.D. 567-97) who claims not only to have subdued the Nalas, sometimes represented as the traditional enemy of the Chālukyas, but also to have destroyed their residence (*nilaya*).[4]

A hoard of gold coins was discovered at Eḍeṅgā, a village in the Koṇḍegāon tahsil of the Bastar State.[5] The issuers of the coins of this hoard are Bhavadatta, Arthapati and another king named Varāha who may have belonged to the same family. From epigraphic and numismatic materials, it seems that the territories of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region about the southern part of the C.P. About the first half of the sixth century, they extended their power towards the north at the expense of the Vākāṭakas; but their northern possessions soon appear to have passed to the Pāṇḍavaṁśī kings of Kōsala. There is, however, some indication that the Nala empire had extended over a still wider area.

Inscriptions of the time of Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-80 A.D.) mention the Naḷavāḍi-vishaya which was apparently named after the Nalas.[6] As a village situated in that *vishaya* has been identified with modern Ratnagiri in the Madakasira taluk of the Bellary (now Anantapur) District, it seems that Naḷavāḍi under the Chālukyas comprised parts of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. This may have been the southernmost province of the Nala empire, originally under a viceroy of the royal blood. Whether the Nalas were responsible for the fall of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the suggestion may not be altogether improbable.

A stone inscription[7] at Rājim in the Raipur District of the eastern C.P., which may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the close of the seventh century, records the construction of a temple of Vishṇu probably by Vilāsatuṅga, apparently a successor (son ?) of king Virūpāksha

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 f.

[2] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, p. 35.

[3] Hiralal, *Descriptive List of Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar*, pp. 13 f.

[4] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 153.

[5] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, pp. 29-35.

[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 363.

[7] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

who was the son of king Pṛithvīrāja. These rulers claimed descent from Nala and were very probably later members of the family of Bhavadattavarman. It seems that the Nalas, who were cornered in the Bastar region by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis and the Chālukyas, retrieved their position and conquered South Kōsala sometime after the rule of Śivagupta[1] Bālārjuna in the seventh century. It is unknown if they continued to rule in that country till the rise of the Sōmavaṁśis about the middle of the tenth century. If, however, they did, they were probably matrimonially related to the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I (c. A.D. 870-95) who constructed a temple at Pāli about twelve miles from Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District,[2] no doubt on the occasion of a visit that he might have paid to his relatives' kingdom.

A king named Pṛithivīvyāghra, who seems to have performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice, is styled *Nishada-pati* in the Udayēndiram grant of Pallavamalla.[3] Supposing that the form *Nishada* is a mistake for *Nishadha* and not for *Nishāda*, Pṛithivīvyāghra may possibly be associated with the epic *Nishadha-pati* Nala. He may thus be identified with Pṛithvīrāja of the Rājim inscription as both of them lived about the same period.

As the Rithapur grant is dated in the eleventh regnal year probably of the same king, the present charter is earlier than the other record by four years only. The inscription records the grant, made by *Mahārāja* Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka, of the village called Kēsēlaka-grāma to the Brāhmaṇas Durgārya, Ravirārya (?)[4] and Ravidattārya all belonging to the Kautsa *gōtra*. The charter was issued from Pushkari, addressing the agriculturist householders (*kuṭumbinaḥ*), headed by the Brāhmaṇas, as well as to the village *śiraka* (headman). The king is described as *tri-patākā-dhvaja* and *Mahēśvara-Mahāsēn-ātisṛishṭa-rājya-vibhava* just as king Bhavadattavarman has been in the Rithapur inscription. He is also called *Nala-nṛipati-kul-ānvaya*, 'belonging to a family of the clan of king Nala'. Thus the inscription under discussion seems to support the evidence of coins that Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati mentioned in the Rithapur record were not identical but were two different rulers. The expression *Arthapati-bhaṭṭārakasy=ānugrah-ārtham* (l. 5) possibly suggests that the king made the gift after receiving some sort of help from the Brāhmaṇas. The donated village was exempted from the entrance of *bhaṭas* (soldiers or police men) and from all taxes (*a-bhaṭa-pravēśaḥ sarvakara-visarjjitaḥ*). The donees were not to be disturbed by anybody (*na kēnachit kiñchid=vaktavyāḥ*). This is the same as *bhuñjatāṁ na kēnachid=vyāghātaḥ kartavyaḥ* of some other records and forbids all persons to trouble the donees in any way. The grant was also made *a-vaha* which seems to mean the same as *a-paramparā-balīvarda-grahaṇa* of some other records indicating the exemption from the obligation of supplying conveyance to the royal officials on tour. The villagers were advised to live happily without fear of molestation and to go on with work in the lands settled unto them (*bhavadbhiś=cha dhruva-karmmānt-ārambhaiḥ*[5] *su-nirvṛiti-visrabdhair=vastavyam*). They were further asked to be careful about their obligations to the landlords (donees) in accordance with customs prevalent in the district (*vishay-ōchitā=cha śuśrūshāḥ karttavyāḥ*) and to pay regularly their dues such as *hiraṇya* (rent for land payable in coins besides the share of the produce) and others. Fulfilment of these conditions, the record goes on to say, would lead to the satisfaction of Bhaṭṭāraka-rāja (*i.e.*, king Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka). This seems to show that the word *bhaṭṭāraka* was sometimes regarded as an integral part of the

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[1] He is commonly called Mahāśivagupta.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 53.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 276. It may be supposed that it was Pallavamalla who performed the Aśvamēdha. But if such was the case, there would certainly have been reference to that event in one of the numerous records of the later Pallavas. The claim would also have been more specific and prominent in the Udayēndiram grant.

[4] [The name *Ravira* sounds queer indeed, but there is no doubt about the reading. Compare *Ravila*, the name of the composer of the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 524=467-8 A.C., above, Vol. XXVII, p. 12. —Ed.]

[5] The word *karmānta* means 'cultivated land'. It may also be taken in the sense of 'business' in this context.

king's name. The charter was drafted, on a verbal order of the king, by the Privy Councillor (*Rahasyādhikṛita*)[1] Chulla, who is also known from the Rithapur grant.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the Kēsaribēḍā grant, Pushkari, as already indicated, has to be located in the Poḍāgaḍh region of the Jeypore State, now in the Koraput District of Orissa. Kēsēlakagrāma has been identified with the village of Kēsaribēḍā, the findspot of the charter, in the same State.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] **Pushkaryyāḥ** Mahēśvara-Mahāsēn-ātisṛishṭa-rājya-vibha[va*]ḥ tri-paṭ[ā]-

2 kā-dhvajaḥ Nala-nṛipati-kul-ānvayaḥ śrī-mahārāj-**Artthapati-bhaṭṭārakaḥ**

3 **Kēsēlaka-grāmē** Brāhmaṇ-ēttarān[3] kuṭumbinaś=śirshakañ=ch=ājñāpaya[ti*]

Second Plate ; First Side

4 [4]yūyam=asmābhi[ḥ] Kautsa-sagōtrāya Durgga(rggā)ryyāya Ravirāryyāya[5] Ravidattāryyāya[6] pā(pu)tra-pauttrika[m*]

5 **Artthapati-bhaṭa(ṭṭā)rakasy**=a(sy=ā)nugrahārttha[m*] udakapūrvva[ṁ*] datta ā-chandra-tārakam=a-bhaṭa-pravēśa[ḥ*] sarvva-kara-

6 visarjjitaḥ a-vahaḥ [|*] na kēnachi[t] kiñcha(ñchi)d=vaktavyāḥ [|*] yataḥ bhavadbhi[ś=cha]

Second Plate ; Second Side

7 dhruva-karmmānt-ārambhēḥ(mbhaiḥ) samirvṛita-viśvastair=vvastavya[ṁ*] vishay-ōchitāś=cha anurūśā(shāḥ)

8 karttavyā hiraṇy-ādayaś=cha pratyāya(yā) dēyāḥ [|*] tataś=cha **Bhaṭā(ṭṭā)raka-rājasya(sy=ā)-**

9 pyāyana(ṁ [*] asmābhiḥ paritushṭa(shṭai)r=datta(ḥ*)[|] yaḥ kaśchit vyapēta-dharmmā

Third Plate ; First Side

10 rāgā[d*] drōhāt-pral[ō]bhād=vā grāmē kiñchit=pralōpayēt [|*] sa mahāpātaka-

11 yuktaḥ[7] pañchabhi=nna(r=nna)rakaṁ vrajēt [|1*][8] uktañ=cha[|*] Shashṭi(shṭiṁ) varsha-sahasrāṇi

12 s(va)rggē nandati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā cha(ch=ā)numa[ntā] cha tāny=ēva narakē vasavati[9]

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[1] Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 441.

[2] From the facsimile published by Mr. Ramadas in *JBRS*, Vol. XXXIV, and from the impressions preserved at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[3] Read *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*.

[4] The Rithapur inscription has also this reading; but the reading intended seems to be *yush=āyam*.

[5] The third akshara read *rā* has above it the superscript *r* together with the sign for *ā*. Possibly the engraver at first omitted *rā* and began to incise the next akshara, *ryyā*, but noticed the mistake only after the incision of the upper part of it.

[6] After this name, the upper part of a letter, which may be an ill-formed *cha* is visible. Below this and the preceding letter, there are traces of three *aksharas* which look like [illegible]. Whether this is meant for a correction in the line or for the insertion of a new name in the list of the donees cannot be satisfactorily determined.

[7] Read °*pātakair=yuktaḥ*.

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] Read *vasēt* [|2*] *iti*. Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

KESARIBEDA PLATES OF NALA ARTHAPATI-BHATTARAKA.

i.

ii,a.

ii,b.

iii,a.

iii,b.

SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS.

B. CH. CHHABRA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'35-455'49.

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P. L. O.)

Third Plate ; Second Side

13 **Saṁvva 7**[1] **Mārggaśīrsha-māsa**[2] **amāvāsyām**[3] likhita[ṁ*] sva-muh-ā-[4]

14 jñāptēna Rahasyādhikṛitēna[5] Chullēna ||[6]

No. 3— MANOR PLATES OF VINAYADITYA MANGALARASA : SAKA 613.

(*1 Plate*)

KRISHNA DEVA, NEW DELHI

This set of copper plates was unearthed on the 2nd May 1943 from an agricultural *inām* land bearing Survey No. 2, *hissā* No. 2, belonging to Mohamed Yusuf Haji Amir Saheb, at the village of **Manor,** taluka Palghar, District Thana, in course of digging for agricultural purposes together with another set of plates of Dantidurga, dated Śaka 671. Soon after its discovery, the set was acquired by the Collector of Thana who sent it to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, for disposal under the Treasure Trove Act. I am grateful to the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for their kind permission to edit the plates here as well as for many valuable suggestions which they kindly gave me in the preparation of this article.

This well-preserved set consists of **two copper plates,** each measuring 14" long and 9·4" broad. Though each of them is pierced by a pair of ring holes, they slide, through only one set of holes, on a copper ring the ends of which are soldered into a circular seal, measuring 2-10/12" in diameter. The seal is slightly damaged in the upper right corner and shows faint traces of the design of crescent in the upper field and of lotus in the lower, with the legend *Śrī-Jay[ā*]śraya* in the middle in the script of the main inscription. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker and raised into rims to protect the writing which is engraved on the inner face of each plate. The inscription, neatly engraved and excellently preserved, runs into 34 lines which are evenly distributed on two plates. The average height of single letters is $\frac{1}{4}$" and of conjuncts $\frac{5}{16}$". The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 296 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the southern variety of the 7th century A. D. and closely resemble those of the Nirpaṇ plates[7] of Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavardhanarāja and of the Nausari[8] and Surat[9] plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya, dated in the years K. 421 and 443 respectively. The noteworthy signs are the initial *ē* in *ēka* (ll.18 and 22), final *t* in *vasēt* (l.29) and two forms each of the letters *l* and *ṇ*. The simpler form of *l* is seen in *lāñchhana* (l.4), *likhitam* (l.34), etc., while the curly cursive form occurs in *sakala* (l.2), *Chulukyānāṁ* (l.4), etc. *Ṇ* is similarly indicated by two forms, one of the looped variety as in *kshōbhit-ārṇava* (l.1) and *kalyāṇa* (l.3) ; and the other of the unlooped variety as in *sagōtrāṇām* (l.2), *maṇi-gaṇa* (l.6), etc.

As regards **orthography** the following points are worth noting. Consonants following *r* are generally doubled as in *Vishṇōr=vvārāham* (l.1), *varttamāna* (l.16), etc. The medial *ṛi* is mostly misspelt as *ri*, as in *mātribhiḥ* (ll.2, 3), *prithivī* (ll.5, 8, 12, 15), *vriddhayē* (l.24), etc.

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[1] The figure has been so formed as to look like the letter *ri*.

[2] Read *māsē*.

[3] The first two *aksharas* of the following word have cursive form.

[4] Read *muh-ājñaptēna*. [The form *ājñāptēna* is also correct. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 44, n. 6.—Ed.]

[5] For *Rahasyādhikṛitēna*, the Rithapur inscription has *rahasi niyuktēna*.

[6] There is a mark indicating the end at this place.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 124 ff. and Pl.

[8] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 232 ff. and Pl.

[9] *Vienna Or. Cong.*, p. 225 and Pl.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening verse and the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses towards the end, the entire record is in prose. The text, however, is full of serious grammatical mistakes, such as *°mālinasya* (1.19) in place of *°mālinaḥ*. As may be seen from the foot-notes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and words are either omitted, misspelt or corrupt. The grant portion is particularly faulty and shows numerous blunders of grammar and syntax.

Like other Chāḷukya grants, the present inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu. Then it recounts the genealogy of the Western Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi, of whom Satyāśraya-Pṛithivīvallabha-Kīrtivarmarāja (I); his son, Satyāśraya-Pṛithivīvallabha Pulakēśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja (II), who defeated Harshavardhana; and his son, Satyāśraya-Pṛithivīvallabha-Kokkuli-Vikramāditya-rāja (I), who meditated on the feet of Nāgavardhana and who conquered the three kingdoms of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya, are referred to in the order of succession (ll. 2-12). After Vikramāditya (I) is mentioned his younger brother, Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman (1.13), who was the founder of the Navasāri branch of the Western Chāḷukyas and father of the donor of the present grant. The inscription refers itself to the **Western Chāḷukya** prince **of** the **Navasāri branch, Vinayāditya-Pṛithivīvallabha-Yuddhamalla-Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa** (1.15), who like his father is called a *Paramamāhēśvara*. The **object** of it is to record the grant by Vinayāditya-Maṅgalarasa of some villages and domestic sites for the benefit of the temple of sun-god at Mānapura with a view to ensuring the supply, to the shrine, of perfumes, flowers, incense, lamps, music and offerings and to provide for repairs to the temple (ll.22-23). The endowments comprised the village of Ḍuṇaka which was situated to the east of the Mānapura village, owned by the sun-god and included within the Kurāṭa *vishaya* (district); the domestic sites called Kukuṭi and Mitummiṭi in Vēlugrāma; and the Urachhaka village and the Bāḷatta hamlet included within the Vāṅgi' *vishaya* (ll. 19-22). The grant is **dated on the 15th day of** the **bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 613 (expired)**, which falls in A. D. 691-92 and which is expressed in words as well as in numerals (ll. 17-18; 33-34). The grant was drafted by *Bhaṭṭa* Rudranāga, son of Kumārasvāmidīkshita, who held the high offices of *divirapati* (chief of the secretariat), foreign minister and revenue minister and is further styled as *niravadya-paramēśvara*.

The inscription is important as it throws welcome light on the obscure history of the Gujarat (Navasāri) branch of the Western Chāḷukyas and helps to settle some doubtful points of chronology in respect of this little known branch. Hitherto the definite date of the foundation of this branch by Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman was shrouded in mystery. By specifying that the year of the grant, *viz.*, A. D. 691-92 was the twenty-first *rājya-saṁvatsara* (1.18) or regnal year, this record places it beyond doubt that the **Navasāri branch was founded in the year A. D. 669-70.** The regnal year mentioned in this record has to be referred to Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman, since there is no evidence to show that Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruled in his own right as early as A. D. 691-92. This is confirmed by Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya's Navsari and Surat plates of K. 421 and 443 which testify that Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman was ruling from A. D. 669-70 to at least A. D. 691-92.

The record supplies another information of historical and chronological importance. So far the only definite date for Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was known from his unpublished Balsar plates,[2] dated Śaka 653 (A. D. 731-32). The present inscription, dated in Śaka 613 (A. D. 691-92), supplies for this prince a date, forty years earlier than that hitherto known for him. It is interesting

[1] [See below p. 20 n. 1. —Ed.]

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 75.

to note that the Surat plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya of K. 443 also fall in the same year as the present record.

From the information gathered from this record as well as from other published inscriptions of the dynasty, the history of this house may be reconstructed as follows. Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha-varman ascended the throne in A. D. 669-70. From the very beginning of his reign his eldest son, Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya, was associated with him in the administration and was invested with the authority of issuing land-grants in his own name. Subsequently one of his younger sons, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was also made a viceroy and given charge of a province together with the privilege of issuing land-grants in his own name. In A. D. 691-92 both Yuvarāja Śryā-śraya Śilāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa were simultaneously administering different portions of their father's dominion. The former held charge of its northern portion comprising the districts of southern Gujarat where the Kalachuri era was prevalent, while the latter governed the southern portion including the modern district of Thana where the Śaka era was in vogue. From the omission of any reference to Śryāśraya Śilāditya in the later records of the dynasty, it is evident that he did not come to the throne and apparently predeceased his father sometime after A. D. 691-92, his last known date. His younger brother, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, whose known dates range from Śaka 613 to Śaka 653, in all probability survived and succeeded his father as may be inferred from the following considerations. Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman must have been at least forty years old on his accession to the throne in A. D. 669-70, as his son Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya was then grown up enough to take an active part in administration. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he should have lived up to A. D. 731-32, the last known date of Vinayā-ditya Maṅgalarasa, unless we credit him with an unusually long life of a century. Now, even assuming that he reigned till a grand old age of eighty, he must have died sometime about A. D. 710, leaving a margin of a little over two decades during which Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruled in his own right. This is corroborated by the testimony of the Nausari plates of his younger brother and successor Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin[1] of K. 490 (A. D. 738-39) wherein Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given full regal titles and mentioned as having succeeded Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha-varman.

In the last mentioned plates Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given the epithet of *nija-bhuja-prabhāv-ōpārjjita-svakīya-bhūmaṇḍalaḥ*. Does this epithet coupled with the omission of any reference to the contemporary Chālukya sovereign in his own grants, signify that he had ceased to owe allegiance to the paramount power ? The omission, however, seems to be due to an over-sight, as we find both his predecessor and successor acknowledging the authority of the suzerain power ; The eulogistic references made to him in his own grants as well as in his successor's are purely conventional, and probably indicate that he was an influential and powerful prince. This is also attested by his seal being stamped on the undated Nirpaṇ plates of Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavardhana who appears to be another younger brother of his, subservient to him.

This inscription supplies many other interesting pieces of information. Firstly, it testifies to the existence of a solar temple at Mānapura, which is identical with Manor, the findspot of the plates. The endowments recorded in this grant were specifically made for the maintenance of worship in and conservation of this temple. Secondly, this record mentions a hitherto unknown functionary called *Dēśillaka* (l.16) who appears to be connected with the administration of a *dēśa* i.e., a district or a subdivision. Thirdly, like the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa,[2] this inscription invests Vikramāditya (I) of the Western Chālukya dynasty with the surname of *Kokkuli*.

As regards the **place-names** mentioned in the inscription **Mānapura** is surely the present village of Manor in the Palghar *taluka* of Thana district where these plates were discovered. Diṇaka

[1] *Vienna Or. Cong.*, p. 230 and Pl.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV pp. 149 ff. and Pl.

which is specifically mentioned in the record as situated to the east of Mānapura is represented by the modern village of Tena, which is 2 miles east of Manor. The name of **Kurāṭa-vishaya**, wherein Mānapura was included, has perhaps survived in the modern name Kirat, a village, lying 12 miles north-east of Palghar town. The **Vēlugrāma** of the inscription seems to be identical with Velgaon, 3 miles south-east of Kirat and 14 miles east-north-east of Palghar. As regards **Vēṅgi**[1]**-vishaya**, it is extremely doubtful if by this is meant the well-known homonymous tract between the Gōdāvarī and the Krishṇā on the eastern coast, as from aught we know of this ruler, his territory could never have extended so far. I am therefore unable for the present to identify Vēṅgi as also Urachhaka and Bōḍatta which were included therein.

I edit the inscription from the original as well as from a set of excellent estampages supplied through the kind courtesy of the Director General of Archaeology.

TEXT

First Plate

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति [।।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्णव(वम्) [।*] दक्षिणो-
न्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रास(न्त)भुवनं वपुः [।।*]

2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूय[मान*]मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणा(णां) सप्तलोकमातृ(तृ)-
भिस(स्स)प्त-

3 मातृ(तृ)भिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्ति(त्ति)केयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवंना(न्ना)-
रायणप्रसादः[3]-

4 समासादितवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतानां[4] चलुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोरश्व(श्व)-

5 मेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृ(पृ)थिवीवल्लभ[5]महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकी-
र्त्तिव-

6 र्म्मराजस्य प्रियात्मजोनेकनरपतिशतमकुटतटघटितमणिगणकरनिकरसमुल्लसितोद्योति-

7 त[6]चरणकमलयुगलस्यो[7]त्तरापथाधिपतिश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपल[ब्ध]परममाहेश्वरोपरम-

8 न(ना)मधेय[8]सत्याश्रयश्रीपृ(पृ)थिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजः त-

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[1] [The correct reading is *Vēnti-vishayē*. See below p. 21 n. 2. The present Bhenti, a village about four miles north-east of Manor, may represent the ancient Vēnti.—Ed.]

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The *visarga* is superfluous.

[4] Read °*mahībhṛitām*.

[5] *Bha* was inserted later on, below the line between *lla* and *ma*.

[6] [This form may be derived from the root *yut—bhāsanē*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 97, n. 9.—Ed.]

[7] Read *yugala Uttarāpatha*.

[8] Read as in other Chālukya grants परमेश्वरापरनामधेयः .

i.

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36—495'49.

SCALE : TWO-THIRDS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.

18

20

22

24

26

28

30

32

34

9 स्यात्मजोनेकसामत्त(न्त)मकुटतटघटितचरणारविन्दो मेरुमंदरमलयविन्ध्यसमानधैर्य्योश्च(ऽ)हर-

10 हरनिवर्द्धमानवरकरितुरगरथपदातिबलो मनोजवैकचित्रकंठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेनो(णो)पा-

11 र्जितस्वराज्य(ज्यो) विजितचेरचोलपांड्यकमाजि(र्जि)तराज्यत्रयः परममाहेश्वरः श्री-
नागवद्ध(र्द्धं)-

12 नपादानुध्यातः सत्याश्रयश्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकोक्कुलिविक्रमादित्य-

13 राजः तस्यानुजो भ्राता परममाहेश्वरो विजितसकलारातिपक्षो धराश्रयश्रीजयसिंघ(सिंह)-
वर्म्मराजः

14 तस्य सुतः प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रांतदिङ्मण्डलो धवलयशाः सकलोन्मूलितशत्रुपक्षः परममा-

15 हेश्वरः विनयादित्यप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभयुद्धमल्लजयाश्रयश्रीमङ्गलरसराज[:*] सर्व्वानेवा-

16 गामिवर्त्तमाननृपतिसामन्तविषयपतिभोगिकराष्ट्रग्रामकूटदेशिल्लकमहत्तराधिका-

17 रिकार्दों(दीन्) समनुदर्शयत्य(त्य)स्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि[:*] त्रयोदशोत्त-

Second Plate

18 रषट्श(श)तेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य[सं]वत्सरे एकविंशति[त*]-

19 मे वर्त्तमाने कुराटविषयो(या)न्तर्निविष्टभगवता(तो) दीधितिमालिनस्य[1] मान-
पुरवा-

20 य[:*] तस्य पूर्व्वदिग्भागे डिम्बकग्राम[:*] सोद्रङ्गः सपरिकर[:*] पूर्व्वसीमापरिचि(च्छि)-
न्न[:*] तथा-

21 ष्यद्वेलुग्रामा(वे) कुकुटिसिटिम्मिटिवाय(स)क्षयं तथान्यद्वेग्गि(ङ्गि)[2]विषये उरखुकग्राम-

22 बोडलपल्लिक[3] एतद्ग्रामद्वयमभ्यन्तरसिद्धिर[4]चाटभटप्रावेश(श्यं) मानपुरदेवभट्टारकस(पा)-

23 दानां गंधपुष्पधूपदीपसंमीलकबल्यो(ल्यु)पहारार्थं खंडस्फुटितसत्कारार्थं[5]माचंद्रर्का-

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[1] Read दीधितिमालिनो.

[2] [The reading is clearly Vēnti : compare *nṭa* in *sōbhyantara* in the next line.—Ed.]

[3] Read पल्लिके.

[4] Better read सिद्धिकमचाट-.

[5] Read संस्कारार्थं- ; the *anusvāra* is redundant.

24 मंवर्त्तितस्य(स्थि)तिसमकालीनं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवि(वृ)द्धये भूमिछि(च्छि)-
द्रन्यायेनोदकाति-

25 सर्गेण[1] [प्रब]लपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चलं[2] भवाभावानुगतानां दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणाना-

26 कलशय(य्य सा)मान्यभोगभूप्रदानफले[प्सु]भिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय [य*]शश्चि-
चीरहषि[3]भिरयमस्मदा(द्दा)योनु-

27 मन्तव्य[:*] प्रतिपालय(यि)तव्यश्च योवाज्ञानपटलावि(वृ)तमतिराछिन्द्यादाछिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत
स पंच

28 भिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन[।*] षष्टिं
वर्षसहस्रा-

29 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भु(भू)मिद[:*] आछेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शु(शु)ष्ककोट-

30 रवासिनः[।*] कि(कृ)ष्णा[ह*]यो हि जा[य*]ति(न्ते) भूमिदायं हरंति ये[॥*]
स्वदतां(त्तां) परदता(त्तां) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां[।*] कपिला-

31 शतघाती यस्य नः संप्रतिपद्यति[4] [॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा न(न)रेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थ-
यशस्कराणि [।*] निर्माल्यवांतप्रति-

32 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत[॥*] लिखितम(मि)दं शिविरपतिमहासंधि-
विग्रहेविक[5][प]टलाधिक-

33 रणाधिकि(कृ)तनिरवद्यपरमेश्वरभट्टश्रीघदना(गे)न कुमारस्वामिदीक्षितपुत्रेणेति[॥*] शककालसंव-

34 त्सर १०० ६ १० ३ वैशाख शु १०[५] लिख(खि)तमिति।

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[1] Supply दत्तम् to be consistent with धृतवत्योयम्.

[2] This *anusvāra* is redundant. After चञ्चलं should be supplied a synonym of human life like जीवितं to make the sense complete. [The letter *ñcha* in *chañchalaṁ* has a closed top. It looks as if the engraver first wrote *ma* and then tried to make *ñ* of it. However, the expression remains imperfect. The corresponding expression occurs more frequently in the early Kalachuri records. A perfect example may be seen in the Vaḍnēr plates of Buddharāja: *prabala-pavana-prērit-ōdadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalaṁ jīvalōkam=abhāv-ānugatān =asārān=vibhavān=dīrggha-kāla-sthāyinaś=cha guṇān=ākalayya samāna-bhōga-bhā-*, etc. Above, Vol. XII, p. 34, text ll. 23-25.—Ed.]

[3] Read दिव्यचीवृभि-.

[4] The last foot of this verse is corrupt and meaningless. [The intended reading is *kapilā-śata-ghātīyam=ēnaḥ-sa-pratipadyatē*.—Ed.]

[5] Read विग्रहिकाख-.

NO. 4—HARASUR INSCRIPTION OF KING SOMA

(1 Plate)

P. B. Desai, Ootacamund

The epigraph was found on a piece of stone built into the platform in front of the temple of Anantaśayana at Harasūr, a village in the Gulbarga District of the Nizam's Dominions. I visited this place in 1933 when I was a college student and copied the inscription.[1] I am editing it here for the first time from ink-impressions prepared by me.

The inscription is incised in Nandi-Nāgarī **characters** of the 12th century A. D. There are few orthographical peculiarities to be noted. Except in a few instances (*e. g.*, cerebral ṇ) the convention of doubling a consonant combined with *r* is generally not observed. The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole composition is in verse of the ornate classical style. The poetry is not of high order and the writing contains some errors. As a part of the stone bearing the inscription is broken and lost, the record is incomplete. In lines 17-20 a few *aksharas* at either end are damaged and missing. Even in the absence of explicit statement to the effect in the inscription, it is clear that the charter belongs to the southern **Kalachuri** dynasty familiarly known as the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇa.[2] Save two copper plate documents[3] which are in Sanskrit, the epigraphs of this family are generally in Kannaḍa. So this claims to be the first stone record of the house in Sanskrit so far discovered.

The epigraph describes the origin and the genealogy of the Kalachuri family. The genealogy stops with the king Sōma or **Sōmēśvara** who bore the *biruda* **Rāya-Murāri**. Then we are introduced to the king's minister and general Mādhava. In the following passage the poet refers to a temple of Vishṇu[4] constructed by Mādhava and indulges in describing the beauty of its golden pinnacle (verse 14). The lost portion of the epigraph appears to have contained information regarding the provision made for its maintenance by Mādhava.[5]

If the record bore a date, it must have been obviously in the lost portion. However, it is clear from the genealogical context that it was drafted during the regnal period of the Kalachuri king Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva (Sōmēśvara) who is known from other sources to have ruled from A.D. 1167 to 1176.

Damaged and incomplete as the record is, it is highly important in as much as it draws in, directly and indirectly, much new material for the reconstruction of the history of the southern Kalachuris, which is still shrouded in mystery.[6] The statement regarding the origin of the family

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[1] Inscriptions copied at Harasūr have found their place in the Mackenzie Collection preserved in the University of Madras. But this inscription in particular appears to have escaped the notice of the copyists. I am indebted for this information to Mr. M. Venkataramayya.

[2] Not Kalyāṇī as is often mentioned; for the correct name of the place is Kalyāṇa. The above name of the family can not stand full justification. Firstly, the family is not always referred to as Kalachurya, which is supposed to have been derived from Kalachuri. The name Kalachuri is met with in a large number of epigraphs; which shows that both the forms were in use simultaneously. Secondly, Kalyāṇa was not the one and the only capital of these rulers. In fact Kalyāṇa enjoyed this privilege for a brief period during the reign of Bijjala II. Even he had his alternate headquarters at Maṅgaḷavēḍhe (Sangli State, near Pandharpur), which was the original and long-standing capital for many princes of this house. Hence, the Southern Kalachuris or Kalachuris of Karṇāṭaka would, in my opinion, be a better denomination of this family.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 274 and *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (Old Series), Vol. XVIII, p. 269.

[4] The present day Anantaśayana temple, near which the inscription was found, most probably represents the Vishṇu temple.

[5] More details about this Mādhava are known from another inscription at Harasūr, found in the Bhōgēśvara temple. These will be utilised in a later context. Mādhava figures in this epigraph as one of the donors. The date of this epigraph is A.D. 1172. As the present epigraph might have come into existence about the same time, we may place it somewhere about that year.

[6] No systematic attempt to reconstruct the history of the family from the sources discovered during the past half a century has so far been made. The account of the late Dr. Fleet (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II) deserves to be thoroughly revised.

is characteristically significant and not found in other records. It is revealed here for the first time in clear terms that the members of this house claimed their descent from the lunar race.[1] The genealogy narrated in the epigraph is as follows:

But the evidence of other inscriptions of the family shows that this genealogy, though it ushers in a few new names, is not complete.[2] To start with, another inscription from Harasūr itself, found in the Bhōgēśvara temple differs from the above in the following respects: Asaga had a son named Kannama. The record next mentions the latter's son whose name is irretrievably lost. This unknown son of Kannama had two sons, Rāja II and Bijja I. Bijja I was followed by his son Karṇa.[3] Thus it may be seen from this epigraph that between Asaga and Karṇa there intervened

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[1] Fleet's reference to the lunar descent of the family is based on an inscription in the Bhōgēśvara temple at Harasūr. The record is unpublished and I possess full copy of the text in my private collection. The passage in question from the epigraph runs thus:

Line 6 *Neredu sur-āsurar-[illegible]-ap[illegible] nij-[illegible]-paripū-*

Line 7 *rṇ-[illegible] Kamalā-[illegible] Sura-[illegible] Śaśi tadīya-kulābharaṇ[illegible]-ā[illegible] Śaśikara-[illegible]-achi-*

Line 8 *ta-[illegible]-nnu[illegible]* ‖

This may be compared with verses 3 and 4 of the present epigraph. Also see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 236.

[2] Most of the genealogical statements contained in the several genuine records of the family are scrappy and incomplete and one can also detect much divergency in these accounts. This shows that very little was known regarding the origin and the early history of the family which sprang to prominence in the time of Jōgama and his successors. This, therefore, makes it necessary to collate the varying information from different epigraphs and reconstruct an authentic genealogical picture of the family.

[3] Fleet's genealogical account at this stage is based on faulty understanding of the text and hence misleading (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 468). As the record is unpublished and it is necessary to know the original text properly to find out the errors in his interpretation, I reproduce the relevant portion below:

Line 8 *Ant-[illegible]-abhija-[illegible]-Uchitan-āldan-[illegible] [illegible]*

Line 9 *jan-[illegible]-Asagarasan-āldan-[illegible]* ‖ *Tat-tanayan Kannama-nripan-[illegible]-āldan-[illegible]*

Line 10 ......*[illegible] Rāja-Bijjar-[illegible]* ‖ *[illegible]*

Line 11 *[illegible] Bijja-nripālakan-[illegible] Kanta-[illegible]*

[illegible]

Line 12 *[illegible] Karṇa-nripālakam* ‖

From this it may be seen that there are no names like Santama or Santamma and Sagurarasa as made out by Fleet.

three generations and that Rāja II and Bijja I were brothers.

Our record again does not furnish a full picture of the genealogy at this stage. We shall therefore take the help of a record from Harihar,[1] Mysore State, to fill up the missing gaps. In doing so we shall confine ourselves in the first instance to the account of the two brothers Rāja II and Bijja I. Of these, the latter, we are told, was the elder. Rāja II had four sons; Ammugi, Śaṅkhavarma,[2] Kannara and Jōgama. After Bijja I the succession passed on to his brother's sons. Ammugi was thus the next ruler who was followed by his youngest brother Jōgama. According to this inscription Śaṅkhavarma and Kannara probably did not rule. We may observe in this context the identity of Karṇa of the present epigraph with Kannara of the Harihar inscription.

According to the inscription from Hire-Muddanūr,[3] Jōgama married Tārādēvi and had a daughter by her named Sāvaḷadēvi. She was probably older than Permāḍi. She was given in marriage to the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Jōgama's son Permāḍi is mentioned by all the epigraphs.[4]

Permāḍi's son was Bijjala II, who usurped the Western Chālukya throne.[5] Bijjala II had a younger brother named Maiḷugi and he is not mentioned by our record. He is known from three epigraphs in the Mysore State.[6]

Coming to the next generation our record speaks of Sōmēśvara as having ruled after Bijjala II. The former is more familiarly styled Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva. Though he was probably the eldest surviving son,[7] the succession from Bijjala II to Sōmēśvara was neither smooth nor

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 42.

[2] Śaṅkhavarma is the same as Saṅkama of the Māḍgihāḷ inscription (above, Vol. XV, p. 319). Bijjala II's son Saṅkama II is mentioned as Śaṅkhavarma in a later record (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 297).

[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448, n. 3. In this record solar lineage is ascribed to Jōgama. An inscription from Iṅgaḷēśvara, Bijāpur District, opens with an invocation to the Sun god and mentions Kārtavīrya as the first ancestor of the Kalachuris, indicating thereby their solar descent (*B. K.* No. 11 of 1930-31). The two apparently divergent statements regarding the lineage of the southern Kalachuris are but reflections of similar statements found in the records of the northern Kalachuris. Whereas the two branches of the northern Kalachuris, *viz.*, of Tripuri and of Sarayūpāra claim their descent from the lunar race, the third one, the Kalachuris of Ratnapur, substitutes the sun for the moon as their primeval ancestor. (Above, Vol. II, p. 3; Vol. VII; p. 88; Vol. XII, p. 210; Vol. XVIII p. 131; Vol. XIX, pp. 78 and 211, etc.) This disparity can be reconciled by pointing out that Purūravas, the ancestor of Kārtavīrya was an offspring of Budha and Iḷā, who were son and daughter of the Moon and the Sun respectively.

[4] An inscription from Waḷasaṅg, Jath State (*B. K.* No. 128 of 1940-41), incidentally reveals the hitherto unknown relationship of Permāḍi with the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. In this record Chandaladēvi, wife of the king is referred to as the grand-mother (*mummava*) of Bijjala II. This relationship could be explained only on the assumption that a daughter of Vikramāditya VI, evidently by the above-named queen, was given in marriage to Permāḍi and that she was mother of Bijjala II. This was in keeping with the Indian tradition of family alliances. As we know in the case of Jōgama who gave his daughter to Vikramāditya VI, the latter also would have reciprocated a similar turn of matrimonial obligation by bestowing his daughter in marriage to the former's son.

[5] Permāḍi appears to have forestalled his son Bijjala II in defying the authority of his suzerain. An inscription from Tadalbāgi, Jamkhaṇḍi State (*B. K.* No. 66 of 1938-39), is dated in the 12th regnal year of Permāḍi, which corresponds to A.D. 1129 and falls right within the regnal period of Sōmēśvara III. But it is curious to note that it neither mentions the name of the suzerain, nor does it associate the feudatory title Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara with Permāḍi. This was perhaps condoned at the time on consideration of intimacy of relationship that subsisted between Permāḍi and the royal house and the dignified status held by the former in the kingdom. But it was a bad example to set which culminated in a grave catastrophe in the course of the next generation, *viz.*, the overthrow of the Chālukya rule by Bijjala II.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hl. 30, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44.

[7] Bijjala II had a son named Vajradēva by Ēchaladēvi (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477 and above Vol. XV p. 109). I am inclined to take him to be the eldest. He must have died before the nomination of Sōvidēva to the Kalachuri throne.

undisputed. Bijjala II had other sons[1] and daughters[2] regarding whose existence our record is silent. The picture of the disturbed state of affairs that prevailed in the Kalachuri kingdom after the death of Bijjala II is available from other records and it would be worth while to take a glimpse of it here.

According to some inscriptions[3] Bijjala II was succeeded by his younger brother Mailugi, who was followed by the former's grandson, whose name is given as Kandāra[4] in one epigraph and Kalidēva[5] in another. But actually his name appears to be Karṇadēva.[6] After Karṇadēva came his junior uncle Sōvidēva. The Bhōgēśvara temple inscription from Harasūr throws revealing light at this point.[7] While narrating the circumstances of the accession of Sōvidēva, it states that the Kalachuri sovereignty was reduced to a chaotic condition by the evil counsellors such as Kasapaya[8] and others; Karṇa usurped the throne and ruled illegally; but he was eventually killed and the kingdom duly restored into the hands of Sōvidēva.

Piecing together the information furnished by these different sources, the facts appear to be as follows: At the time of his abdication[9] Bijjala nominated Sōvidēva, his eldest surviving son, as his successor. If this be accepted, it should have created resentment and opposition in a section of the royal household and the official ranks of the kingdom. Soon after the death of Bijjala, which itself was brought about by an assassin,[10] rival parties headed by claimants to the throne contended for power. Bijjala's younger brother Mailugi was the first to raise the standard of revolt. But he was removed from the scene. Next came Bijjala's grandson Karṇadēva, who

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[1] Besides Saṅkama, Āhavamalla and Siṅghaṇa, Bijjala had yet another son named Mallugi, Mailugi or Mallikārjuna. He seems to have been junior to Sōvidēva and senior to Saṅkama. He usurped the Kalachuri kingdom and set up his rule for a very brief period at the end of Sōvidēva's reign. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44; *B. K.* Nos. 63 and 96 of 1936-37, No. 81 of 1937-38; etc.)

[2] He had at least two daughters: one Siriyādēvi by Ēchaladēvi was married to the Sinda chief Chāvuṇḍa II (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477); another was the wife of Barmarasa of Bandaṇike. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 242.)

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hl. 50 and Sk. 197 and Vol. XI, Dg. 44.

[4] Kandāra or Kandara can be derived from Kṛishṇa or Karṇa. In the present case it has to be derived from and equated with Karṇa.

[5] Kalidēva appears to be have been his title.

[6] It is beyond doubt that it was Karṇadēva. (*Vide* the citation from the inscription in the Bhōgēśvara temple below.) *Siddharāmacharitra* of Rāghavāṅka mentions one Karṇadēva (IX-2) and the reference is obviously to the same person. But his relationship with Bijjala is wrongly stated therein to be that of brother (*tamma*) instead of grandson (*mommma*).

[7] In view of its great importance I quote below the original passage of the inscription from my private collection:

Kalachuri-nṛipa-kula-rājya-
balamaṁ durmantri-Kasapayyādigaḷ[illegible]
[illegible] nija-dē-
[illegible] Mādhavam peṁrc-[illegible] ||
[illegible] ||
Ākramisi rājya-Lakshmiya-
[illegible] Karṇanaṁ [illegible]
chakramaṁ [illegible]
[illegible] Sōma-nṛipana bhuja-maṇḍaladol || (lines 35-38)

[8] Kasapayya Nāyaka was a minister and wielded much influence in the state during the time of Bijjala II (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 480 and 472; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 102; Vol. XI, Dg. 35 and 42).

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 92; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

appears to have been a son of Bijjala's eldest son,[1] who was now no more. But he was opposed by Sōvidēva's party and in the encounter that ensued Karṇadēva was killed by Sōvidēva's general Mādhava. Eventually Sōvidēva succeeded to his father's kingdom. These events might have taken place in the course of a few months during the latter part of A.D. 1167.[2]

An attempt may now be made to furnish a chronological setting to the above genealogical account. In order to achieve this we have to start from Bijjala II and trace backwards towards his ancestors. The earliest date available for him is from an inscription at Waḷasang,[3] Jath State. The epigraph which is dated in the 5th year of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II (=A.D. 1142) introduces him as the latter's subordinate and mentions his administration over the province of Karahaḍa Four Thousand. Hence we might approximately assign A.D. 1140 for the commencement of his career. Permāḍi must have started his career by A.D. 1118 as an inscription from Tadalbāgi[4] refers to A.D. 1129 as his 12th year. Jōgama was governing the province of Karahaḍa Four Thousand in A.D. 1087-88 as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI according to an epigraph from Kōḷagiri,[5] Jath State. Hence we may reasonably place the initial date of his career by A.D. 1080.

Between Jōgama and Uchita, the earliest ancestor, there intervened five generations. Counting at an average of 25 years per generation we obtain A.D. 955 as the approximate date of Uchita. It may thus be concluded that **Uchita was the founder of the Kalachuri line** and that he laid its foundation[6] by the middle of the 10th century A.D.

But indications are not wanting to surmise that Uchita was not the first and direct immigrant from Central India to the south and that the southern movement of the Kalachuris might have taken place a few generations earlier. The growth of the Gurjara Pratihāra power in the north and its impact on Central India, the homeland of the Kalachuris in the 9th century A.D.[7], seem to have brought about the disruption of the latter. It was under the force of such circumstances that some dispossessed members of the Kalachuri house seem to have migrated to the south and settled at Maṅgaḷivē(vā)ḍa.[8] It is possible to gather from the Māḍgihāḷ record that some generations might have passed in obscurity with the early settlers in the Deccan before the family rose to some distinction.[9]

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[1] As suggested previously Vajradēva might have been the eldest son of Bijjala II, who predeceased his father.

[2] As shown by Fleet, Bijjala abdicated after 19th July 1167 A.D. (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477.) The records of Sōvidēva show that his reign commenced in the same year. The commotion created by the rival claimants must have followed in the immediate wake of his accession and he might have succeeded in putting down the disturbances before the end of the year. So we have to fit in the statements regarding the rule of Maiḷugi and Karṇadēva within the brief period of a few months that intervened between the abdication of Bijjala and the final accession of Sōvidēva. There is nothing improbable about this.

[3] *B. K.* No. 128 of 1940-41.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 66 of 1938-39.

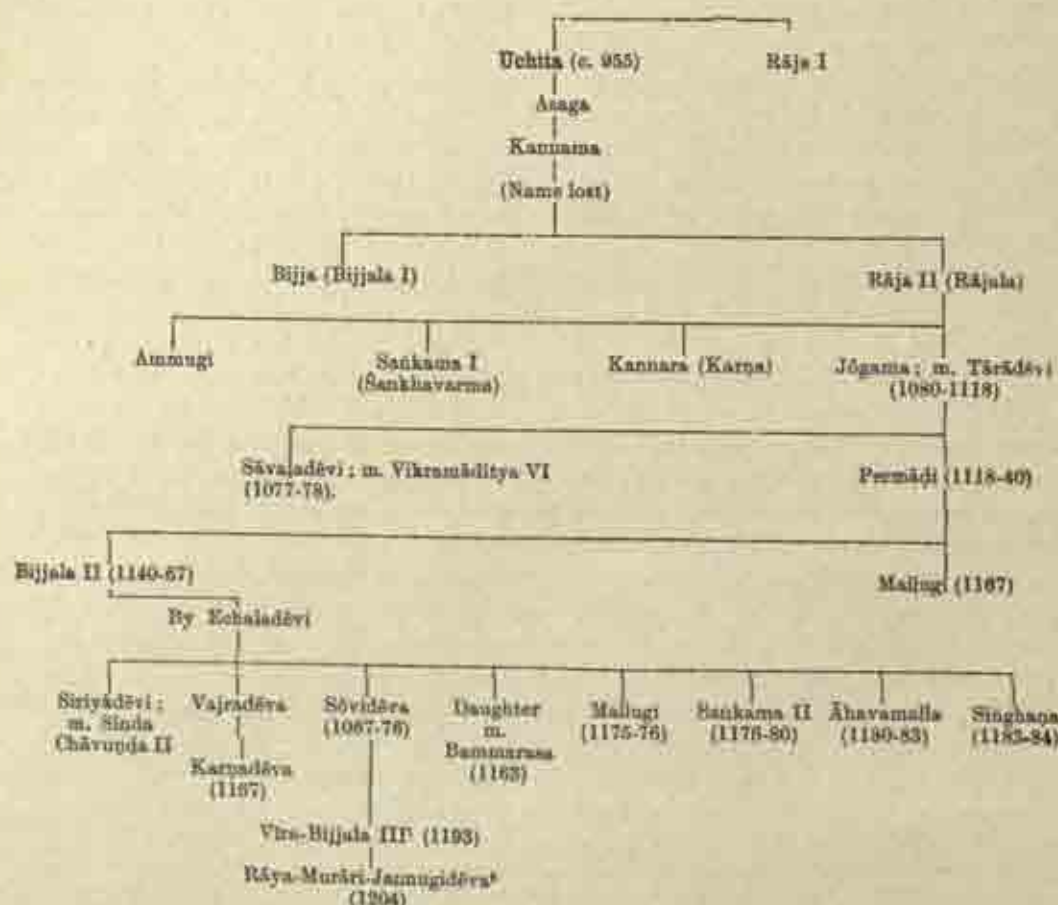
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 103 of 1940-41.

[6] The name of Uchita as the founder of the southern Kalachuri line is known for the first time from the present record and also from the inscription in the Bhōgēśvara temple, Harasūr. (See n. 3 above, p. 24, line 6 of the quoted text.)

[7] Kālañjara-maṇḍala, the ancestral seat of the Kalachuris of Central India was under the sway of the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler Bhōjadēva in A.D. 836 (above, Vol. XIX, p. 18).

[8] Maṅgaḷivēḍa or the modern Maṅgaḷavēḍhe (near Pandharpur) was the early seat of the Kalachuris migrating to the south. It was the chief town of the Tarikāḍu nāḍu (tract). (Above, Vol. XV, p. 315.) This area became the ancestral home for the later members of the family, who are at times introduced in association with these local terms. For instance, Jōgama is spoken of as Tarikāḍa *Jōgamarasa* and the Maṇḍalēśvara of Maṅgaḷavāḍa. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 42 and *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448.) His son Permāḍi is spoken of as Tarikāḍa Permāḍidēva in *B. K.* No. 96 of 1936-37. Maṅgaḷavēḍhe never ceased to be the headquarters of the Kalachuris even during the hey-day of their power in spite of their occasional preference for other centres.

[9] Above, Vol. XV, p. 319.

In the light of the foregoing discussion the revised and consolidated genealogy of the family will tentatively be as follows :

Regarding Mādhava, the minister and general of the Kalachuri king Sōma, not many details are known from the present record. The Bhōgēśvara temple inscription mentioned above, however, furnishes an authentic account of his achievements which, as described before, shows that he played a distinguished role in the troublous days following the death of Bijjala. He sponsored the cause of Sōvidēva and successfully crushed the machinations of his rivals. It was through his valour combined with diplomacy that Sōvidēva was restored to his father's throne. This entitled Mādhava to the well-deserved praise, *Kaḷachuri-bhūpāla-vipula-rājyōddharaṇa* (upholder of the mighty rule of the Kalachuri king), which is bestowed upon him in that epigraph.

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[1] This son of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva is known from an inscription at Samkh, Jath State (*B. K.* No. 103 of 1940-41). The ruler of Maṅgalavēshṭaka whom Bhillama is described as having vanquished (*jaghnivān*) could be this same person. The name Billaṇa in the passage narrating the exploits of Bhillama by Hēmādri, *yō vā Maṅgalavēshṭak-ākhya-kshitipatiṁ śrī-Billaṇaṁ jaghnivān* (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 271), appears to be a mistaken reading for Bijjaṇa. Or, if we accept the other reading *Vajriṇam*, it may be taken as a Sanskritised from of *Bijjaṇam*.

[2] *B. K.* No. 44 of 1936-37. It is suggested tentatively that Rāya-Murāri Jannugidēva of this record might have been son of Vīra-Bijjala III and grandson of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva.

HARASUR INSCRIPTION OF KING SOMA

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO
Reg. No. 3977 E'36—545'30

SCALE: THREE-TENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

TEXT[1]

1 [Śrī] [|*] [2]Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=Vārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇavam | dakshiṇ-ōnnata daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrāṁta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ || [1*] Jayati kshīra-vārāśiḥ Śrī-vivāh ākshatair=iva | bindu[bhi]-

2 r=Maṁdar-ōdbhūtair=yō Mukuṁdam=avākirat || [2*] Tataḥ samudyayāv=iṁdur=baṁdhuḥ Śṛiṁgāra-janmanaḥ | jagaj-jana-drig-ānaṁda-suhṛit=sarva-kalā-nidhiḥ || [3*] Tad-vaṁśa-saṁbhavō

3 bhūbhṛid=Uchitas=tasya ch=ānujō (jaḥ) | mahān=Rājō mahā-viryō tau(Sau)bhadra-kula-bhū-shaṇō (ṇaḥ) || [4*][3] Tad-vaṁśē=saga-bhūpatiḥ samabhavat=prōddāma-dōr-vikrama[s=ta]d-vaṁś-ā-

4 rṇṇava-madhyataḥ samudagāch=chhrīrāja-Rāj-āhvayaḥ | Bijja-kshōṇipatis=tataś=cha nṛipati-bhrājishṇu-mauli-sphuran-māṇiky-āṁśu-gaṇ-āruṇ-āṁghri-yuga-

5 laḥ prauḍha-pratāp-ōdayaḥ || [5*] Vaṁśē tasya babhūva Karṇṇa-nṛipatiḥ Śūr-āṁkuś-ēty-ādibhir=nnām-aughaiḥ prathitaḥ kshitau prati-nṛipaty-aṁbhōdhi-Kuṁbh-ōdbhavaḥ | tasmā-

6 d=apy=atula-pratāpa-visa(śa)daḥ śrī-Jōgama-kshmāpatir=yēn=āsīt=parirakshatā kshitim=imāṁ rājanvad=uchchair=jagam(t) || [6*] Tasmād=bhūri-nṛipāla-bhāla-tilakaḥ samyak=prajā-pālaka[ḥ]

7 Śrī-kāṁtā-vadan-ālakaḥ samabhavat=Permāḍi-bhūpālakaḥ | yō datvā nija-khaḍga-pātam=arayē vikrīya labdhair=yas(ś)aḥ-pīyūshaiḥ samapūrayat=pṛithutara-v(b)rahm-āṁ-

8 ḍa-bhāṁḍ-ōdaram || [7*] Ta[t-sū]nur=Giridurgamalla-Subhaṭāditysy-ādi-nāmāvalī-khyātaḥ Śakra-parākramaḥ samudagāch=chhrī-Bijjaṇa-kshmāpatiḥ | yaś=Chālukya-kulād=balī bhuja-

9 balād=āchchhidya rājya-śriyaṁ bhējē Kuṁtala-chakravarti-padavim=ēkātapatr-ōjvalāṁ(m) || [8*] Mādya[d*]-daṁti-kaṭa-sthala-pravigalad-dān-āṁv(b)ubhiḥ paṁkilā mārgā durgama-

10 tāṁ yayuś=cha parita[ḥ*] srōtāṁsi ch=ōhur=javāt | prāvṛiṭ-kāla iva prayāṇa-samayē yasya praṇashṭa-dvisha[ḥ*] śrīmad-Bijja-nṛipasya tasya vibhavaḥ sō=yaṁ kathaṁ kathya-

11 tē || [9*] Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramaḥ kṛitamatiḥ satya-pratijñō vaśī śrīmān=Rāya-Murārir=ity=abhinutaḥ śrī-Sōma-pṛithvīśvaraḥ | yasy=ābhyāgama-saṁbhramē haya-khura-kshu-

12 ṇṇa-kshamā-maṁḍala-prōdya[t*]-sāṁdra-parāga-nashṭa-nayanō n=ēshṭē ripuś=chēshṭituṁ(m) || [10*] Darpishṭh-Āṁdhra-mahīdhra-saṁtati-paviḥ prōttuṁga-Vaṁg-āṁbudhēr=aurvō garvita-Chōla-v(b)ā-

13 la-kadalī-kāṁḍa-prachaṁḍa-dvipaḥ | garjad-Gūrjara-mēgha-chaṁḍa-pavanaḥ Karṇṇā-ṭa-Karṇṇ-Ārjunō Nēpāla-kshitipāla-dāru-dahanaḥ śrī-Sōma-bhūpālakaḥ || [11*] Kēchi-

14 t-kānanam=āśu yaṁti gahanaṁ kēchid=dhuva[ṁ*]ty=aṁgulīḥ kēchit=kōśam=upārpayaṁti chakitāḥ kēchit=palāyaṁti cha | kēchit=svīyam=urō=ṅkayaṁti balinaḥ kē-

15 chit=pramuhyaṁti tē kēchid=bhūpatayaḥ prayāṁti vilayaṁ yasmin=prayāṇ-ōdyatē || [12*] Tasy=ābhūt=parirakshataḥ kshitim=imāṁ maṁtrī kṛitī dhārmikaḥ | śrīman=Mā-

16 dhava-daṁḍanātha-tilakō Vāsishṭha-vaṁś-ōdbhavaḥ | Sāvitrī jananī tu yasya viditā yā Vēda-māt=ēva sā tāta[ś=cha] prathitō=va(tra) viśva-bhuvanē śrī-Māyidēv-ā[hva]yaḥ || [13*]— — —

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[1] From the impressions prepared by me. The illustration which accompanies this article is from an estampage of the inscription kindly sent by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, to whom my thanks are due.

[2] This and the next three verses are in the *Anushṭubh* metre.

[3] This and the following verses are in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

17 ⏑ ⏑ Mādhavēna rachitē Lakshmīpatēr=mamdirē sauvarṇṇam kalaśam tataḥ suragirir=yam vīkshya chimtām=agāt | nūtnō dakshiṇa-Mērur=ēsha samabhūn=mattō=pi śōbh-ānvitaḥ prāyaḥ

18 – ⏑ ⏑ — śrayēyur=amarās=tyakshyaṁti tē mām=iti || [14*] Kiṁ brūmō vayam=asya śauryam=atulaṁ yasy=ōgra-yuddh-āmgaṇē mastishk-ōlbaṇa-paṁka-saṁkaṭa-taṭā – – ⏑ – – ⏑

19 — kō=pi piśācha-raṁka-nikarō n=ādy=āpi – – ⏑ tē sphiṭ-āsṛik-paripūrit-ōdara-bhar$_a$ krāṁtō vinishkrāmati || [15*] Sō=yaṁ yasya samasta śatru ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑

20 — — ⏑ — ⏑ sa-dhvaṁsi-yaśaḥ-samasta-bhuvana-dhvāṁt-aika-sarv-ōdayaḥ | saumdaryaṁ sudatī-vilōla nayanā – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ –

21-24 damaged.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

V. 1. Praise of the Boar Incarnation of Vishṇu.

V. 2. Victorious is the Milk Ocean who sprayed Mukunda with drops of water emanating from (*the mountain*) Mandara, auspicious grains of rice, as it were, showered at the time of marriag of (*his daughter*) Śrī.

V. 3. From him (Milk Ocean) arose the moon, the joy of the world.

V. 4. In his (lunar) race was born Uchita. He had a brother named Rāja.

V. 5. In his family came forth Asaga, aggressive with his mighty arms. Next in descent was Rāja. After him rose to power king Bijja, whose feet were touched by the crests of rulers of the earth.

V. 6. In his house appeared Karṇa who was renowned by the titles, such as *Śūrāṁkuśa* (Goad to the Brave), *etc.*, the veritable Agastya to the ocean of hostile kings. He was succeeded by Jōgama who was unsurpassed in valour.

V. 7. He was followed by Permāḍi, an ornament of the circle of kings.

V. 8. After him rose to eminence his son Bijjaṇa who was distinguished by the titles, *Giridurgamalla* (Champion of the Hill-fort), *Subhaṭāditya* (Sun among the chosen warriors) and others. He, the mighty one, wrested by force the sovereignty from the race of the Chālukyas and secured the paramount position of the lord of Kuntala, adorned with a single parasol.

V. 9. Who can describe his triumphant expeditions that put his enemies to flight ?

V. 10. His successor is king Sōma of extraordinary prowess. He is praised as Rāya-Murāri (veritable Murāri among the kings). The enemy is motionless before him.

V. 11. King Sōma, the veritable Arjuna to Karṇa, the Karṇāṭa, is the thunderbolt to the mountain, the Āndhra ; submarine fire to the ocean, the Vaṅga ; elephant to the tender plantain, the Chōla ; whirlwind to the rumbling cloud, the Gūrjara ; fire to the wood, the Nēpala king.

V. 12. When he prepares for an expedition, his enemies are struck with terror and run away helter skelter to save their lives.

V. 13. He has a minister in Mādhava-daṇḍanātha. Born of parents, Māyidēva and Sāvitrī, he is a descendant of the sage Vasishṭha.

Ll. 17-20. A temple of Vishṇu was constructed by him. Seeing its golden pinnacle, the divine mountain (Mēru) felt anxious that the gods would forsake him and resort to this, the more distinguished new Mēru of the South.

The heroism displayed by this (*general Mādhava*) on the fields of battle is beyond description.

No. 5.—ALAND INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJA MALLIKARJUNA

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. Desai, Ootacamund

This inscription was copied by me in the summer vacation of 1933, when I was a student in the Karnatak College, Dharwar. The stone slab bearing the epigraph was built in a wall of the *dargah* of Lāḍle Mashāk Sāheb at **Aḷand**, a fairly big village in the Pāyagāh Jāgirs of the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State. The record was published in the *Karnāṭak Historical Review*, Vol. IV (1937), pp. 61-71. But in view of certain imperfections of the publication and the importance of the epigraph mainly for the study of the family history of the eminent Western Chāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya VI, I propse to re-edit it here.

In the process of trimming the slab to fit it into the construction, damage has been caused to the writing in some places. Consequently, a few letters at the commencement of almost all the lines are lost. The rest of the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. The **characters** are Kannaḍa of the 11th century A. D. and generally conform to the style of the age. The length of the medial *i* is invariably clearly distinguished by a spiral to the left of the curve at the top. Regarding **orthography** there are no special features worth mentioning except for those common to the period. The *upadhmānīya* is used in ll. 38, 41 and 42. The **language** is Kannaḍa and the composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. The imprecation towards the end is, as usual, made up of Sanskrit verses.

The record refers itself to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalladēva** or Vikramāditya VI and is dated the **Chāḷukya-Vikrama year 7, Dundubhi, Pushya, śu. 5, Sunday, [Uttarā]yaṇa-saṁkrānti.** The date is irregular. In the cyclic year Dundubhi, Uttarāyaṇa commenced on Pushya śu. 3, Sunday. Its Christian equivalent would be **A. D. 1082, December 25.**

The **object** of the epigraph is to record the gift of income derived from tolls and levies such as *perjuṅka*, *bilkoḍe*, *etc.*, in the district of Alande Thousand for the daily worship and offerings to the god Sōmēśvara of Alande by the king[1] at the request of the queen Chandaladēvi. The gift was entrusted to the hands of the teacher Surēśvara Paṇḍita[2] who was in charge of the temple. Further donations to the god were also made by Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna and others.

Yuvarāja **Mallikārjuna** was a son of Vikramāditya VI. Kumāra Sōmēśvara was another son who also figures as the donor in the inscription (ll. 55-56). Mallikārjuna is addressed as *Yuvarāja-Vallabha* and described as the crest-jewel among the princes (*Kumāra-śikhāmaṇi*). He was brave and valorous in war. Impressed by his ability, the king installed him as his heir apparent. He was the seniormost among the princes.[3] Under instructions from the king he was governing the district of Alande Thousand.

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[1] It is clear from the context that the expression *Ballavarasar* occurring in lines 36 and 51 refers to the reigning king. The word *Ballava* which is a general term, is evidently derived from the specific title *Vallabha* borne by the Western Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ. It is met with in its above-noted derivative form in some records of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa also, who followed the ancient tradition. See for instance, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 104, l. 28; No. 110, l. 11; No. 121, l. 12; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 127, l. 11. Also see the *Ajitatīrthakarapurāṇatilakam* (āśvāsa i, verse 45) of the Kannaḍa poet Ranna, wherein *Ballaha*, the variant form of the same title, is used to denote the reigning king who was Taila II.

[2] This teacher is identical with his namesake who figures in an inscription from the Bellary District, as the administrator of a small tract, 17 years later, *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 165.

[3] *B. K.* No. 1 of 1937-38.

Mallikārjuna figures in a fairly large number of inscriptions[1] almost from the commencement of his father's reign and it would be useful to summarise the main facts gathered about him from these records. He is consistently spoken of as *Yuvarāja*[2] and the epithet *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is never applied to him as in the case of the other sons of the king. This testifies to the unique and exalted position held by this prince among the princes of the royal household. He is specified as the son of the crowned queen (*Paṭṭamahādēvi*) who was most probably Lakshmādēvi.[3] He had a daughter named Mahādēvī. Besides the territory under his administration noted above, he was administering the tract of Tardavāḍi Thousand in A. D. 1095, 1109, 1112 and 1115 and the province of Karahaḍa Four Thousand in A. D. 1116. The last date so far known for him is A. D. 1123.

Before reverting to Sōmēśvara alluded to above, we have to take note of another son of Vikramāditya VI, named **Jayakarṇa**. He seems to have stood next in seniority to Mallikārjuna. Chandaladēvi was his mother.[4] He figures in five records[5] ranging in date from A. D. 1102 to 1122. From the provenance of these epigraphs it may be gathered that he was connected with the administration of the area now comprising portions of the Gulbarga, Bijapur and Belgaum Districts.

We now come to **Sōmēśvara** who appears to have been junior to Jayakarṇa. Born of Chandaladēvi,[6] he was the co-uterine brother of the latter prince. He is mentioned in later records ranging until the last year of his father's reign.[7] He bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permāḍi,[8] which he must have inherited from his father.[9] As the epigraphs containing information about him come from the Warangal, Karimnagar and Nalgunda Districts of the Hyderabad State and are of A. D. 1106-7 and 1124-25, it may be surmised that he was connected with the administrative machinery of those areas in these years.

The fourth and the last known son of Vikramāditya VI was **Taila** or **Tailapa**. He seems to have been the juniormost of the lot. From the epithet *Chandaladēvi-nayana-sarasija-sūrya* (delight to the lotus eyes of Chandaladēvi) applied to him in some inscriptions, it follows that he

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[1] I have listed 12 records referring to this prince which range in date from A. D. 1079 to 1123. They are as follows: above, Vol. XV, p. 29; *B. K.* Nos. 99 of 1929-30, 3 of 1930-31, 183 of 1933-34, 1 of 1937-38, 120 of 1940-41, No. 13 of 40-41 of the Kannada Research Office, Dharwar; Bandaravāḍi inscription (*Mackenzie Collection*); one inscription each at Aland and Ruddavāḍi and two inscriptions at Māsyāḷ (my private collection). Most of these are unpublished. In *B. K.* No. 90 of 1929-30, dated in A. D. 1095, Mallikārjuna is given the title, *Māḷava-bala-balāhaka-samīraṇa* (whirlwind to the clouds, the forces of Māḷava). This shows that he had distinguished himself in one or more campaigns against Māḷava. *B. K.* No. 3 of 1930-31, dated in A. D. 1112, mentions two more titles of this prince, *viz.*, *Padmanāla-giri-vajra-daṇḍam* and *Vimḷarāya-kuvara-java-da-[illegible]am*. As Padmanāḷagiri which is identical with modern Panhāḷā, was under the sway of the Śilāhāra princes, these titles seem to contain a reference to an expedition conducted by Mallikārjuna against the rulers of that house (*vide Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 549).

[2] It is interesting to note that Jayasiṁha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, is also styled *Yuvarāja* in a good many inscriptions ranging from A. D. 1077 to 1082; *vide B. K.* Nos. 237 of 1928-29, 128 of 1926-27 and *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 449.

[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 448.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 449.

[5] Kāḷagi record (*ibid.*, p. 455); Bandarvāḍi inscription (*Mackenzie Collection*); *B. K.* Nos. 93 and 94 of 1936-37; Konnūr inscription (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 287). I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkataramayya for the references to the *Mackenzie Collection*.

[6] This piece of information is furnished by an inscription from Tengali, Gulbarga District, dated Śaka 1084 (=A. D. 1163) in the reign of Taila III (my private collection).

[7] *Telangana Inscriptions*, Western Chālukya records: Nos. 13, 35 and 36.

[8] The last two of the above-noted inscriptions associate his name with this title.

[9] Vikramāditya VI bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permāḍi on account of his relationship with the Gaṅga family through his mother who was a princess of that house (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pt. i, Nos. 95 and 118; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 140).

was born of her.[1] He figures in ten records[2] of his father's reign, which range in date from the 38th to the 46th year (A. D. 1113 to 1122). For most of this period he appears to have been holding a responsible office in the southern part of the kingdom. Inscriptions from the Anantapur District show that he was in charge of the tract Sindavādi Thousand with his headquarters at Tumbuḷa.[3] About A. D. 1122 his sphere of activity shifted to the north and we find him functioning in the area of the modern Nalgonda and Mahboobnagar Districts of the Hyderabad State. His headquarters was now at Kōḍūru. His wife Lakshmīdēvī and son Permāḍi also figure with him in these northern epigraphs.[4]

It may be seen from the above discussion and from the subsequent history of the Western Chāḷukya house that neither Mallikārjuna nor Jayakarṇa survived their father to assume the reins of the kingdom. Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by Sōmēśvara III. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that both of them must have predeceased their father at the close of his long reign somewhere between the years A. D. 1122-23 and 1126. But Taila survived and he figures in an inscription[5] dated in the 7th year of his brother Sōmēśvara's reign (=A. D. 1132). Being the brother of the reigning king and seniormost member of the royal family, his status must have improved by this time, for we find him addressed as *Yuvarāja* in that epigraph.

The present epigraph contains the following **place-names**. Alande, mentioned in a number of contexts and also referred to as Alandāpura, is the present-day Aḷand,[6] the provenance of the record. It was evidently the headquarters of the territorial division Alande-Sāsira, which must have taken the name after it. This position is further confirmed by the specific statement, in l. 35, that it was the first and foremost village (*modala bāḍa*) in Alande-Sāsira. Alande-Sāsira or Alande One-Thousand comprised a political and geographical unit made up of one thousand villages. It represented roughly parts of the modern Gulbarga District and the adjoining area.[7]

TEXT[8]

1 ❖ [9]Śrīmat-kaiḷāsa(sa)din=akhiḷ-āmara-maṇi-makuṭa-ghaṭita-charaṇ-āṁ-

2 bhōjaṁ Sōmēśvaran=avatarisidan=ī-mahitaḷa-tiḷakam=enip=Alandāpura-

3 doḷ || [1||*] Śrīmad-Alande pavitraṁ Sōmēśvara-dēvarind=Alandāpuradind=ī-mahi

4 pavitram=enituṁ tānu pavitraṁ Surēśvara-bratiyiṁdaṁ || [2||*] Jñānamayan=a

5 mṛita-vākyan=anūna-guṇ-ābharaṇan=enipa Lōkābharaṇaṁg=ī-nandanan=ānandana-

6 n=ēn=odavisidano Surēśvaraṁ muni-tiḷakaṁ || [3||*] Śrīmat-Surēśvara-brati

7 Sōmēśvara-charaṇa-yugaḷa-sarasija-bhṛiṅgaṁ kōmaḷa-vachō-viḷāsaṁ sāmā-

8 [nya]m=e Chakravartti-vinuta-pad-ābjaṁ || [4||*] Kṛita-yugam=ādudu Kaliyugam=a

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[1] The suggestion thrown out on p. 89 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921-22 regarding the identity of Jayakarṇa with Tailapa, is untenable. *Firstly*, the two are names of two distinct individuals; and secondly, epigraphical evidence is clear enough to show that they were functioning in two different and distant parts of the kingdom at a particular period of time.

[2] *Mad. Epi. coll.*, Nos. 352 and 358 of 1920; *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 190, 202, 221 and 288; *Telangana Inscriptions*, Western Chāḷukya records; Nos. 33, 34 and 37; Akkalkōṭ inscription of Śilāhāra Indarasa, above, Vol. XXVII, p. 71.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 190, 202 and 221.

[4] *Telangana Inscriptions*, Western Chāḷukya records; Nos. 33 and 34.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 226.

[6] It is situated at a distance of 27 miles north-west of Gulbarga. The place is referred to as Aladi by the ordinary folk. Also see above, Vol. V, p. 243.

[7] I am indebted to Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, Esq., the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, for having furnished excellent estampages of the inscription for reproduction in this article.

[8] *In situ* and from ink-impressions prepared by myself and those sent by the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan.

[9] This and the next four verses are in the *Kanda* metre.

9 [ti]dhārmmikam=āytu **Vikramāditya**-nṛipaṁ pratipāḷipa-rāshṭraṁ muni-patiy=ājñeyo[=ṁ

10 Surēśvaraṁ kōvaḷam=ē || [5||*] [1]Ari-bhūpāḷa-ti(ki)riṭa-tāṭita-padaṁ sapt-ābdhi-san-mudrit-ō-

11 rvvareg=orvvaṁ pati saṁda vaṁśi-budha-bṛiṁdakk=eṁduv=oṁd-aṁdadiṁ pirid=ivaṁ dig-ibh-āḷi-daṁta-khachitā

12 [ta]t-kirttiy=oṁd-akkaḷ(r)iṁ dharey=ellaṁ sale baṇṇisalke negaḷdaṁ śrī-Vikram-ōrvvīś-varaṁ || [6||*]

13 [2][Śrī-]Vikramārkka-nṛipatig=iḷā-vinutaṁ **Mallikārjjunaṁ** janiyisidaṁ bhū-vallabhaṁ

14 [3]. . . guṇ-āvāsaṁ Makara-kētanaṁ puṭṭuvavōl || [7||*] [4]Pusi-gaṇḍiṁd=idir-āntaraṁ tavisi

15 — — — ⏑ sad-bhaktiyiṁ besan-ēṁ niṁ śaraṇ=eṁdu baṁda ripu-bhūpāḷarkkaḷaṁ kādu kā-

16 [yisē] koṁd=ā-nṛipa-Vikramāṁkana bhuja-staṁbhaṁ-bol=oppuḷdapaṁ vasudhā-maṇḍana Ma-

17 [llikā]rjjuna-kumāraṁ Vīra-Nārāyaṇaṁ || [8||*] [5]Ātan=avāryya-śauryyaman=iḷā-prabhu Vikrama-

18 [chakra]varti kaṁḍ=itane yauvarājya-pada-paṭṭada permmege nōntan=endu sat=prītiyin=ā-mahī-

19 [prabhu] kumāra-śikhāmaṇi-Mallikārjjunaṁg=ātata-kīrtti kaṭṭisidan=utsavadiṁ yuvarāja-

20 [paṭṭa]maṁ || [9||*] [6]Manuvaṁś-ōttaman=aty-udātta-mahimaṁ dēva-dvijanm-ōtkar-ārchchanadiṁdaṁ sale soṁ[pu]-

21 [vetta] vibhavaṁ Chāḷukya-chakrēśa-chāru-niyōg-āspadan=ā-nṛipāgra-mahiśi(shī)-gēhakke

22 — —pradhānan=enalu bhū-nuta Kāḷidāsan=esedaṁ daṇḍādhip-āgrēsaraṁ || [10||*] [7]Ene negaḷda Kāḷi[dāsa]-

23 [na ta]nayaṁ Nāchaṇan=aśēsha-dhātrī-vinutaṁ Manu-mārggan=akhiḷa-vidvajjana-bṛiṁda-chakōra-sā-[8]

24 . . . dita-chaṁdraṁ || [11||*] [9]Manu-mārggaṁ charitakke pāsaṭi samaṁ vārāśi(si) gāṁbhiryyadiṁ damu[j-ā]ri-

25 [Tri]daś-śivaraṁ vibhavadiṁd=irpp[a]ṁ samānan=dal=ā-dina-nāth-ātmajan=endu taṁnane jagaṁ saṁprītiyiṁ baṇṇi-

26 [sit=e]netānuṁ teṛadiṁ jasakke neley=ādaṁ Nāchi-daṇḍādhipaṁ || [12||*] [10]Dharey=ellaṁ sale pogaḷalu para-hi-

27 . . . .rūḍiyaṁ perchchisi Nācharasan=iḷā-vinutaṁ tāṁ Parārttha-Vidyādhar-ēṁdra-pesaraṁ

28 [pa]ḍedaṁ || [13||*] Ā-Nāchi-daṇḍanāthan=anūnaguṇaṁ Chakravartti dayeyiṁ besasalu tān=ē-yu[m=ā]-

29 [maha]-nṛipatige mānasan=ene nikhiḷa-maṁtri-padamaṁ taḷeda || [14||*] Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśra-

30 [ya] Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabhaṁ Mahārājādhirājaṁ Paramēśvaraṁ Paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśra-

31 [ya]-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ śrīma[t*-]**Tribhuvanamalla-dēvara** vijaya-rājya-

32 [m=utta]r-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=āchaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ-baraṁ saluttaṁ Kalyā-

33 [ṇapu]rada nelevīḍinoḷ=sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ geyyuttam=ire [|*] Śrīmach-**Chā-**

34 **[ḷukya]-Vikrama-varshada 7 neya Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha 5 Ādivārada**

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[1] Metre: *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*.

[2] Metre: *Kanda*.

[3] The three *aksharas* lost here might be *samasta*.

[4] Metre: *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*.

[5] Metre: *Utpalamālā*.

[6] Metre: *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*.

[7] Metre: *Kanda*.

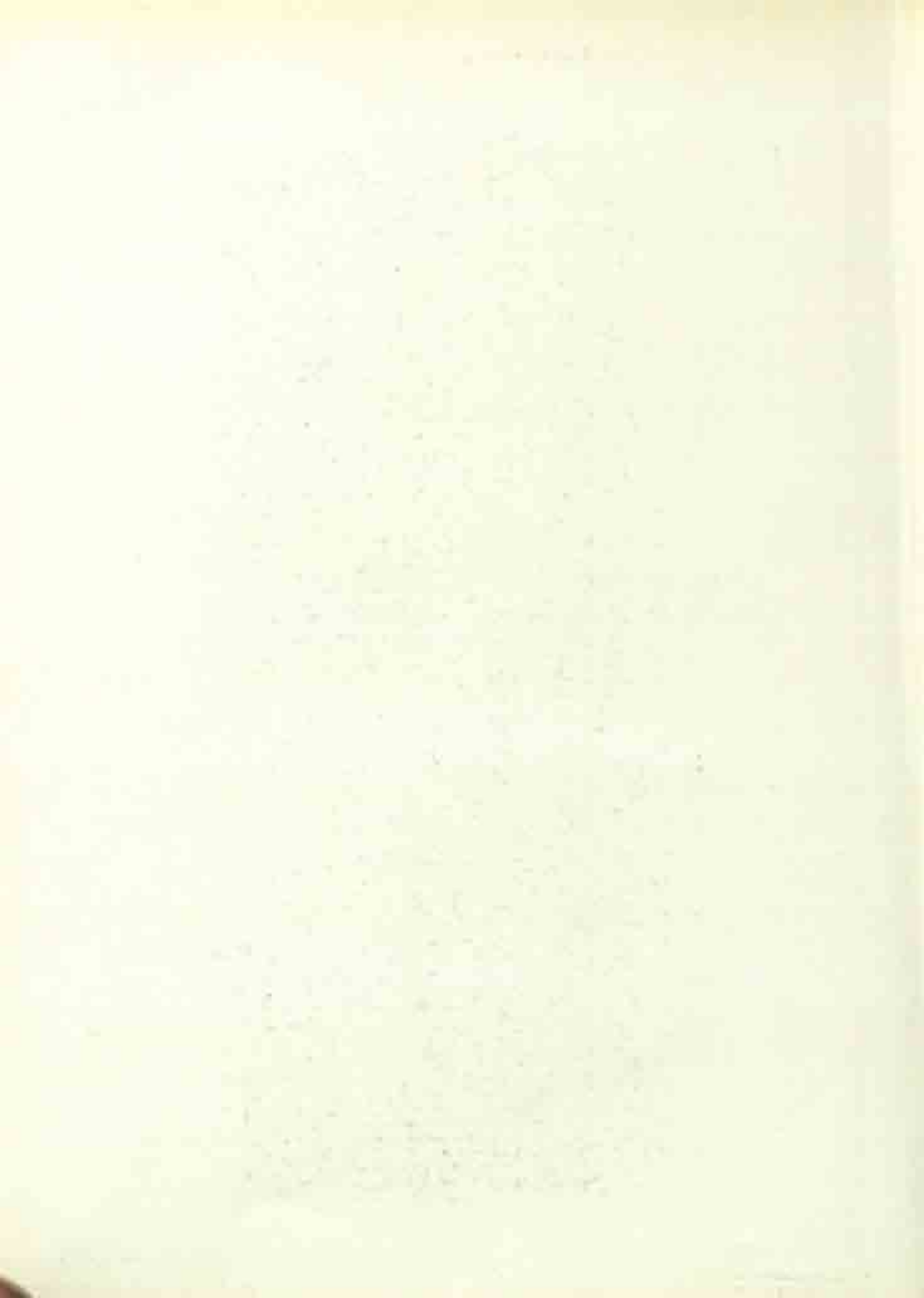
[8] Three *mātrās* are lost after this.

[9] Metre: *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*.

[10] This and the following verses are in the *Kanda* metre.

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO
REG. No. 3977 E'36-495'50

SCALE: ONE-SIXTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

35 [**Uttarā]yaṇa-saṁkrānti**-parvva-nimittadiṁd=Alaṁde-sāsirada modala bāḍav=Alaṁ(dā)-
purada

36 [Svayaṁ]bhu-Sōmēśvara-dēvar=aṁgabhōgakke śrī-Ballavarasar || Svasty=anavarata-
parama-kaly[ā]-

37 [ṇ-ābhyu]daya-sahasra-phaḷa-bhōga-bhāgini vāṭa[kke] mada-dvirada-gāmini Rāya-jagadaḷa-
ma[nōja]-

38 [rati] machcharipa savati-mada-bhaṁjane Rāya-bhaṁgāra-dēva-manaṛ-payōnidhi-pravard-
dhamā[na]-

39 [chaṁdra-]vadane saubhāgya-sadane Rāya-jaḷappa-Kaḷp-āvanīja-samāliṁda(gita)-jaṁgama-
late śara-

40 [ṇāgata]-samuddharaṇa-pariṇate dushṭa-darppishṭa(ṭha)-savati-śirō-vajra-mushṭiy=anavarata-
[su]-

41 [varṇṇa-]vṛishṭi samast-āntaṛpura-jagadaḷa-pavitrīkṛita-viśuddha-kuḷe Rāya-Nārāyaṇa-hṛi-

42 [day-ā]naṁda-pradāyaki Gaurī-pad-āṁbuj-ārādhaki saubhāgya-garvva-durvvinīt-āṁtaṛpura-
kā-

43 [nt-ōpa]hāsini śrīma[t-*]Tribhuvanamalla-dēva-viśāḷa-vakshasthaḷa-nivāsiniyar=appa śrī-

44 [Nṛi]tya-vidyādhari Chaṁdaladēviyara biṁnapadiṁd=alliya-āchāryyar || Svasti [|*] Yama-
niyama-s(s)vā-

45 [dhyā]ya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-mauna-ānushṭhāṇa-japa-samādhi-śīḷa-saṁpannaṁ vibudha-jana-man-
ōbhivāñchchhi-

46 [ta-]samutpannaṁ dīn-ānātha-jaṭhara-dāva-pāvaka-nivāraṇaṁ durita-gaja-mada-nivāraṇaṁ

47 [sa]maya-saṁrakshaṇ-aika-daksha=anavarata-subhikshaṁ paṇḍita-chūḍā-maṇi śishṭa-jana-
chiṁtā-

48 [maṇi] śrī-Vādidēva-Paṇḍitadēva-pād-ārādhanā-labdha-vara-prasādaṁ parōpakāra-vinōdaṁ
nity[ā]-

49 ...vaḷi-virājamānar=appa śrīmat-Surēśvara-paṇḍita-dēvargge dhārā-pūrvvakam=āgi

50 [Alaṁde]-sāsiradoḷaṁ sāsira pēruv=ettiṁge perjjuṁka biḷkoḍe vaḍḍarāvuḷav=oḷagāgi suṁkav-
ellaṁ

51 [pa]rihāraṁ māḍi biṭṭaṁ [|*] Mattaṁ śrī-Ballavarasaru yuvarāja-vallabhaṁ Mallikārjjuna-
dēvaṁge

52 ... diṁd=Alande-sāsiramumaṁ daye-geydu kuḍal=ā-nāḍa perggaḍe daṁḍanāyakaṁ Nācha-

53. ...biṁnapadiṁ **yuvarājaṁ Mallikārjuna-dēvaṁ** śrī-Ballavarasargge biṁnapaṁ-geyd=
Alandeya

54 [Sva]yambhu-Sōmēśvara-dēvarg=āḷva 12 raḍ-ārggaḷā Jallaṁ Kaḷḷavaḷike Sādaṁ Baṇnigeyane

55 [pa]rihāraṁ māḍi biṭṭaṁ [|*] Mattaṁ paṭṭaṇada heggaḍe Gommalaya-nāyakana biṁnapadiṁ
Kumāraṁ Sōmē-

56 **[śva]raṁ** dēvara nandādīvigeg=Alaṁdeya mudrāvaṇada suṁkadoḷage tiṁgaḷ-diṁgaḷge hattu
hattu dra-

57 [vyamaṁ] biṭṭaṁ [|*] Gommalayyana bhāvaṁ Sillapayyaṁ tapōdhanargaṁ chā(chhā)trargaṁ
vidyārtthi-māṇiyargaṁ [3]Haroṇa-

58 ..[ha]ṭṭeya(y)m paḍuvaṇa Baḷadēva=Irāvēyala nālku māvina maruna biṭṭa=Alaṁdeya
Nagaraṁ dēva-

59 [ri]ge mārida pēriṁg=ayvatt-eleyaṁ biṭṭar=int=initumaṁ Nagara-Mahājana-Paṁcha-maṭha-
sthā-

60 [nam=ācham]dr-ārkka-sthāyi-varaṁ naḍeyisuvaru || [4]Manasi[o] hayasidud=ellaṁ tanag=
idiroḷe sādhyam=ā-

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[3] This appears to be a place name.

[4] Metre: *Kanda*.

61 . . . .g=oḷpane bageva puṇya-mūrttige kanasinnuḷaṁ kiḍipen=endavaṁ tāṁ kiḍugum || [15||*] [1]Suvarṇṇam=ē-

62 [kaṁ gām=ē]kāṁ bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṁgulaṁ [|*] haran(n)=narakam=āpnōti yāvad-āhū(bhū)-ta-saṁplavaṁ ||

63 [[2]Parira]kshisad=ī-sthānakk=enḍaṁ baged=aḷ(ḷ)idavaṅge niśchayadiṁ kōḷire Vārāṇāsiyo]=pā-

64 . . . kavileyuman=aḷida pāpaṁ sārgum ||. . . . .[3]

TRANSLATION

Verse I. Sōmēśvara, whose lotus feet are butted by the jewelled diadems of all the gods, descended from the glorious Kailāsa to this Alandāpura, an ornament of the earth.

V. 2. The illustrious Alande is holy on account of the god Sōmēśvara and this earth is holy on account of Alandāpura. How much more is it holy on account of the sage Surēśvara !

V. 3. How great is the delight accorded by this son, Surēśvara, an ornament of the monks, to (*his teacher*) Lōkābharaṇa, replete with knowledge, truthful and embellished with sterling virtues !

V. 4. Is he an ordinary human being, the illustrious ascetic Surēśvara, a bee at the lotus feet of Sōmēśvara, pleasingly gentle in speech, whose lotus feet are praised by the emperor ?

V. 5. As the king **Vikramāditya** is ruling according to the behests of this prince among monks, the Kali age has become Kṛita age and the kingdom has become supremely righteous. Is Surēśvara ordinary ?

V. 6. The illustrious Vikramāditya, lord of the earth, has earned renown being aptly praised by all the people in this manner ; "His feet are butted by the coronets of hostile kings ; he is the unrivalled overlord of the earth encircled by the seven seas ; he is a great and constant donor, in his own characteristic way, to the deserving assemblage of bards and the learned ; his reputation has been engraven on the tusks of the rows of elephants of the quarters ".

V. 7. From king Vikramāditya is born prince Mallikārjuna who is an abode of all virtues and is praised by the people, in the same manner as was born the Crocodile-bannered God (*i.e.*, Cupid).

V. 8. Prince **Mallikārjuna,** an ornament of the earth, and Vira-Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu in heroism), appears graceful like the pillar-like arms of king Vikramāditya, having routed the hostile kings who encountered him with sham bravery, protected those who approached him with awe and reverence saying, " you are our saviour ! What command ? " and exterminated those who were a source of trouble.

V. 9. The far-famed emperor Vikramāditya seeing his irresistible prowess and thus appreciating with genuine affection, "He alone is worthy of the great office of the **heir-apparent**", installed Mallikārjuna, the crest-jewel of princes, as his successor with due ceremony.

V. 10. Distinguished is the general Kāḷidāsa, foremost among the commanders of the forces, praised by the world, supreme among the scions of Manu, exalted in prowess, glorious with the eminence earned by the worship of the gods and the Brāhmaṇas, a charming receptacle of authority vested by the Chālukya emperor and counsellor to the household of the senior queen.

V. 11. Thus renowned Kāḷidāsa's son is the famous Nāchaṇa, a follower of the path of Manu and the veritable moon imparting delight to the *chakōra* birds, namely, the assembly of the learned.

[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Metre : *Kanda.*

[3] One or two lines after this appear to have been damaged and lost.

V. 12. The commander of the forces, Nāchi, became the repository of renown when the world sang (*his virtues*) in admiration in the following terms : " His conduct is in keeping with the path of Manu ; in serenity he compares with the ocean ; in eminence............and in valour he is on par with the son of the Lord of the Day (*i.e.*, Karṇa)".

V. 13. Being aptly described by the world in commendable expressions Nācharasa earned the epithet, *Parārtha-Vidyādhara* (*i.e.*, the *Vidyādhara* among the philanthropists).

V. 14. The commander of the forces, Nāchi, who possessed excellent virtues and was like his own mind to the king, assumed the office of principal counsellor as directed by the emperor.

Lines 29-33. Hail ! The asylum of the entire earth, lord of the Goddess of Fortune and the Earth, the paramount overlord of sovereigns, the great ruler, the supreme master, ornament of the lineage of Satyāśraya, embellishment of the Chālukyas, the illustrious king Tribhuvanamalladēva is carrying on his victorious rule with ever-increasing prosperity in happiness and entertainment of pleasing conversation, to endure as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, from his residence Kalyāṇa.

Ll. 33-51. **On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Pushya of the illustrious Chāḷukya-Vikrama year 7,** corresponding to the cyclic year **Dundubhi** and on the holy occasion of the **Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti,** the king, hail !—at the request of the queen Chandaladēvī who is privileged to enjoy the thousand-fold fruit accruing from the unceasing supreme welfare and prosperity ; who strolls like an intoxicated elephant in the royal premises ; the Goddess of Love to the Mind-born God (*i.e.*, Cupid, *in the form of her husband*), the illustrious sovereign ; subduer of the sense of elation of the jealous co-wives ; bearer of the face-moon that swells the milky ocean (*in the shape of*) the mind of (*her husband*) the distinguished suzerain ; abode of splendour ; moving creeper hugging the wish-fulfilling tree, namely, the illustrious monarch ; adept in supporting those who seek her protection ; who is the blow of adamantine fist on the heads of malicious and conceited co-wives ; who showers gold incessantly ; whose immaculate lineage has purified the whole realm[1] of the harem ; who imparts delight to the heart of the god Nārāyaṇa among kings, to wit, Vikramāditya VI ; who is worshipper of the lotus feet of the goddess Gauri (=Pārvatī) ; who derides the ladies of the harem, indecorous with the elation of their good fortune ; who dwells in the expansive chest of the illustrious lord Tribhuvanamalladēva and who bears the title, 'Fairy Queen in the art of dancing' ;—made over with the pouring of water a gift of income, free from all impositions, derived from tolls and levies such as *perjuṅka*, *bilkoḍe*, *vaḍḍarāvuḷa*, on a thousand pack-bullocks in the region of Alande Thousand, for the offerings to the god Svayambhu Sōmēśvara of Alandāpura, the first and the foremost town in the district of Alande Thousand, to the illustrious divine Surēśvara Paṇḍita, in charge of the temple of Sōmēśvara ; hail !—who is endowed with self-restraint, self-discipline, spiritual study, meditation, conservation, silence, religious practice, incantation, absorption and exemplary character ; who is an outcome, as it were, of the heart-felt wishes of the wise persons ; who quenches the wild fire of hunger of the helpless and the destitute ; who quells the intoxication of the elephant of sinfulness ; who is ever wakeful in protecting his creed ; who is the never-failing abode of plenty ; a crest-jem among the learned ; wish-fulfilling jewel to the elite ; who has secured the gracious boon by propitiating the feet of the eminent divine Vādidēva Paṇḍita ; who diverts himself in doing good to others.

Ll. 51-55. And **Yuvarāja-vallabha Mallikārjuna** who is holding the administrative charge of the province of Alande Thousand by the favour of the king, exempted the taxes, *jalla*, *kaḷḷavaḷike*, *sūḍa* and *bawnige* in the twelve villages endowed to the god Svayambhu Sōmēśvara of Alande, after making a request to the king, at the instance of Daṇḍanāyaka Nācharasa, the *pergaḍe* of the province.

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[1] As required by the context, I have translated the expression *pagadale* as 'realm'. Its other meaning 'illustrious' does not suit here. See above, Vol. XV, p. 357, verse 18.

Ll. 55-57. And again at the request of Gommalaya Nāyaka, the *heggaḍe* of the town, **Kumāra Sōmēśvara** made a gift of ten coins per month out of the money income accruing from the cess in the town of Alande for a perpetual lamp to the god (Sōmēśvara).

Ll. 57-58. Sillapayya, the brother-in-law of Gommalayya, made a gift of four mango trees in the garden of Baladēva lying to the west of the road leading to Harṇa[gi] for the benefit of the ascetics, their disciples and the lay-students.

Ll. 58-59. The merchant guild of Alande made a gift of fifty (betel) leaves on the sale of every load to the god.

Ll. 59-60. The merchant guild, the *Mahājanas* of the town and the establishment of the five *maṭhas* will maintain all these charities as long as the sun and the moon endure.

Ll. 60-64. (Imprecation against the transgressors of charity.)

No. 6—JAVANTINATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA

(*1 Plate*)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on a slab now built into the front wall, right of entrance, of the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple at **Javantināthapuram**, Lālguḍi *tāluk*, Tiruchirāpaḷḷi District. The engraved stone must have originally stood elsewhere in the vicinity since the wall in which it is now built appears to have been recently constructed. It is fragmentary, the lower part containing the concluding portion of the inscription being broken and lost. Nevertheless in the extant portion is retained the main purport of the record, which belongs to the reign of the early Pāṇḍya king, Māṛañjaḍaiyan *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.

The inscription is engraved in Tamil **characters** of about the 9th century A.D. found in the locality.[2] A few Sanskrit words and letters are in the Grantha characters. The script does not call for any special remarks. The **language** of the record is Tamil.

The inscription is dated in the 4+9th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king, Māṛañjaḍaiyan *alias* Pāṇḍya-adhipati Varaguṇa-Mahārāja. It registers the gift, made by the king, of gold for the expenses of burning, day and night, two perpetual lamps before the god, Perumāṇaḍigaḷ of Tiru-Mayilraṅgam, (*a suburb*) of Iḷaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam. The gift was placed, for management, in the hands of a Vēḷāṉ of Aṇḍanāḍu, whose name is lost in the missing part of the inscription.

The record is important for the details of **date** contained in it as they help in calculating the corresponding date in A.D., thereby solving a few problems pertaining to the chronology of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king. The record bears the date 4+9th year of reign, Dhanus, Monday, Aviṭṭam. The form in which the year of reign is quoted, in years 'opposite to the 4th year', is to be noted in particular in view of the existence of a large number of records dated similarly, in years added on to 4, issued in the reign of Māṛañjaḍaiyan.[3] There are again some others men-

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[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1946-47, No. 104.

[2] As in the Taṇḍūr inscription of Dantivarman, *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, plate V; Tillaisthānam and Neṛkuṇam inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I), *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, plate VII.

[3] No. 460 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. (4th year + 360 day) at Kuttālam (Tinnevelly Dt.); 90 of 1908 (4+392 day) at Tiruppattūr (Ramnad Dt.); 304 of 1907 (4+1+1st year) at Āḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.); 358 of 1907 (4+1+1+1+1st year) at Āḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.); 13 of 1908 (4+4th year) at Kumbakōṇam (Tanjore Dt.); 136 of 1908 (4+6th year) at Tiruppattūr (Ramnad Dt.); 414 of 1904 (4th year + 2501st day) at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi; 413 of 1904 (4+9th year) at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi; 54 of 1910 (4+9) at Tiruveḷḷaṟai (Tiruchirāpaḷḷi Dt.); 105 of 1905 (*Ep. Ind.* IX, 84) of 4+12th year at Ambāsamudram (Tinnevelly Dt.); 185 of 1928 (4+12th year) at Tiruchchiṟṟambalam (Tanjore Dt.); No. 127 of 1908 (4th year + 4635th day) at Tiruppattūr (Ramnad Dt.); No. 51 of 1895 (4th year) at Tillaisthānam (Tanjore Dt.) mentioning Varaguṇa Mahārāja and Kō-Parāntaka (*i.e.*, Vīranārāyaṇa Saḍaiyan ?).

tioning Varaguṇa alone but likewise dated in years 'opposite to 4.' At Lālguḍi, about 4 miles from Javantināthapuram, were found two records, one of which refers itself to the reign of Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ *alias* Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguṇa-Mahārāya and dated in the 4+9th year of his reign. The other which does not specify the ruling king is dated in the regnal year 4+1. The former contains the additional details of date, *viz.*, Dhanus, Tuesday, Sadaiyam. These details show that this record was issued just one day later than the Javantināthapuram inscription under study. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has edited these two inscriptions[1] worked out the date of the record containing astronomical details, as equivalent to A.D. 824, Nov. 29, Tuesday, after taking into consideration several alternatives. The other record, which mentions as donor the Pallava king Nandivarman III, the victor of Teḷḷāṛu, he assigned to A.D. 816. He assigns both the inscriptions to Varaguṇa I. Accepting for the nonce the correctness of the date proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the record giving astronomical details, the date of our record would be Monday, Nov. 28, A.D. 824, which is the day on which the details found in it tally. But as will be shown presently, the above dates for the Lālguḍi inscription and for our epigraph are not acceptable on several grounds, one of which is the existence of still another set of corresponding dates for them which compels acceptance in preference to any other alternative.[2] These are A.D. 875, December 5, Monday for our record and December 6, Tuesday for the Lālguḍi record B. It is found that by accepting these dates we get A.D. 861-2 as the year of accession of this Pāṇḍya king, a date which is precisely the same as the one obtained for Varaguṇa from the Aivarmalai (Ayyampāḷayam) inscription which couples his eighth year of reign with Śaka 792.[3] Scholars are agreed that this Varaguṇa is identical with Varaguṇavarman II, the son and successor of Śrimāra, of the Pāṇḍya genealogy furnished in the Bigger Siṉṉamanūr plates of Saḍaiyamāṛaṉ (Rājasiṁha).[4] Yet another record of Pāṇḍya-Mahārāja Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ at Tiruveḷḷarai dated in the 4+9th year of reign contains the astronomical details, Vṛischika, Monday, Aśvati which correspond to A.D. 874, November 22, Monday, yielding A.D. 861-2 as the initial year of the king's reign.[5] It would follow from all this that the king who consistently issued his records in the years 'opposite to 4' though variantly called Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ, Varaguṇa and Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja may be considered as one and the same ruler and identical with Varaguṇavarman II, the eldest son and successor of Śrimāra Śrivallabha and whose accession took place in A.D. 861-2. It will not be wrong to arrive at this conclusion since we have a similar instance in respect of another Pāṇḍya king, Saḍaiyamāṛaṉ, most of whose records being dated in regnal years 'opposite to 2' enable us to identify him with Saḍaiyamāṛaṉ Rājasiṁha, the donor of the Bigger Siṉṉamaṉūr plates which were issued in the 2+14th year of his reign.[6]

Another important consideration which would make the dates proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the Lālguḍi inscriptions A and B assigning them as he did to Varaguṇa I unacceptable is that while the Lālguḍi record A, the date of which is fixed at A.D. 816 by Mr. Aiyar, mentions as donor Pallava Nandivarman III, the victor of Teḷḷāṛu, latest researches show that this king ruled approximately between c. 851 and 873 A.D. and not between c. 812 and 844 A.D., as held by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar ; for, it can now be accepted as more or less correct that Nandivarman II, the

[1] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 46 ff.

[2] Mr. M. S. Sarma in a paper entitled *Pṛithvīpati, Varaguṇa and Aparājita* in *J.O.R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 227-8, equates the date of the Lālguḍi record B with December 5th, Tuesday, A.D. 780. This date is rather too early to be accepted in view of the reasons set out by us above.

[3] No. 705 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[4] *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 449 ; *Pandyan Kingdom* (1929), p. 45.

[5] No. 84 of 1910 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; above, Vol. XI, p. 253. Mr. Sarma, however, gives A.D. 780, November 13, Monday as its equivalent (*J.O.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 228). Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar ascribing the record to Varaguṇa I gives the corresponding date as A.D. 824, November 7, Monday (above, Vol. XX, p. 50 and n. 3, p. 51).

[6] *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 441 ff.

grandfather of Nandivarman III of Teḷḷāṟu fame, ascended the throne somewhere about A.D. 733.[1] In consequence, Nandivarman III could not have come to the throne before c. 851 A.D. (733 plus 65 and 52 years, the duration of the reign of Nandivarman II and Dantivarman). The victory at Teḷḷāṟu is mentioned in his records from the 18th year[2] of reign onwards, *i.e.*, c. 868-9 A.D., though it is not unlikely that it was secured several years earlier.[3] Hence the date of the Lālguḍi record A cannot be earlier than c. 850-1 A.D., the approximate date of the accession of Nandivarman III. Our date for the record, assigning it as we do to Varaguṇa Mahārāja II, would be A.D. 867. This date falls well within the reign of Nandivarman III, besides indicating that the king's victory at Teḷḷāṟu was won before that date.

On the strength of the foregoing considerations, the Javantināthapuram epigraph under study may be assigned to Varaguṇa II who ruled from A.D. 861-2 and consequently the equivalent of the details of date cited in it would be A.D. 875, December 5, Monday. It can, therefore, be concluded that inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ *alias* Varaguṇa Mahārāja issued in the regnal years 'opposite to 4' may be assigned to this king in preference to Varaguṇa I. At present there are no means of identifying Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, whose inscriptions are dated in a peculiar roundabout way like such and such year opposite to the 35th year,[4] with his namesake whose records are dated in the more common fashion of giving simple regnal years, like 5, 10 and so on.[5] It is not unlikely that some of them may belong to Varaguṇa II. Nevertheless, taking into consideration only those records of Varaguṇa II dated in the years 'opposite to 4', a tolerably good account of the events of his reign may be given.

From these records of his reign it is learnt that he conducted a campaign against Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country and after overrunning it proceeded as far as Araiśūr on the bank of the Peṇṇār in Toṇḍai-nāḍu,[6] which was the dominion of the Pallavas. The attendant circumstances of this campaign seem to be somewhat as follows: he entered the Chōḷa territory on the Kāvēri about A.D. 866.[7] Thence he seems to have directed his campaign against the Pallava Nandivarman III who perhaps had earlier caused discomfiture to the Pāṇḍyas by a victory over them at Teḷḷāṟu and had occupied the Chōḷa territory, the bone of Pāṇḍya-Pallava contention. By A.D. 867 the Pallava was humbled, since we find him figuring as donor in the record of the Pāṇḍya king at Lālguḍi (ins. A.). The Lālguḍi (A) and the Javantināthapuram records actually testify to the presence of Varaguṇa II in A.D. 867 and 875 at Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam in the Iḍaiyāṟṟunāḍu, evidently the Iḍavai in the Sōḷa-nāḍu against which the Pāṇḍya Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ is specifically stated to have gone on a campaign.[8] Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam

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[1] See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XV, p. 119. Approximately the same date for the accession of Nandivarman II can be arrived at from the recently discovered Uḷchāla record of Chāḷukya Vijayāditya. (*Ancient India*, No. 5, Jan. 1949, p. 54.)

[2] No. 283 of 1901 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. In *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VIII, p. 98, Venkayya publishes another record of the king from the Ulagaḷandaperumāḷ temple, Conjeevaram, dated 18th year of reign and mentioning his victory at Teḷḷāṟu. (*S.I.I.*, Vol. V, 567.)

[3] Nos. 52 of 1895 and 11 of 1899 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. are dated in the 10th and 12th years of a king whose name is not stated, the records commencing with the word 'yāṇḍu' only. But they record benefactions by Nandivarman, the victor of Teḷḷāṟu. Should the records be assigned to his reign, we may believe that by his 10th year, *i.e.*, c. 861-2 A.D. Nandi won the victory. This date would tally with the facts of the *Lālguḍi* record A of c. A. D. 867 in the mention it makes of Nandivarman of Teḷḷāṟu fame.

[4] Nos. 423 of 1906 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, 5), 431 of 1914, 298 of 1916, 363 of 1917 and 12 of 1920, all of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[5] Nos. 9 and 10 of 1899; 311 and 313 of 1904; 104 and 128 of 1905; 27 and 43 of 1908; 422 and 430 of 1914; 605 of 1915; 298 of 1916; 10 and 55 of 1927; 21 of 1930-1; 297 of 1940-1, all of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[6] No. 105 of 1906 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; published above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

[7] No. 21 of 1930-1 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[8] No. 690 of the 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

means the Maṅgalam (*agrahāra*-village) between (two) rivers (*iḍai* + *āṟu*) and the present Javantināthapuram and Lālgudi are situated just between the rivers Kāvērī and Koḷḷiḍam (Coleroon) which was the region called Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu or perhaps Iḍavai for short. It is not unlikely that it was during one of these campaigns that Varaguṇa II destroyed Vēmbil (Vēmbaṟṟūr) and encamped at Niyamam (Nēmam, Tanjore taluk) as stated in his Tiruchirāppaḷḷi records[1] (c. A.D. 874-5). His Ambāsamudram inscription[2] of A.D. 878 states that he encamped at Araiśūr on the bank of the Peṇṇār in Toṇḍai-nāḍu, an event which might have taken place in the course of the subjugation of Nandivarman III which achievement, as pointed out above, occurred before A.D. 867. The text of the Ambāsamudram record does not militate against such a possibility. Perhaps it was on the occasion of his presence in the Pallava country that Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṟaṉ Ācchaṉ of Pōḷiyūr (*i.e.* Pōḷūr near Arkōṇam), the seat of a minor Pallava family[3] sought service under him. This chieftain figures in a record[4] of Varaguṇa at Tiruppattūr, Ramnad District, of A.D. 867-8. It cannot be said, however, that even after these military marches across the Chōḷa country into the Pallava dominion, Varaguṇa II was able to establish anything like sustained or supreme control over the regions. For, we find that the Pallavas were not completely dislodged from the Chōḷa territory in these years. Records of Nandivarman III of the 21st and 22nd years of reign (c.A.D. 872-3)[5] and of Nṛipatuṅga of the 2nd year of reign (c. A.D. 875) are found[6] in the Chōḷa country which, apparently, continued to be a disputed land till Nṛipatuṅga, by his resounding victory against the enemy in or about A.D. 880 established his rule firmly over this territory, too.[7] In a record of the 18th year of the reign (c. A.D. 890) of the Pallava king at Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore *tāluk*, Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa-Mahārāja figures as the donor.[8] Subsequent to this date we rarely meet with any records of Varaguṇa II in Chōḷa territory while records of Nṛipatuṅga of regnal years 22[9] (c. 894), 23[10] (c. 895) and 24[11] (c. 896) are found in the same region. It would, therefore, appear that in the latter part of the reign of Varaguṇa II, the Pāṇḍyas lost both in power and in prestige.

Turning now to the text of the Javantināthapuram record under study, a few remarks may be offered regarding the places mentioned in it. **Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam**, the meaning and derivation of which have been explained above, may be Javantināthapuram itself. The residents of this village say that it had another name **Mayilraṅgam** which is evidently what is mentioned in the inscription as Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalattu-Tirumayilraṅgam. **Tirumayilraṅgam** was perhaps another name for Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam or, more likely, a suburb of it. **Aṇḍanāḍu**, the region whence the Vēḷāṉ hailed, is identical with the country round about Diṇḍigal,[12] in the Madura District.

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[1] Nos. 413 and 414 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1903-4, pp. 271 ff. Above, Vol. IX, p. 86.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 25-26.

[4] No. 90 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[5] Nos. 144 of 1929 and 180 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 56 and 57.

[6] No. 122 of 1929 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 61.

[7] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 3 ff.

[8] No. 360 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 71.

[9] Nos. 304 of 1901 and 38 of 1931 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[10] No. 84 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 531, plate VII.

[11] No. 22 of 1901 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 78. In view of the presence of Nṛipatuṅga's records in Chōḷa country on these dates, the date c. 880 A.D. generally assigned to the final annexation of Pallava territory from Aparājita by Chōḷa Āditya I has to be reconsidered.

[12] *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 450.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī[||*] Kō-Mā[ṟañ]-
2 [ja]daiyarkk-iyāṇ[ḍu]
3 nāṉgām-āṭṭaikk-edi[r]
4 oṉbadām yāṇ[ḍu]
5 Daṉu-ñāyaṟṟu-tTi[ṅ]-
6 gaṭ-kiḻamai peṟṟa [A]-
7 vitta nuḍal-āga I[ḍai]
8 yāṟṟumaṅgalat[tu]-
9 Tiru-Mayilraṅgat[tu]
10 Perumāṉaḍigaḷuk[ku]
11 iravum pagalumum-i[ra]-
12 ṇḍu noṇḍāviḷak[k-e]-
13 rippad-āga Kō-Māṟañ[ja]-
14 daiyar-āyiṉa Pāṇḍya-
15 adipati Varaguṇa-ma[hā]-
16 [rā]jar A[ṉ]dāṉāṭṭu [Vē]-
17 ḷāṉ kaiyyil viḍu[ta]-
18 n[da] poṉ pādi[1]

No. 7—CURZON MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA'S REIGN ; YEAR 23

(1 Plate)

B. Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund

This short but highly important record appears on the pedestal of a Bōdhisattva image, now deposited in the **Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā**. It has been briefly noticed in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1920-21, p. 35. A pointed reference to this has subsequently been made by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, urging the desirability of its proper edition.[2]

The inscription is not well preserved. Portions of it have apparently been destroyed. The writing is arranged as follows : the upper band of the pedestal contains one line uninterrupted ; below that, in the centre, appears the *tri-ratna* symbol flanked by two human figures, apparently one male and one female ; behind each figure occurs a short line of inscription ; to the extreme left there is a figure of rampant lion ; corresponding to this there must have been a similar figure on the extreme right also, which is now damaged ; the last line of the inscription occurs on the lower band, right at the bottom ; a portion of this line seems to have been obliterated. In this way the inscription occurs in four sections rather than in four regular lines.

The **characters** are Brāhmī of the usual Kushāṇa type. The form of *m* in the very first word is noteworthy inasmuch as it is of the southern class. That in *Masyagutasya* is of the northern class, which is more common in the Kushāṇa inscriptions, while *m* in [*ma*]*hārasya*, which immediately precedes the word *Masyagutasya*, is not clear. In fact, it is doubtful whether it is *m* at all. The subscript *y* in the first word is of the tripartite kind, while elsewhere in the inscription it is throughout of the bipartite type.

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[1] The rest of the inscription is lost.
[2] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 295, n. 2.

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO
REG. No. 3077 E'36-515'30.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

The **language** is the mixed dialect that is generally found in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. It may be observed that the scribe has either wrongly omitted a few letters or else purposely used abbreviated forms in certain words. The very first word, for instance, reads *maharasya* which obviously stands for *mahārājasya*. The next is *Kani*, by which no doubt Kanishka is meant. It is, however, strange that the scribe should have shortened the usual expression *Kanishkasya saṁvatsarē*, or something to that effect, into a simple *Kani*. The title of Masyaguta is also given as [*ma*]*hārasya*. As has already been indicated, the form of *ma* here is very uncertain.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the setting up of a Bōdhisattva image by a lady, called **Puśya[datā?]** (**Pushyadattā**), daughter of *Mahāra* **Masyaguta** (*Mahārāja* **Matsyagupta**), in her own[1] monastery, in the first fortnight of the *Grishma* season of the year 23 (of the reign) of *Mahārāja* **Kanishka** (which in continuation is counted as the Kushāṇa era).

The importance of the date has already been recognised. The year 23 is proved to be the last year of Kanishka's reign, because we have got an inscription of his son and successor Huvishka, which is dated in the year 24 of the era thus established.

What is of much greater importance is the mention of a *Mahārāja* Matsyagupta[2] as a contemporary of Kanishka. This is evidently a new name; and, what is more, an indication of the existence of a contemporaneous royal family. Whoever this Matsyagupta was, it is apparent that he was on friendly terms with Kanishka, as is to be inferred from the fact that he or his daughter had built a *vihāra* in the kingdom of the Kushāṇa monarch, as the inscription has it.

It may be argued that Matsyagupta might have been an ordinary individual and not a king, and the word read as *mahārasya* might in reality be something different, may be one denoting the name of the place from which Matsyagupta might have hailed. The reading of the first letter as *ma* has been admitted to be doubtful. It may not be *ma*, but just two horizontal strokes, one above the other, meant for a sign of punctuation.

Two considerations are against the foregoing argument. The first is: *Maharasya Kani*, it may be admitted, stands for *Mahārājasya Kanishkasya*, and just as here the first word is imperfectly written, so may it be in the case of *Mahārasya* preceding *Masyagutasya*. Secondly, the name ending in *guta*, *i.e.*, *gupta*, strongly suggests itself to be that of a king. Besides, the contraction *Kani* may equally be significant here. Possibly the scribe was an employee of Matsyagupta, who attached more importance to the contents of the record than to the particulars of the date. He thought, his abbreviation *Kani* was clear enough to serve the purpose, whereas he had to mention his master's name in full. Finally, it may be observed that the two human figures, noticed above as flanking the *triratna* symbol, that are not usually met with in such cases, in the present instance, may be taken to represent *Mahārāja* Matsyagupta and his daughter Pushyadattā. This lends some further weight to the supposition that in Matsyagupta we have a king and not an ordinary individual.

It will be worth while to search for more particulars about this *Mahārāja* Matsyagupta in literature and in epigraphy.

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[1] That is how the syntax would have it, but possibly the meaning intended to be conveyed is 'in *his* own monastery', 'his' referring to the father of the lady.

[2] The equation of *Masyaguta* with *Matsyagupta* was kindly suggested to me first by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao. I have no doubt about its correctness. Personal names in the period concerned are often after the names of various constellations such as Pushya Viśākha, Prōshtha, etc. And in the present instance Matsya, *i.e.*, Mīna, is also one such.

TEXT[1]

1 Maharasya Kani 23 gra 1 ētasya pu[r]vayaṁ [ma]hārasya Masyagutasya dhitā Puśya[da———][2]
2 bodhisatta[ṁ]
3 [pratishṭhāpayati][3]
4 svake viharē [sarva-satvānaṁ]....[4]

TRANSLATION

The first fortnight of Summer, the year 23 of *Mahārāja* Kanishka—on this day, Pushya[dattā], the daughter of *Mahārāja* Matsyagupta, establishes [this] Bōdhisattva in her own monastery.[5]

No. 8—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TIME OF NARENDRADHAVALA

(*Plate I*)

Dines Chandra Sircar, Ootacamund

There are in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund several sets of impressions of a copper-plate inscription which is now preserved in the Madras Museum. The impressions originally belonged to the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle. The find-spot of the record is unknown; but there is little doubt that it was secured from some locality in Orissa. According to the *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, 1918, p. 58, the plates were received from the Collector of the Ganjam District. They were examined by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy and a short note on the inscription was published in his report for the year 1916-17, No. 11. This note was utilised by the compiler of the *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*. It was, however, not noticed at that time that the record reveals the name of a new king of a hitherto unknown royal family of ancient Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription, I examined the original plates which had been kindly lent to the Government Epigraphist's office by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum. I edit the record for the *Epigraphia Indica* with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three oblong plates each measuring 6½" in breadth and 4" in height. They contain four sides of writing in all, the first and the third plates having inscription only on one side. There are ten lines of writing on the first plate, nine lines on the obverse and eight on the reverse of the second plate, and only five lines on the third plate. The size of an *akshara* is about ½" × ¼". The plates have no rims, but the incision is deep and the writing is in a good state of preservation. A layer of metal has, however, peeled off from some parts of the outer or blank

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[1] From inked estampages kindly supplied, in July 1942, by Mr. M. M. Nagar, the then Curator, Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.

[2] What follows *Puśya* looks like the upper portion of a *da*. Possibly the name was Puśyadatā (Pushyadattā). The change of *sh* into *ś* is common in this type of inscriptions. Compare *Puśyamitra* and *Puśyamitriya* of certain other inscriptions from Mathurā (Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 16, 34).

[3] This word is faintly visible. The subscript *r* of *pra* looks more like medial *u*. The medial *i* of *ti* is hardly to be seen. The subscript *th* and medial *ā* of *shṭhā* are indistinct. The right-hand stroke of *pa* is mixed up with the left-hand stroke of *ya* that follows. While *ya* is fairly clear, the last *ti* is not at all clear.

[4] This must have been followed by *hita-sukhāy-āstu* or some such expression.

[5] Or ' in his own monastery '. See above, p. 43, f. n. 1.

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS

SURVEY OF INDIA, DEHRA DUN.

Reg. No. 463 HE (C) '50-524

INSCRIBED SCULPTURE

(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)

face of the first plate and this has also affected some letters of the inscription on the other side of the plate (*cf.* lines 1, 2 and 10). All the three plates have a ring-hole which is about ½" in diameter and is about ½" from the proper right margin. When the plates were examined in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy there was no ring with them. This is known from a short note found with the impressions. The ring was apparently taken out by making a slit at the margin near the ring-hole, which is still noticed in the second and third plates. The margin near the ring-hole in the first plate is broken. The *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, however, describes the plates as "strung on a ring without a seal", and this ring is seen with the plates even today. Whether the ring was found with the plates or was later made for them cannot be easily determined.

Regarding the **palaeography** of the inscription, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy says in his report, "The characters are of about the thirteenth century like those of the plates of Daṇḍimahādēvī (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 136)". He is no doubt right in assigning the record on palaeographic grounds to a date not much later than the age of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādēvī of Orissa; but it is impossible to believe now, with Kielhorn[1] whom he follows, that the characters of Daṇḍimahādēvī's inscriptions belong to the thirteenth century. They are certainly earlier than the first half of the twelfth century, when the greater Gaṅgas were in possession of the lower part of Orissa. Daṇḍimahādēvī must have ended her rule considerably before the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga who was crowned in 1078 A. D.[2] Some records of Daṇḍimahādēvī are dated in the year 180 or 280 probably of the Harsha era.[3] The date would thus correspond to A. D. 786 or 886. It has also to be remembered that the date is written in the old style with symbols for 100 or 200 and 80 and that this system is not usually found in inscriptions of a date later than the tenth century.[4] The plates under discussion should, therefore, be assigned to a date not later than the tenth century A. D. As we shall presently see, this dating is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription.

Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the use of the initial vowels *a* (lines 8, 14, 16, 18, 23, 27, 28), *ā* (line 6), *i* (lines 14, 28), *u* (lines 12, 13, 19, 30) and *ē* (lines 15, 17). Medial *ē* has two forms being used often above the consonant as in modern Dēvanāgarī and sometimes to the left of it as in Bengali and Oriya. The first type is quite common, while the second is employed only in a few cases. There is no distinction between the signs for *v* and *b* and between those for subscript *v* or *b* and *dh*. What resembles a *visarga* sign has in all cases been put before the *daṇḍas* apparently as a part of the punctuation mark.

The **language** of the record is only seemingly Sanskrit and is greatly influenced by the local dialect. The rare use of the case-endings, especially the first and the second, has rendered the real interpretation of the inscription greatly difficult. Attention may be drawn to the use of words like *bṛihata* (line 10) or *bṛihada* (line 8) for Sanskrit *bṛihat* and *pāthara* for Sanskrit *prastara* (lines 8, 10, 12, 13). Words like *māhāsāmanta* or *māhāsāmanta* (for *mahāsāmanta*, lines 13-14), *pāsai* (for *pāśaiḥ*, line 26), *jasya* (for *yasya*, line 24) and many others are interesting from the view point of **orthography** and exhibit influence of local pronunciation. The duplication of *dh* in *Arddhasāri* (line 8) is also interesting. The *daṇḍas*, which have been quite extensively used, are in most cases not necessary at all.

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[1] Above, Vol. VI, p. 136.

[2] Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1099. The lower part of Orissa was conquered by Chōḍagaṅga from the Sōmavaṁśīs and not from the Bhauma-Karas.

[3] Above, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1413. The correct reading of the hundred symbol seems to be 100 and not 200.

[4] G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 115.

The record is **not dated**. But as pointed out above, it has to be assigned to a date not much later than the tenth century. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the inscription refers to one Śilābhañja who seems to be no other than Śilābhañja I Āṅgaddi, founder[1] of the Bhañja royal family of Khiñjali-maṇḍala (about the Keonjhar State) ruling from Dhṛitipura and Vañjulvaka. This is suggested by the fact that the record under discussion was engraved by Padmanābha who was a son of the *Vaṇik* Pāṇḍi and was an inhabitant of Gandhaṭapāṭi. Now this person seems to be identical with the *Vaṇik-suvarṇakāra* Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍi and engraver of the Sonpur plates[2] of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja who was the son of Śatrubhañja and the grandson of Śilābhañja-Āṅgaddi. It is interesting to note that Śatrubhañja was also known as Gandhaṭa and was possibly the founder of Gandhaṭapāṭi, the native place of Padmanābha son of Pāṇḍi. The Patna Museum Plates[3] of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja mentions his queen Vijyā who was the daughter of Rāṇaka Niyārṇama. It is very probable that this Niyārṇama is no other than Rāṇaka Niyārṇava mentioned in the Santa-Bommāḷi plates[4] of the Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarman (dated Gaṅga year 520 falling in 1016-18 A. D.)[5] as the father of Bhimakhēḍi and the grandfather of Dharmakhēḍi of the feudatory Kadamba family of Jayantyāpura. The Mandasa plates[6] (dated Śaka 917=995 A. D.)[7] mentions Kadamba Dharmakhēḍi as the feudatory of Gaṅga Anantavarman. His grandfather Niyārṇava or Niyārṇama thus appears to have flourished about the middle of the tenth century which, or rather the third quarter of the tenth century, seems to have been the age of Raṇabhañja. It is then possible to assign Raṇabhañja's grandfather Śilābhañja to about the first quarter of the same century. As, however, the name of Gandhaṭapāṭi mentioned in our record seems to presuppose the rule of Śilābhañja's son Śatrubhañja-Gandhaṭa and as Padmanābha is known to have served under Śilābhañja's grandson Raṇabhañja, the inscription under discussion may be roughly ascribed to the age of the Bhañja kings Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja of Khiñjali-maṇḍala who, as already indicated above, probably ruled about the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

The record under discussion is a *kraya-śāsana* (*cf.* lines 4 and 7) which literally means 'a deed of purchase' and indicates actually a sale deed. It may also indicate 'land sold by means of a *kraya-śāsana*'. The village that formed the subject of the *kraya-śāsana* is called Taḍāsva-(śva)ragrāma (line 7) which was apparently situated in **Khiṇḍarasiṁgha** (*i.e.*, Khiṇḍaraśṛiṅga), forming part of the **Gōmuṇḍa-maṇḍala** (or Mōmuṇḍa-?) in the kingdom of the illustrious **Narēndradhavala** (line 1). Gōmuṇḍa-maṇḍala (or Mōmuṇḍa-?) may actually have been the name of Narēndradhavala's kingdom (*cf.* Khiñjali-maṇḍala forming the entire kingdom of a branch of the Bhañja family). In lines 1-5 of the epigraph, it seems to be said that a person named Sāḍā, who was the son of the *Bhaṇḍāri* (Sanskrit *Bhāṇḍāgārika*) Raṇiyā and the grandson of the *Kulaputraka* (nobleman) Vaṇadēva, purchased the above village from the illustrious Śilābhañjadēva, as a *kraya-śāsana*, paying some *rūpyaka*, *i.e.*, silver or money ; the purchase appears to have been made through the illustrious Rāṇaka Ghāṅghāka who was the son of the illustrious Rāṇaka Vikāra and the grandson of the illustrious Rāṇaka Mulhavarāha (probably *Muṇḍha-varāha*) and was a scion

[1] The Jangalpadu plates (*JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 181 ff.) of apparently the 14th regnal year of Śatrubhañja appear to represent this Śilābhañja as the son of Malla-Gambhīradē[va] and the grandson of Yathāsukhadēva. The identification of Śatrubhañja of this inscription with the homonymous ruler of Khiñjali-maṇḍala is, however, not entirely beyond doubt.

[2] *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 483 ff.

[3] Above Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff.; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 2063.

[4] *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 178 ff.; *cf.* Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 286, note 2.

[5] *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 218-21.

[6] *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, p. 184.

[7] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 458, note 1.

of the Nāga family hailing from a locality called Dharaṇimpha or Dharaṇai[2]; the *rūpyaka* seems to have been paid through *Rājaputra* Vigraha who may have been the son of Rāṇaka Ghōṅghāka.

Lines 5-6, together with line 17, appear to say that, some years later, the village was resold by Sōḍā as a *kraya-śāsana* to three persons called *Thākura* Kōnvi, *Thākura* Umbā and Ḍōmbī on receipt of an amount of *rūpyaka* specified as *pla 10 ā | mā 2 gu 4*. In this specification *pla* stands for the well-known weight called *pala* which is equal to four *karshas* or sixty-four *māshas*. It is, however, interesting to note that the form *pla* instead of *pala* is found usually in other early inscriptions of Orissa in connection with *rūpya* or *rūpyaka*. A copper-plate charter[1] of the Sōmavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya which records a *kara-śāsana* (*i.e.*, a revenue-paying grant and not a revenue-free gift), has the following interesting endorsement: *prati-varshē ch-ātra śāsanē kara[m*] pañcha rūpya-plāni nishkaṅkya kara-śāsanam-idaṁ dattaṁ yatra rū pla 5.* The annual rent of the village granted to some Brāhmaṇas by the Sōmavaṁśī ruler was thus fixed at five *palas* of *rūpya*. The Talcher copper-plate inscription of the Orissan ruler Gayāḍatuṅga, edited by N. N. Vasu[2] and by R. D. Banerji,[3] records a similar grant of a village in favour of three Brāhmaṇas with the following endorsement: *rūpya-pla chatvāri iśkē rūpya pla 4*, although the learned editors of the inscription failed to decipher the passage correctly.[4] It is not made clear in the record whether the four *palas* of *rūpya* were realised as the nominal price of the village granted or were to be annually levied as revenue. Of the two other contractions used in our record, ā | *mā* is difficult to explain, although it is tempting to suggest that *mā* stands here for *māsha*. *Gu* is very probably an abbreviation of the well-known weight *guñjā*, otherwise called *raktikā* (modern *ratī*), which is one-sixth of a *māsha*. Thus the price or annual rent of the village of Taḍēśvaragrāma seems to have been fixed at silver weighing ten *palas*, two *māshas* and four *guñjās*. The reference to silver instead of coined money is interesting from the view point of the economic condition of ancient Orissa. Probably there was dearth of coined money. It may, however, be suggested that the three contractions actually indicate three varieties of coins. But the paucity of ancient coins from Orissan sites as well as the fact that *gu* or *guñjā* could not have been a coin possibly goes against the suggestion.[5]

Lines 7-13 of the inscription describe the boundaries of Taḍēśvaragrāma. In this description, the words *sāndhi* and *prākachhēda* are repeatedly used. The meaning of both the words is uncertain. The former word apparently also occurs in some other early Orissan records. The Ganjam plate[6] of Daṇḍimahādēvī seems to use the same word in the form *sāddhi* (*sāndhi*?). I have tentatively taken it to mean the same thing as Sanskrit *sandhi* or junction. *Prākachhēda* has been similarly taken to stand for Sanskrit *prākchhēda* or the dividing line (*i.e.*, boundary) well-known from former times. The village is said to have had in the east the big stone at the *sāndhi* of Chāmpā, the *gāḍa* (Sanskrit *gartta*) at the *sāndhi* of Paḍumbā and the *prākachhēda* of Ardha-śrōtri; in the south the *prākachhēda* of a *gaḍa* (fort); in the west the *sāndhi* of the Vōṛi *stūpa*; in the north-west the *prākachhēda* of Kōṇ[mbra], that of Galachhinā on the big hill, that at the centre of the Śrīvidā hill and that at the stone of Galachhinā to the north of the Śrīvidā; in the north the boundary at the stone of Guḍēsara; and in the north-east the *prākachhēda* of the stone hill at Vīṇa.

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[1] *JPASAB*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13. Cf. the word *pla* in *prati-varsha-dīyamāna-rūpyaka-ēka-pala-kara-śāsana-vinikṣhipya* (ibid., p. 5.)

[2] *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 152-54.

[3] *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XII, pp. 292-94.

[4] Vasu (*op. cit.*, p. 160) and Banerji (above, Vol. XII, p. 158) could not also read correctly the passage *Siṅgagrāmaḥ tris-ōkāḥ ru(rū)pya-pla 2* in the Talcher plate of Śubhākara Kulastambha. Similarly we have to read *ru(rū)pya-pla || 4 ||* in lines 32 and 34 of the epigraphic text printed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 20.

[5] For the miserable economic condition of Orissa in early times, note the observations of the seventeenth century writer Thomas Bowrie quoted by me in *JNSI*, Vol. VII, p. 82.

[6] Above, Vol. VI, p. 140.

Lines 13-17 say that the village was offered as a *kraya-śāsana* with the consent of *Mahāsāmanta* Karēṭhi, of Sōnapa who was the son of *Mahāsāmanta* Aicharā, of Khāṭāvādāmayā,[1] of *Ṭhākura* Bahulā and of Kaḍukulliṅga. Lines 17-18 appear to contain the names of the following witnesses: Bhāṭaputra Aṁkura, Bhāṭaputra Vāghaḍa, Bhāṭaputra Kaṇḍḍiyā, Bhāṭaputra Heu and Māhā (*i.e.*, *Mahā* or 'senior,' or *Māhāsāmanta* for *Mahāsāmanta*) Kaḍḍapōlu. In lines 18-28 are quoted some of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, although they contain all sorts of mistakes.[2] Line 28 also contains the *maṅgala*: "Let there be peace to the cow, the Brāhmaṇa and the world as well as to the king". In lines 28-29 there is a passage which seems to mean "(the village is) to be enjoyed according to the custom prevalent in the country in succession by grandfathers, fathers and sons". Another interesting passage in lines 29-30 says that, even if there are passages in the deed which are short of letters or in excess of them, they should be regarded as genuine.[3] Lines 31-32 say that the deed was engraved by Padmanābha who was the son of the merchant Pāṇḍi and was an inhabitant of Gandhaṭapāṭī.

The name of king Narēndradhavala is very interesting, as the name-ending *dhavala* seems to suggest the existence of a ruling family called Dhavala in ancient Orissa side by side with the families of the Bhañja kings whose names end with the word *bhañja*. It is also interesting to note in this connection that there is a tract of land in the Singhbhūm District of Bihar still known as Dhalbhūm or Dhavalabhūmi, 'the land of the Dhavalas'. This name of the territory is associated with a line of kings whose names end with the word *dhavala*. Indeed some late-medieval rulers of Dhalbhūm, such as Gopīnāthadhavala and his son Anantadhavala who was the patron of the poet Jagannātha Sena, author of the *Hitōpadēśa Pāñchālī*, are famous in the history of Bengali literature.[4] These Dhavala kings were neighbours of the Bhañjas of Orissa. As a matter of fact, part of the Singhbhūm District containing Dhalbhūmgarh lies immediately to the north of Mayūrbhañj ruled by a Bhañja royal family up till today. There is, however, another Dhavala ruling family in the heart of Orissa. Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada (Mayurbhanj State) informs me that the Rājās of Dompara in the Cuttack District of Orissa belong to a Dhala or Dhavala family. What relation may have existed in former times between the Dhavalas of Dompara and those of Dhalbhūm cannot be determined. It is, however, not improbable that both these families are offshoots of an ancient royal family of Orissa to which king Narēndradhavala of the record under discussion belonged. It is also possible to suggest that both the Bhañjas and Dhavalas were originally feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and that they began to rule more or less independently only after the decline of the latter.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of only one place is certain. Gandhaṭapāṭī, mentioned also in several other Orissan records, is undoubtedly modern Gandhaḍāḍi in the Baudh State. I am unable to identify Khiṇḍarasiṅgha, Gōmuṇḍamaṇḍala or Mōmuṇḍa-°, Dharaṇimpha or Dharaṇai° and Taḍēśvaragrāma. The localities mentioned in the description of the boundaries of Taḍēśvaragrama also cannot be identified. The kingdom of the Dhavalas, however, appears to have been contiguous to that of the Bhañjas of the Keonjhar

[1] This expression may represent more than one personal name. Whether they were also the sons of Aichar cannot be determined.

[2] These verses were apparently inserted in order to represent the sale of land as a gift. *Cf.* *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 114: *sthāvarasya vikraya-pratishēdhāt...dāna-prakārēṇ-ēcha vikrayō-pi kartavyē sa hiraṇyam-udakaṁ dattvā dāna-rūpēṇa sthāvara-vikrayaṁ kuryāt*. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 567.

[3] For the same passage in other early Orissan records, *cf.* the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha, *JBORS*, Vol. II, p. 407. (See also above, Vol. XII, pp. 203, 285, etc.)

[4] S. Sen, *Vāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Vol. I, second edition, p. 859. These Dhavala chiefs are said to have lived at Amlukānagara and enjoyed the title *Shāhzāda*.

MGIPC—S1—40 DGA—10-1-52—450.

region. Whether Khiṇḍarasiṅgha has to be identified with the territory called Giḍrisiṅgi mentioned in the Dirghasi stone inscription[1] or Kandarsinghā in the S.I. sheet map 73H|5a2, cannot be definitely determined.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 [Siddham||][3] **Khiṇḍarasighēm**[4] |[5] Śrī-**Narēndradhavala**[6]-rājyē | **Gōmuṇḍa**[7]-**maṇḍalē** | **Dharaṇimpha**[8]-vi.[9]

2 nisṛita | Nāgavansa-sambhava | rāṇaka-śrī-Madhavarāha [10]| suta-rāṇaka-śrī-Vikāra-

3 | Vikāra[11]-suta-rāṇaka-śrī-Ghōṅghākēna | rājaputra-Vigraha-śahasthēna[12] | rupyaka-śō-[13]

4 padhinā | kraya-śāsanatvēna | kulaputraka | Vaṇadēva[14]-suta | bhaṇḍāri-Raṇiyā

5 | tasya suta Sōḍā | śrī-Silābhañjadēva-krita[15] | ṭhākura-Kōṇvī | ṭhākura-

6 Umvā(mbā) | Dōmvī(mbī) | syōbhanadaggē tīrna[16] | rupyaka pla 10 ā | [17] mā 2 gu 4 [|][18]

7 Taḍēsvaragrāma | chatu-simā-paryamntavā | śa-saila-vana-kānanna-samēta | purva-

8 disēna[19] | Chāmpā-sāndhi-vṛi(bṛi)hada-pāthara | Paḍumvā(mbā)-śāndhi | gāḍa Ardhdha-śrōtri-

9 prākachhēda | dakshinē gaḍa-prākachhēda | paśchimēna Vōri-stupa-śāndhi | pa-

10 śchima-utarēna Kōsa(mvra)-pāthara-prākachhēda | vṛi(bṛi)hata-parvvatē | Ga[la]-

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 318.

[2] From the original plates preserved in the Madras Museum and impressions preserved at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Possibly the reading intended is °siṅghē for °śriṅgē.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. The *visarga*-like sign before the *daṇḍa* is a part of the stop (*cf.*, *e.g.*, *Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for* 1939-40, p. 8 and plate). With the exception of a few only, the *daṇḍas*, so abundantly used in the inscription, are superfluous. In many cases the *daṇḍa* has been used just as a hyphen is done in English.

[6] Metal has peeled off from some places on both sides of plate I. The damage is fortunately on the blank side. Due to the peeling off, the passage *śrī-Narēndradhavala-rājyē* | *Gō°* (or *Mō°*) has been partially damaged. Whether the partial effacement of the king's name was intentionally done by some person is difficult to say. But it seems to me that the peeling off is natural. *Cf.* remarks at p. 44 above.

[7] What has been read as *Gō°* may possibly also be read as *Mō* or *Gā*.

[8] What I have read as *ṇi* may possibly be also read as *ṇai*.

[9] Read *vinisṛita-Nāgavaṁśa-sambhava*.

[10] The correct form of the name was possibly *Mādha°*.

[11] It is better to omit the name here.

[12] *Saṁ-haste* seems to be intended.

[13] *Ṣ-ōpadhinā* is possibly intended.

[14] The correct form of the name would be *Vana°*.

[15] The idea seems to be : *Raṇiyā-sutena Sōḍā-nāmakēna śrī-Śilābhañjadēvēna kritaṁ*.

[16] Possibly *tīrṇa* which stands for Sanskrit *trayāṇāṁ* and refers to the three persons, *viz.*, Kōṇvī, Umbā and Ḍōmbī. Does *syōbhanadaggē* stand for *Śōbhanadurgē* and indicate the place where the three persons were living? The superscript of the *akshara* read *ggē* looks like *dh* and the *akshara* may be *dhgē* ; but the *ē* sign should then have been longer. The idea may be: *ṭhakkura-Kōṇvī-cha ṭhakkur-Ombā-nāmnbhyāṁ-cha Ḍōmbī-nāmnbhyāṁ-cha iti tribhyō brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*.

[17] This *daṇḍa* is not straight like the others but is slanting and peculiar.

[18] Possibly *rūpyaka-pala 10 māsha 2 guñjā 4* is intended.

[19] In Sanskrit the passage would stand : *Taḍēśvara-grāmaḥ chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ sa-śaila-vana-kānana-samētaḥ pūrva-diśi*. The following passage (lines 8-13), describing the boundaries of the village Taḍēśvaragrāma, is greatly influenced by the local Prakrit. As already noticed above, the words *sāndhi* and *prākachhēda* are repeatedly used ; but their meanings are not absolutely certain. *Sāndhi* possibly means the same thing as *sandhi* or *sandhi-sthāna*, while *prākachhēda* possibly stands for *prāk-chhēda* meaning *pūrva-kālīna-chhēda*, 'dividing line of former times', *i.e.*, the well-known boundary.

Second Plate ; First Side

11 chhinā-prākachhēda | Śrividā-parvvata-madhya-prākachhēda | Śrividā-uta-
12 rōna | Galachhinā-pāthara-prākachhēda | utara-diśāna | Guḍāsara-pā-
13 thara-simaya | utara-purvva-diśāna | Vina-pāthara-parvvata-prākachhēda | Mā-
14 hāsāmanta-Ka-ḍhi | Mahāsāmanta-Āṁharā | suta-Sōnapa | Khā-
15 ṭāvādāmaya[1] | ṭhākura-Va(Ba)hulā | Kuḍukulliṅga ōtatta-sa-
16 revu-śamuatena[2] | dāyādya-maṇḍala-vibhramēna[3] | aśana-ka-
17 rpaṭ-ābhāvana[4] | gāmō=yaṁ kraya-śāsanaṁ pradata[5] | Ētāna vidi-
18 tay [6] | Bhāṭaputra-Aṁkura | Bhāṭaputra-Vāghaḍa | Bhāṭaputra-Ka-
19 ḍḍiyā | Bhāṭaputra-Heu | Mahā-Kuḍḍapōlu | yāvadaṇḍā[7] bha-

Second Plate ; Second Side

20 vēd-bhumi | sama-chhēdā śaśōbhanāṁ | tāvda-yuga-sahasrāṇi
21 Rudra-lōkañ-cha tishṭhati | [8]sa-datām=vā para-datām=vā | yō hare-
22 ti vasundharā | vishṭhāyāṁ krimi bhuta | pitṛibhi saha pachyatē |
23 taṭākānāṁ sahasrēṇa | asva(śva)mēdha-śatēna cha | gōghna[9]-
24 sahasrēṇa | bhumi-hartā na sudhyati | ja(ya)sya ja(ya)sya yadā
25 bhumi | tasyā[10] tasya tadā phala[ṁ*] | haratē[11] hārayatē bhumi |
26 manda-vudhi tam-āvṛita | sa vadhō vāruṇai pāsai |
27 tirya-yōnisu jāyati | A(Ā)dityō Varuṇō Viṇnu | Vrahmā[12]

Third Plate

28 Sōma(mō) Hutāsa( )na[ḥ*] | Su(Śū)lapāni(ṇi)s=tu bhagavām(vān) | abhinamdanti bhu(bhū)-
29 midaṁ(dam) | gō-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-visvē(svē)bhya[ḥ*] | rājñā(jñā) sā(śā)nim=bhabhavati[13] | pitā-[14]
30 mōha-pātāna | bhō(ka(kta)vyaṁ | dēśa-maryādayā | niun-āksharam-a-[15]
31 dhik-āksha[raṁ*] mvā(vā) | sarvvē pramāṇam-iti | Gandhaṭapāṭi-vāstavya-
32 vaṇika(k)-Pāṇḍi | suta-Padmanābha[16] | śāsana ulagiritam-iti
33 [A number of daṇḍas together with a lotus indicating the end]

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[1] See above, p. 48, n. 1. Possibly we have to suggest °maṇḍā in the plural.

[2] The idea seems to be: Ētēshāṁ sarva-sammatēna referring possibly to the assent accorded to the deed by the persons mentioned in lines 13-15. Māhāsāmanta is no doubt the same as Mahāsāmanta.

[3] The idea may be: dāyāda-maṇḍala-kramēṇa.

[4] The meaning of the passage is not clear. It may suggest that the income of the village had to be used for aśana and karpaṭa, i.e., for food and cloth.

[5] Correctly speaking: grāmō=yaṁ kraya-śāsanēna pradattaḥ.

[6] The idea may be: ētē vēditāraḥ referring to the persons who are mentioned in lines 17-18 and who may have been witnesses to the deed. Mahā may be a contraction of Māhāsāmanta standing for Mahāsāmanta.

[7] The verses in Sanskrit are hopelessly corrupt owing to the want of the writer's knowledge of that language and to the influence of the local pronunciation. Read yāvad=dattā bhavati bhūmiḥ sama-chchhēdā raśmibhanā | tāvad-yuga-sahasrāṇi rudra-lōkē cha tishṭhati ||

[8] Read sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ | sa vishṭhāyāṁ krimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ||

[9] Read gō-sahasra-pradānēna bhūmi-hartā na śudhyati ||

[10] Read bhūmis=tasya. The first half of this verse (bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ) is carelessly omitted.

[11] Read harati hārayēd=yas=tu manda-buddhis=tamō-vṛitaḥ | sa baddhō vāruṇaiḥ pāśais=tiryag-yōnishu jāyatē

[12] Read Vishṇur=Brahmā.

[13] Bhavanti or bhavishyati is apparently intended.

[14] The idea may be pitā-putra-kramēṇa.

[15] Read nyūn-ākshara°.

[16] Read Padmanābhēna śāsanam=alikhitam=iti.

No. 9—MADANPUR PLATE OF SRICHANDRA; YEAR 44

(1 Plate)

R. G. Basak, Calcutta

This copper plate was found in June, 1946, while earth was being dug out for the foundation of a wall on the land belonging to one Sekh Newajuddin in the *mauza* of **Madanpur**, near the old and famous village of Sabhar, situated about 15 miles north-west of the city of Dacca in East Bengal. After its discovery, the plate was made over to the father of Babu Santi Ranjan Roy, a pupil of Mr. Guru Prasad Ganguli, B.A., B.T., Head Master of the Sabhar H. E. School, to whom the former brought it for presentation. I am thankful to Mr. Ganguli, who was himself a student of mine during my professorship at the Rajshahi College long years ago, for his kindly sending the plate to me for decipherment. The plate was, at first, in many places of its surface, covered with a thick coating of hard earth and verdigris, but after it was cleaned by me, it was found that the inscription on it was in a fair state of preservation. Unfortunately, a portion of the plate towards its proper right corner at the bottom was obliquely cut away by some one amongst the ignorant finders, probably for testing its metal out of greed for gold. This has caused a loss of a few letters from the beginning of each of the lines 15 to 23 on the obverse side, and also at the end of each of the lines 29 to 42 on the reverse side. Most of these missing letters could, however, be restored with the help of the published plates of Śrīchandra.

The chronology of the discovery of the five copper plate grants, including the present one, of king Śrīchandra of East Bengal may be interesting to epigraphists and historians. The Edilpur (Faridpur) plate, the existence of which in the house of a rich man of the locality for several decades past was known to scholars in Bengal, but which has not yet been available to them for decipherment of the inscription thereupon inspite of strenuous attempts on their part, was the subject of a note on its contents gathered from a hurried study by the late Babu Ganga Mohan Laskar, published in the October issue of the now defunct journal, the *Dacca Review*, in the year 1912, and extracts thereof were quoted by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-190. The second grant of this king, the Rampal (Dacca) plate, was first brought to light by the present writer in April, 1913, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 136-142 and plates. The third one, the Kedārpur (Faridpur) plate, was found in April 1919 by Dr. Bhattasali, the then Curator of the Dacca Museum, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-192. The fourth epigraph, the Dhulla (Dacca) plate, was also discovered by Dr. Bhattasali in 1925. It is deposited in the Dacca Museum. It remains unpublished, but a short account of its contents was published by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in an Appendix to his edition of *Inscriptions of Bengal* (Vol. III, pp. 165-6), published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. The present plate is, therefore, to be regarded as the fifth amongst the grants, hitherto discovered, of this king. Thus within the course of 34 years (1912-1946) Bengal historians have come in possession of five grants of king Śrīchandra to help them in reconstructing the history of East Bengal under the Chandra dynasty.

This is a single **plate** inscribed on both sides. It measures about 8¼″ × 6¾″. Its edges are raised into rims on the obverse side, evidently for the preservation of the writing. It bears a **seal** attached to the middle of the top, measuring about 4½″ × 3½″. It projects about 1¾″ into the inscription thereby causing a break in the middle of the first three lines of writing on the obverse. This seal has a protuberant top and a pedestal-like bottom. It contains in the middle four concentric circles, the outermost having floral decorations which adorn the base. The innermost circle, the diameter of which is nearly 2″, has in its upper part the famous Buddhist emblem of the *Dharmachakra* (the wheel of law) flanked by two couchant deer, which device must be representing

the *mṛiga-dāva* (the deer park) of Kāśī (now Sarnath, Banaras) where the Buddha delivered his first sermon on Dharma. Just below this representation, between two lines, occurs the legend *Śrī-Śrīchandradēvaḥ* written in relief. There is also a floral base for the support, as it were, of the legend, as is the case with the wheel emblem within its own circle. It may be noted that the Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal also used the same emblem on the seals attached to their copper charters.

The inscription consists of 42 lines, the obverse containing 23 lines and the reverse 19 lines. The execution of the writing is excellent, the letters in all lines being almost of uniform size, which is about ¼". The **characters** employed in the inscription belong to a variety of the northern alphabet which was used, specially in Bengal, in the 10th-11th century A.D. From a comparison of the script of the Vishṇupāda (Gayā) temple inscription[1] of the 7th year of king Nārāyaṇapāla and of that of the Narasiṁhadēva (Gayā) temple inscription[2] of the 15th year of king Nayapāla, with that of our inscription (though engraved on copper), it may be assumed that our inscription belonged to a period intermediate between these two kings' reigns. It may also be surmised that the script of this inscription does not belong to any period much earlier than that of the inscriptions[3] of the time of the Varman kings of East Bengal. Of initial vowels we have the signs for *a* (in *aśāpa*, line 15, *arddha*°, line 24, *a-chāṭa*°, line 27, *a-kiñch*° line 27 and *Agāstya*, line 28) ; *ā* (in *ādhārō*, line 11, *ādiśati*, line 25) ; *i* (in *iti*-, line 7, *iti*, line 31 and 40, *iv*-, line 33) ; *u* (e.g. in *ubhau*, line 38) and *ē* (in *ēva*, line 3, *ēkāta*°, line 15, *ēkadēśa*-, line 35). It is noteworthy that as in Nārāyaṇapāla's inscription referred to above and in the Silimpur stone-slab inscription[4], the initial *i* is represented in this plate also by two ringlets placed side by side with a short horizontal bar above them. There are to be noticed some peculiar forms of consonantal conjuncts, such as *ksh* (in *bhiksha*°, line 4, *didṛiksha*°, line 9, °*dhyaksha*, line 23, °*kshām*-, line 25, °*smākshī*, line 33) ; *kty* (in *bhaktyā*, line 7, °*kty-antaḥ*° line 20) ; *tvā* (in *snātvā*, line 28, *kṛitvā*, line 28, *bhūtvā*, line 39) ; *shṇ* (in [*Vi*]*shṇō*°, line 13) ; *hy* (in °*grāhyā*, line 27) ; *tm* (in -*ātma*°, line 29), *jñ* (in *nayajñaḥ*, line 15, °*rājñī*, line 21) ; and *rṇ* (in *pūrṇa*°, line 5, -*Pūrṇa*°, line 5, *Suvarṇa*°, line 8 and line 9, *suvarṇa*°, line 9).

As regards **orthography**, as almost in all the eastern epigraphs specially in Bengal, the letter *b* is throughout expressed by the sign for *v*. Other peculiarities which call for special notice are the following :—(1) almost all consonants such as *g*, *ch*, *ṇ*, *t*, *m*, *y* and *v* are doubled after a *r* ; (2) *s* is substituted for the *visarga* before a following *s* (in *Jinas-sa*, line 1, *dus-sādhya*°, line 24, etc., but the *visarga* sign has been retained after *pitṛibhiḥ saha*, line 39) ; (3) the sign for *avagraha* has sometimes been used (as in °*chandrō-'bhavat*, line 5) and sometimes omitted (as in *Dharmmō-py*°, line 2) ; (4) final *t*, *n* and *m* are indicated by signs of the letters smaller in size, but the final *m* has a peculiar shape of its own in (*chihna*) *m*, line 15, °*tṛitīyāyām*, line 28 ; and (5) the guttural nasal *ṅ* has been used instead of the *anusvāra* before the palatal sibilant *ś* (*vaṅśē*, line 4, °*kardāṅśaḥ* line 7).

The **language** is Sanskrit which is generally correct, except where some mistakes occur due to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. After the introductory words *Ōṁ svasti* the inscription contains 8 verses in praise of the predecessors of the royal donor, which are followed by about 13 lines of prose after which we have 6 verses describing the genealogy of the donee and eulogising the donee himself. The grant then has again 2 lines of prose and this is followed by three of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. It may be noted here that the first 8 verses which describe the history of Śrichandra's dynasty are identical with the 8 verses in the Rāmpāl plate of the king. So far as these verses in the present plate and the (yet

[1] *Vide* R. D. Banerji's *The Pālas of Bengal* (*Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3), plate No. XXIV.

[2] *Ibid.*, plate No. XXVI.

[3] *E.g.* the Belava plate of Bhōjavarmadēva, above, Vol. XII, plates opposite pp. 40-41.

[4] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 284 ff. and plate.

i.

ii.a.

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO
Reg. No. 3977 E'38 -495'50

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

ii,b.

20 20

22 22

24 24

26 26

iii.

28 28

30 30

32 32

unpublished) Dhulla plate of this king are concerned, the draft seems to be almost identical, the latter having only a ninth verse added to it which is the seventh one of the Kedārpur plate mentioned above. These three plates come from the Dacca District. The Edilpur and Kedārpur plates which belong to the Faridpur District have greater affinity between themselves with regard to these eulogistic verses. The opening verse in honour of the Buddhist *triratna* (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha) is, however, common to all the five plates of Śrīchandra, hitherto discovered.

Our grant is **dated** the 44th year, evidently referring to the regnal year of the king, and the 28th day of the month of **Mārgga [śīrsha]**, *i.e.* November-December. This date is followed by the abbreviated forms of two official endorsements, *viz.*, *Mahāsā ni ana ni Mahā(ksha ?)* which indicate 'approved by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* and then by the *Mahākshapaṭalika*'.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of rent-free land measuring 8 *drōṇas* exceeded by 8. . . . , in a locality called **Vaṅgasāgara-sambhāṇḍāriyaka** in **Yōlāmaṇḍala** (mentioned also in the Dhulla plate[1]), situated in the **Puṇḍrabhukti** (*i.e.*, Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti), by the *Paramasaugata Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Śrīchandradēva** who meditated on the feet of his father, *Mahārājādhirāja* **Trailōkya-chandradēva**, to a Brāhmaṇa, named Śukradēva, son of Hara, grandson of Varāha, and great-grandson of Mahādēva who was himself born in the family of three *sōmapītin* Brāhmaṇas, named Mākha, Rāma and Dhruva, having the three wellknown *pravaras*. The *gōtra*, *vēda* and *śākhā* of the family are, however, not mentioned. The grant was issued from the royal victorious camp (or capital) situated at **Vikramapura**. The king dedicated the grant in the name of Lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, after having bathed on the Agastitṛitīyā day, for the sake of enhancing the merit and fame of his parents and of himself.

A summary of the historical information that can be gathered from the plate may be given here for ready reference. King Śrīchandra calls himself a *Saugata* and all the charters issued by him bear the royal seal containing the emblem of the Buddhist *dharmachakra* and describe with devotion, in the opening verse, the Buddhist " three jewels ", the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The next verse describes the place of origin of the **Chandras** who possessed vast fortunes, enjoyed by them at a locality called **Rōhitāgiri**. Bengal scholars differ in their view regarding the identification of this place-name. Some take it to be Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar and others headed by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali suggest it to refer to the Lalmai Hills, situated west of Comilla in East Bengal.[2] So it remains yet a question as to whether the Chandras emigrated to Eastern Bengal from outside, or were original inhabitants of that part of Bengal. It appears, however, that the first nobleman in the dynasty, named **Pūrṇachandra**, became very famous ; his name could be " read on the pedestals of images and on (stone) pillars of victory and copper-plates in which new epigraphs were inscribed. " Such is his description in verse 2 of this inscription. This description and the reference in verse 2 of the Kedārpur plate to Pūrṇachandra's parasol, in the form of the canopy of dust raised by his vanguards, being resorted to by his enemies, make it possible to presume that in his own land he behaved like an independent ruler, though not declared as a formal king. The next two verses (vv. 3 and 4) disclose the fact that Pūrṇchandra's illustrious son, **Suvarṇachandra**, was known in the world as Bauddha. So it is clear that he was the first in the dynasty to embrace Buddhism. He also is not described in the inscription as having ruled as a king. His son, **Trailōkyachandra**, with his title *Mahārājādhirāja* mentioned in all the records became the first independent king, ruling probably from Vikramapura as the capital of his kingdom.

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[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp.165-6.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Published by Dacca University, 1943), p. 194.

He is described in verse 5 of the Kedārpur plate as having his desire of conquering the earth, (bounded) by the four oceans, fulfilled, and he is further spoken of as having extinguished the fire of his enemies by means of the water of his creeper-like sword in many a battle. This description certainly corroborates the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[1] that "Trailōkyachandra laid the foundation of the greatness of the family." In verse 5 of our inscription we have an indication as to how he strove to expand his territories. The most important epithet of Trailōkyachandra, as we find in this verse, "*ādhārō Harikēlarāja-[ka*]kuda-chchhatra-smitānāṁ śriyām*", read along with "*yaś-Chandr-ōpapadē ra(ba)bhūva nripatir-dvīpē*", conveys the fact that at first he was a king of **Chandradvipa** and later became "the repository of the Fortune (goddess) whose smile was the (white) umbrella, the symbol (of royalty) of the king of **Harikēla**". Bereft of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailōkyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikēla kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the Dacca University *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny. The net result of the political achievements of Trailōkyachandra seems to be that he was at first a king of Chandradvipa but later became the ruler over the whole of Harikēla. Who can vouchsafe that in the period under discussion Vikramapura was not the capital of Harikēla itself ? Of course it is difficult to ascertain the exact political relation previously prevailing between the kingdoms of Chandradvipa and Harikēla. Although in the seventh century A.D. the country of Harikēla is referred to by I'tsing[2] as 'the eastern limit of Eastern India', yet during the 10th-11th century A.D. we should follow the lexicographer Hēmachandra[3] (born 1089 A.D.) who identified Harikēla with Vaṅga (*Vaṅgās-tu Harikēliyāḥ*) and explain the reference to Harikēla in our inscription as identical with Vaṅga whose capital was Vikramapura in those centuries. As to Chandradvipa, it was a territory in the South-east of Bengal in the district of Bakerganj and in mediaeval period it was known as Bāklā Chandradvīpa which[4] comprised within its boundaries some portions of the modern districts of Bakerganj, Khulna and Faridpur. Trailōkyachandra's wife was **Śrīkāñchanā** who gave birth to her illustrious son, who was destined to be a great king, having been born in an auspicious *muhūrta* of *Rāja-yōga* (vv. 6-7). Then we have a description of this son, **Śrīchandra** (v.8), which indicates clearly that this Buddhist king attained full paramount power, by putting his enemies into prison-cells. That this king had to fight some enemies and become victorious in battles (*raṇēshu jayī*) is mentioned in verse 7 of the Kedārpur plate also. But it is difficult to surmise as to who these enemies of Śrīchandra were. It only seems evident that this king's father, Trailōkyachandra, who was at first a king of Chandradvīpa only, in the south-eastern portion of Bengal, began gradually to extend his dominion towards the north, *i.e.*, towards the localities represented by the modern districts of Faridpur and Dacca, and ultimately took possession of the citadel of Vikramapura which was in all probability in the hands of the Pāla kings of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti and Magadha. In still earlier centuries we have epigraphic evidence to prove that Kāntidēva and later Laḍahachandra ruled independently in East and Southern Bengal, the former's kingdom having probably comprised a portion of Western Bengal also. We know that a great calamity overtook the Pāla kingdom during the reigns of Gōpāla II and his son and successor Vigrahapāla II during the latter half of the 10th century A.D. It is quite probable that the Chandra rulers of East and South Bengal were able to found an independent kingdom during that epoch, and that Śrīchandra, whose rule continued at least for 44 years, might have been a contemporary of the great Pāla king, Mahīpāla I (c. 988-1038 A.D.). On this chronological basis it may be surmised that the king Gōvindachandra of Vaṅgāladēśa (East and South Bengal) who had to make

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 194-195.

[2] I-tsing (Takakusu), p. xlvi.

[3] *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II by Winternitz (English translation published by Calcutta University, p. 482).

[4] Cf. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 224.

good his escape, after having descended from his elephant when the Chōḷa king, Rājēndra Chōḷa-dēva I[1], invaded Bengal in about 1023 A.D., probably belonged to Śrīchandra's family and was a successor to that king. It may profitably be mentioned here that we have reference[2] to the 12th and 23rd years of the reign of Gōvindachandra on the pedestal inscriptions of the Kulkudi (Faridpur) Sun-god and the Betkā (Dacca) Vāsudēva images respectively.

It may be remarked in passing as to how in those early days prevailed in all parts of India the spirit of religious toleration amongst the people. Here in this copper-plate grant we find Śrīchandra, a Buddhist king, making a gift of land to a Vēdic Brāhmaṇa in the name of his own worshipped god, Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka. The first historical instance of advocacy for religious toleration can be traced to the famous edict (Rock Edict XII) of the Maurya Buddhist Emperor, Aśōka.

It has been stated above that the land donated by Śrīchandra was situated at a place in **Yōlāmaṇḍala**. The name of this *maṇḍala* occurs also in the hitherto unpublished Dhulla plate of the same king. Some of the localities, mentioned in the latter plate as situated in the same *maṇḍala*, have been identified by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali with some places to the north of the river Dhaleswari in the Manikganj sub-division of the Dacca District, which is not far away from Sabhar and the find-place of our plate. So it seems quite likely that Yōlāmaṇḍala was once situated in that same area of the modern Dacca District.

The gift of the land of our plate was made by Śrīchandra on the **Agasti-tṛitīyā** day (line 28). Most probably this *tṛitīyā* belongs to the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādra. It is believed that with the rise of Agasti or Agastya (*Canopus*) the waters of rivers, etc., begin to become clear and it also ushers in the *śarat* (autumn) season. In Bengal offerings are made to Agastya in Bhādra. So it may be that the king made the gift of land to Śakradēva in Bhādra and that the charter was formally issued on the 28th of Mārgaśīrsha (Agrahāyaṇa) in the 44th regnal year of the king.

It now remains for me to make an attempt to explain the following new names of officials occurring in the list of functionaries addressed by the king while making his land-grant : *Mahā-tantrādhyaksha* (l. 23), *Gōchchhakapati* (ll. 23-24) *Arddha-nauvāṭaka* (l. 24) and *Nauvāṭaka* (l. 24). The term *Mahātantrādhyaksha* undoubtedly refers to the highest priest in charge of the religious rites which are performed on the king's behalf in accordance with the injunctions of the *Śrutis* and the *Smṛitis*. The Ramganj copper-plate[3] of Īśvaraghōsha has a similar officer named as *Mahā-tantrādhikṛita*. These two terms can easily be explained with the help of the definition of a Tāntrika as we find in the *Śukranītisāra*.[4] As for the term *Gōchchhakapati*, it is difficult to explain it unless we imagine it to represent under Prākṛit influence the Sanskrit word *Gōshṭhakapati*, 'the administrative head in charge of the pasture-land and cowsheds'. His functions may aptly be compared with those of the *Vivītādhyaksha* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[5] The word *nauvāṭaka* is very important. It is for the first time that we find this term used in a Bengal copper-plate along with the names of officials addressed by the donor king in land-grant documents. It occurs in another context (the description of Pāṭaliputra situated on the Ganges) in the Khalimpur plate[6] of Dharmapāla. The word was there interpreted by Kielhorn as 'a fleet of boats' and he equated it with *nauvitāna* used in Vijayasēna's Deopara inscription.[7] We may in this connection also

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[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 232-233.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff.

[3] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 153.

[4] Cf. v. 185 in Chapter II (*Śruti-smṛiti-[illegible]* [illegible] *yataś sa cha Tāntrikaḥ*).

[5] Cf. Chapter 34, Book II.

[6] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 249 and 252, n. 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

mention the word *tarani-sambhavēna* used in the *Rāmacharita*[1] of Sandhyākaranandin which is explained by the old commentator as *naukā-mēlakēna* (a fleet of boats). All these three words refer, however, to fleets of boats plying in the Ganges. Some other inscriptions[2] of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Magadha have introduced the word *nau-vāṭaka* in their description of the riparian capital towns like Pāṭaliputra and Mudgagiri (Munghyr) and also other towns like Vilāsapura and Ramāvatī, which possessed, in addition to elephants, cavalry and infantry, also *nauvāṭaka* ' a fleet of boats '. The reference to the word *nauvāṭa* in the Kamauli plate[3] of Vaidyadēva in connection with his victory in a battle in *anuttara*-Vaṅga (probably South Bengal) makes it clear that the word must be interpreted as a fleet of boats and the war-cry of the navy is what is described in that inscription as *nauvāṭa-hī-hī-ravah*. In the context of our plate the word *nauvāṭaka* may, therefore, refer to the Head of the royal navy, and a junior officer in charge of half a division of the fleet may have been referred to by the term *arddha-nauvāṭaka*.

TEXT[4]

[Metres : Vv. 1,3, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2, 5, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4, 7, 8, *Upajāti* ; v. 6, *Indravajrā* ; vv. 9-10, *Anushṭubh* ; v. 17, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

1 Ōm[5] Svasti || Vandyō Jinas=sa Bhagavān=karuṇ-aika-pā-

2 tra[ṁ] Dharmmō=py=asau viyajayatō[6] jagad-ēka-dīpaḥ |yat-sēvayā

3 sakala ēva mahānubhāvaḥ saṁsāra-pāram=upaga-

4 chchhati Bhikshusa[ṁ]ghaḥ || [1 ||*] **Chandrāṇām**=iha **Rōhitāgiri**-bhujāṁ vaṅśe (vaṁśē) viśāla-śriyāṁ vi-

5 khyātō bhuvi pūrṇṇa-chandra-sadṛiśaḥ śrī-**Pūrṇṇachandrō**-'bhavat achchā(rchchā)nāṁ pada-piṭhikāsu paṭhitaḥ santā-

6 [nā]n=agrataś=ṭaṅk-ōtkīrṇṇa-nava-praśastishu jaya-stambhēshu tāmrēshu cha || [2||*] Vu(Bu)ddhasya yaḥ Śaśaka-

7 jātakam-aṅka-saṁsthaṁ bhaktyā vi(bi)bharti bhagavān=amṛit-ākar-āṅśu(r-āṁśu)ḥ Chandrasya tasya kula-jāta iti-

8 va Vau(Bau)ddhaḥ putraḥ śrutō jagati tasya **Suvarṇṇachandraḥ** || [3||*] Darśē='sya mātā kila dōhadēna didṛi-

9 kshamān=ādayi chandra-viṁvaṁ(bimbaṁ) suvarṇṇa-chandrēṇa hi tōshit=ēti Suvarṇṇachandraṁ[7]yam=udāharanti || [4 || *] Putra-

10 s=tasya pavitrit-ōbhayakulaḥ kaulīna-bhīt-āśayō(yai)s=trailōkyē viditō diśām=atithi-

11 bhis-**Trailōkyachandrō** guṇaiḥ ādhārō **Harikēla**-rāja-[ka*]kuda-chchhatra-smitānāṁ śriyāṁ [ya]-

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[1] V. 10. of Chapter II, p. 46 of the Varendra Research Museum (Rajshahi) edition, 1939.

[2] *Gauḍa-lēkhamālā*, Dēvapāla's Munghyr plate, p. 38 ; Nārāyaṇapāla's Bhagalpur plate, p. 60 ; Mahīpāla I's Bangarh plate, p. 95 ; and Madanapāla's Manhali plate, p. 153.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 130, text, ll. 15-6.

[4] From the original plate.

[5] Expressed by a symbol. Some scholars take it to be the *svastika* mark. [In a Buddhistic record like the present one, the symbol may perhaps better be taken for *siddham* ; cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 333, n. 8 ; Vol. XVII, p. 232—B. C. C.]

[6] Read *vijayatē*.

[7] Here I read incorrectly *samudāharanti* in my edition of the Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra (above, Vol. XII, p. 139).

MADANPUR PLATE OF SRICHANDRA; YEAR 44

Obverse

B. CH. CHHABRA

SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

Reg. No. 3977 E'38-514'50

Reverse

12 ś=chandr-ōpapadē va(ba)bhūva nṛipatir-dvīpē Di(Dī)līp-ōpamaḥ || [5 || *] Jyōtsn=ēva Chandrasya Śach=iva

13 [Ji]shṇōr=gGauri Harasy=ē[va*] Harēr=iva Śrīḥ tasya priyā kāñchana-kāntir=āsīt **Śrīkāñcha-**

14 **n**=ēty=añchita-śāsanasya || [6 || *] Sa rāja-yōgēna śubhē muhūrttē mauhūrttikaiḥ sūchita-rāja-

15 [chihna]m | avāpa tasyām tanayaṁ naya-jñaḥ **Śrīchandram**=ind-ūpamam=Indra-tējāḥ || [7 || *] Ēk-ātapa-

16 [tr-ābhara*[1]]ṇāṁ śriya[m] yō va(ba)bhāra[2] vaidhēya-jan-āvidhēyaḥ chakāra kārāsu nivēśit-ā-

17 [rir=yaśa*]ḥ-sugandhini diśāṁ mukhāni || [8 || *] sa khalu śri-**Vikramapura**-samāvāsita-śrī-

18 [maj-jaya*]-skandhāvārāt=*Parama-saugatō Mahārājādhirāja*-śri-**Trailōkyachandradēva**-pā

19 [dānudhyā*]taḥ *Parama(mē)śvara[ḥ*] [Para*]mabhaṭṭārakō Mahārājādhirājaḥ* Śrīmān **Śrīchandradē-**

20 [**vaḥ** kuśa*]lī śri-**Pauṇḍra[bhu*]kty**=antaḥpāti-**Yōlāmaṇḍalē Vaṅgasāgara-sambhāṇḍ-āriyakē**

21 [. . . .[1]]shṭ-ādhik-āshṭa-drōṇa-bhūmau samupagat-āśēsha-rājñī-rāṇaka-rājaputra

22 [rājapu*]rōhita mahāsāndhivigrahika | mahāsēnāpati | mahāsāmanta |

23 [mahādharmmā(?)*]dhyaksha maha(hā)sarvva(vvā)dhikṛita | mahātantrādhyaksha mahā-pīlupati gōchcha[ka]-

Reverse

24 pati[3] arddhanauvāṭaka | nauvāṭaka | dussādhyasādhanika | gō=mahishy-aj-ā[dy-adhya(?)*]-

25 kshān=anyāṁś=ch=ānuktān Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān mānayati vō(bō)dhayati | vadati ā[dī]śa-

26 ti cha | bhūmir=iyaṁ sva-sīm-āvachchhinnā | s-ōddēśā | sa-guvāka-nālikērā | s-āmra-pa-

27 nasā | sa-gartt-ōsharā | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśā | a-kiñchid-grāhyā | sa-daś-āparādh[ā] [sa-(?)]

28 prajā Agāstya[4]-tṛitīyāyāṁ snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakaṁ kṛitvā bhagavantaṁ Buddha-[bhaṭṭā]-

29 rakam=uddiśya mātā-[pi*]trōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-'bhiva(vṛi)ddhayē **Mākha-Rāma-Dhruv**-ākārā [yajñī(?)]-

30 yāḥ sōma-pītimaḥ(naḥ) bhūmi-dēvāḥ kil=ābhuvana(n) su-khyāta-pravara-trayāḥ || [9||*] Tad=anvayē [samutpa*]-

31 nnō **Mahādēva** iti dvijaḥ dēvēshv=iva Mahādēvō bhū-dēvēshu va(ba)bhūva yaḥ || [10||*] Śruti-kratu-pri(prī)ya-

32 s=tasya **Varāh**-ākhyaḥ sutō=bhavat Harēr=Ādi-varāhasya sālōkyaṁ prētya yō=gamat || [11 || *] Dharā[dha]-

33 ra-samakshē yaḥ sākshād=Dhara iv=āparaḥ **Harō** nām=ābhavat=tasya tanayō vinay-ānvitaḥ || [12 ||*] Bhāvi[ta?]-

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[1] A portion of the plate is broken and lost on this side. The letters within square brackets here and in the following lines are supplied from the published records of the king.

[2] The Rāmpāl plate reads here *vidhāya* which appears to be a better reading, in the absence of a *cha* in the verse for grammatical concord.

[3] The term *gōchchhaka* is not clear.

[4] The original reading looks like *Agastya*. The engraver appears to have used his chisel twice to correct his error. The proper reading should be *Āgastya* (adjective), or, *Agasti* or *Agastya* (both noun).

34 Vārdhakas=trayyām=āryyas=sajjana-Vāsavaḥ | **Yadukaḥ Kramukaḥ** śrīmān **Śukradēvō=**
bhavat=ta[taḥ] [|| 13 || *]

35 Ēkadēśa-bhavas=tasmai smita-pūrvv-ābhibhāshiṇē Śrīmatē **Śukradēvāya Śrīchandra-**
nṛipa[tir=dda*]-

36 dau[1] || [14 ||*] Tad=bhavadbhir=anumōdanīyā[2] bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhir=bha(bhū)mi-dānē
mahāphala-[gauravāt] haraṇē [cha mahā]-

37 pātaka-darśanād=anupa(pā)lanīy=ēti || Bhavanti ch=ātra dharmm-ānuśaśi(śaṁsi)naḥ ślōkāḥ
[|*] Bhū[miṁ yaḥ pratigṛi*]-

38 hṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-
gāminau || [15 || *] [Sva-dattāṁ*]

39 para-dattāṁvā(ṁ vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ(m) sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ
sa[ha pachyatē] || [16 ||*]

40 Iti kamala-dal-āṁvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | sa-
[kalam=idam=u*]-

41 dāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [17 ||*] Śrī-**Śrīcha-**
ndra[dēva[3]-pādīya(?)*]-

42 saṁva(saṁva)t 44 Mārgga-dinē 28 Mahā Sā ni ana ni Mahā[ksha(?)*][4]

TRANSLATION[5]

(V. 9) It is said that there were Brāhmaṇas (lit. gods on earth) like Mākha, Rāma and Dhruva who were ritualist and *sōma*-drinking and who had the three well-known *pravaras* (noble ancestors).

(V. 10) In their family was born a Brāhmaṇa (*dvija*) named **Mahādēva** who was as prominent amongst the Brāhmaṇas (*bhūdēvas*), as was the god Mahādēva, amongst the gods (*of heaven*).

(V. 11) His son was, by name, **Varāha** who, after death, attained the same world with the Primeval Boar (*incarnation*) of Hari (Vishṇu).

(V. 12) His son, self-restrained (or full of modesty, or well-disciplined), was **Hara**, who was, as it were, a second Hara (i.e., the god Śiva), in presence of the Dharādhara (the mountain, or Vishṇu).

(V. 13) From him were born (*three*) sons, **Yaduka, Kramuka** and **Śukradēva**, each of whom was noble (*ārya*) and eminent amongst good men, and displayed maturity (*of wisdom*) in the three Vēdas.

(V. 14) King Śrīchandra who belonged to the same country (*of his donee*) made a gift (*of the land*) to this illustrious Brāhmaṇa, Śukradēva, who used to speak (*with people*) with a smile.

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[1] This verb is evidently to be connected with some such words as *imām bhūmim* understood, as its object.

[2] These two words are to be connected with the words *bhūmi-rājyam* in line 26.

[3] Such a word as this, or *°dēva-rājya-* seems relevant here.

[4] The unpublished Dhulla plate of this king has *Mahāksha* here.

[5] I need not translate the whole inscription, as the translation of the first 8 verses already occurs in my edition of the Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra in this journal (Vol. XII). I, therefore, put in here the translation of the six new verses (vv. 9-14) which describe the genealogy of the donee Śukradēva.

No. 10—GODACHI PLATES OF KATTI-ARASA ; YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

P. B. Desai, Ootacamund

These copper plates were discovered in 1927 by Dr. S. C. Nandimath, Principal, Basavēśvara College, Bagalkot, Bijapur District. They were in the possession of a Svāmi of a Vīraśaiva Maṭha at **Goḍachi**, a village in the Torgal *tāluk* of the Kolhāpur District, Bombay State. Nothing is known in regard to their previous history and how they came into the possession of the Svāmi. Dr. Nandimath has edited the record on these plates twice.[1] But on account of certain misreadings in the published text and other defects, I edit it here again in this journal.[2]

The plates which are **three** in number and contain holes bored at the extremities must have been originally held together by a ring which is now missing. It is not known whether the ring bore the seal also. The writing is engraved on one side only of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second. The plates are of almost equal size and each measures 6·75" in length, 2·6" in breadth and about $\frac{1}{16}$" in thickness. The diameter of the circular hole is $\frac{5}{16}$". The total weight of the three plates put together is 31 *tolas*. Though the rims of the plates are not raised, the writing is in a good state of preservation. The record comprises twenty lines which are distributed evenly on the four sides.

The **characters** are boldly incised and belong to the southern class of alphabet which was prevalent in the Kannada country in the 6th century A. D. They are quite regular for the age and the locality. The initial *a* occurs in three places, *viz.*, lines 2, 5 and 11. The letters *r* and *k* present two-fold forms, *viz.*, one having its lower loop half developed (l. 4) and the other fully developed (l. 3). The medial short and long *i* are distinguished by a complete circle and a spiral respectively drawn at the top of the letter ; for instance, *Hārīti* in l. 2, °*pavitri* in ll. 3-4, *siti* in l. 9, etc. The sign for the ligature *ri* of the letter *kri* is made out in two different ways, one by a hook attached to the lower end of the letter *k* (l. 4) and the other by suffixing a knotted curve underneath it (ll. 8 and 16). The form of the letter *dh* in the expression *Aśvamēdha* in l. 3 is rather peculiar in that it looks more like *b* (cf. ll. 11 and 12) as contrasted with its more normal forms in ll. 4, 5, etc. The Dravidian letters *ṟ* and *ḻ* are used once each in the expressions, *maṟumaṇnam* and *Nuḻgūla* respectively in l. 13.

In regard to **orthography**, the consonant following *r* in a conjunct letter is invariably doubled with the exception of *rsha* in l. 19. The writing is generally free from errors. The following two instances of wrong spelling may, however, be noted ; *śāstrārtta* for *śāstrārtha* in l. 5 and *dattāṁ vvā* for *dattāṁ vā* in l. 19. The last mistake may be attributed to the undue stress laid on the syllable *vvā* in pronunciation.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit.

The inscription is of great importance in more than one respects. It is the earliest epigraphical record of the Western Chālukya house with the solitary exception of the Bādāmi Rock Inscription of Chalikya Vallabhēśvara, of Śaka 465, discovered recently in 1941. No copper plate records of the early rulers of this family have been discovered so far till we come to the reign of Pulakēśin II. So it may be further claimed that this is the **first copper plate document of the family.**

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[1] *Journal of the University of Bombay*, History, Economics and Sociology series, Vol. V, pp. 165 ff.; *Prabuddha Karnāṭaka*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 25 ff.

[2] My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for having kindly secured the copper plates for my study and to Dr. Nandimath for his kind permission to edit them here.

The epigraph commences with the *praśasti* of the Western Chālukya family and introduces the king **Katti-arasa** as the favourite son of Raṇavikrama Dharmamahārāja. At the request of Vyāghrasvāmin, the king made a gift of land to a learned Brāhmaṇa by name Kṛishṇasvāmin in the 12th year of his reign.

Katti-arasa is a new name[1] in the genealogy of the Western Chālukya house. But there seems to be little difficulty in regard to his identification with Kīrtivarman I. For he was the son of Raṇavikrama, *i.e.*, Pulakēśin I.[2] Kīrtivarman is similarly referred to by his other names or titles, such as Kīrtirāja[3], Pururaṇaparākrama[4] and Śrīvikrama.[5]

The charter is dated the **full moon day in the month of Kārttika of the 12th year of the king's reign**. The Bādāmi Vaishṇava cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I mentions all the details of the above date with the addition of the Śaka year 500.[6] So taking this clue from the latter record we may assign the date of the present record as A.D. 578.

The title *Dharmamahārāja* applied to Raṇavikrama or Pulakēśin I in this record is significant. This is the first and the only record so far discovered, wherein a Western Chālukya king is given this epithet. The title with its variants, such as *Dharmarāja*, *Dharmamahādhirāja* and *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*, was borne by many rulers of the Western Gaṅga, Kadamba and Pallava dynasties of South India.[7] The Kadambas were the last to exhibit this title which is found even in the records of the last rulers of the house, *viz.*, Harivarman and Kṛishṇavarman II.[8] The Western Chālukyas who succeeded the Kadambas to the sovereignty of Karṇāṭaka appear to have adopted in the beginning the larger portion of the Kadamba *praśasti* including this title. The Kadamba *praśasti* which was concise, expanded after its adoption by the Chālukyas.[9] The form of the Chālukya *praśasti* appears to have been in a fluid state until the time of Pulakēśin II, in whose reign it was regularised by giving a fixed form.[10] It is no wonder therefore that the Chālukya *praśasti* of the

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[1] The following instances seem to bear affinity with this name: (i) Mahāsāmanta Katyera of the Chālukya family, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 64. (ii) Kattiyara of the Chālukya lineage in the Didgur inscription, above, Vol. VI, p. 253. (iii) Kattiyaradēva probably identical with Kīrtivarman I or II of the Western Chālukya family; above, Vol. V, p. 20. (iv) Kattirāju in an archaic Telugu record, *A. R.* No. 520 of 1913. (v) Kattirāja, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 798.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 345.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 14.

[5] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 37.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 57.

[7] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 139-40.

[8] The title *Dharmarāja* is met with in one of the three copper plate records of Harivarman, *viz.*, the Sangoli plates which give him the latest regnal year, above, Vol. XIV, p. 166. Kṛishṇavarman II is associated with the title *Dharmamahārāja* in three out of four copper plate records of his, so far discovered. In the remaining one, *viz.*, the Bannahaḷḷi record, the same title is applied to his great grandfather Kṛishṇavarman I, above, Vol. VI, p. 18.

[9] The original expression in the Kadamba records was only *Svāmi-Mahāsēna-Mātṛigaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhishiktānām*; and it assumed the expanded form in the Chālukya records as *Sapta-Lōkamātṛibhiḥ Sapta-Mātṛibhir-abhivarddhitānām Kārttikēya-parirakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparāṇām*.

[10] That the Chālukya *praśasti* had not attained fixed form in the beginning, is illustrated by the following instances. The Bādāmi Vaishṇava cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I and the Nerūr copper plate record of Maṅgalēśa contain the simple expressions, *Svāmi-pād-ānudhyātānām* and *Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānām*. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 59 and Vol. VII, p. 161.) The Sātārā grant of Vishṇuvardhana I bears in addition the following uncommon epithets: *Mātṛigaṇaprasāda-parirakshita-bhujārgaḷānāṁ Kshīrōdadhi-śayana-supt-ōtthita-prasāda-parilabdha-Varāha-lāñchhanānām*. (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.) The enlarged Chālukya *praśasti* is met with for the first time in the Hyderabad grant and Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin II. (*Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 72 and above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.) Even in these records we may note the following variations in the standard form of one of its components, *Kārttikēyānugraha-parirakshaṇa-prāpta-* and *Kārttikēya-paripālan-ābhigata*.

present charter which falls within this transitional period, is not only in accord with the Kadamba *praśasti*, but retains the characteristic title *Dharmamahārāja* which was dropped in the Chālukya records of subsequent date.

Kīrtivarman I carried on extensive expeditions against the enemies[1] and consolidated the kingdom founded by his father. According to the implications of the statement in the Chiplun grant of the time of Pulakēśin II, he rebuilt and made improvements in the capital of Bādāmi.[2] The conditions conducive to an undertaking of this nature would have prevailed after he had completed his conquests and established internal peace in the country. Such a state of affairs appears to have been in existence by A.D. 578, the date of the present record which expressly avers (lines 6-8) that 'he had vanquished all the foes by virtue of his diplomacy and valour and kept all the subjects contented by protecting them according to the rule of the *varṇas* (four-fold classes) and *āśramas* (four-fold orders of life)'.

Vyāghrasvāmin who figures in this record for the first time, appears to have been a very eminent and versatile personality. He was learned in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas ; he was well-versed in the science of polity ; he owned exceptional mastery in grammar, logic, poetry, drama, historical literature, music and *Purāṇas*. He is styled Mahā-Brāhmaṇa and Bṛihaspati (the preceptor of the gods) of the present age (lines 9-11). Lastly he is described as holding the foremost responsibility of the entire kingdom (*rājya-sarvasva-dhurandhara*, ll. 11-12). From this description we might infer that he was the chief minister and head of the administrative affairs of the Chālukya kingdom.

The donee Krishṇasvāmin, we are told, belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, was proficient in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas and was *sa-dvātithi*. The last expression consists of three words (*sahita*, *dvi* and *atithi*) and means 'along with two guests'. This sounds like a queer epithet of the donee and does not afford proper sense by literal interpretation. In the Vedic context *atithi* means 'fire' and Agni is familiarly addressed as *atithi* in the Vedic hymns.[3] This metaphorical sense of the word *atithi* fits in the context. Thus the expression connotes 'he who possessed or maintained two fires'. The 'two fires' are the 'Śrauta-agni' and the 'Smārta-agni', which every householder is expected to maintain according to the injunctions of Vedic ritualism.[4]

The gift land comprised twenty-five *nivartanas* measured by the royal standard (*rājamāna*) and belonged to the village Nuḷgāla. The gift was inclusive of all the produce (*sarva-jātakam*), garden cultivation (*sa-tōṭṭam*), *jīraka*, water, and house—site (*nivēśa*). *Jīraka* need not be interpreted literally as cumin seed.[5] It may be taken to represent any wild or cultivated crop of the cumin variety ; or equating it with *jīrṇaka*[6] or *jīrṇa* it may mean 'whatever is inured in the soil'. Another expression figuring in the context is *marumanna*. This word along with another *uchcha-manna* is met with in the records of slightly later period.[7] The interpretation of this word is still a puzzle.[8] This is the earliest occurrence of the word so far known. The village Nuḷgāla cannot be identified.

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[1] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 50.

[3] Macdonell : *Vedic Mythology*, p. 95.

[4] Compare *The Institutes of Vishṇu*, pp. 190-91 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VII).

[5] Dr. Nandimath construes that the gift was made by pouring water along with the cumin seed. This is unwarranted. (*Bomb. Uni. Jl.*, Vol. V, p. 170.)

[6] This interpretation compares well with the familiar expression, *nidhi-nikshēpa-pāshāṇa-sahitam*.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 68 ; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 244, etc.

[8] For a discussion on the interpretation of these terms see *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, pp. 155-7. Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi suggests that *manna* may be equated with *mannu* meaning 'land' and *maru*=waste or dry. This suggestion is invalid particularly in the context of the present passage which shows that the gift land was neither waste nor dry. Further, little credit will redound to the donor of a waste land.

There are clear traces of the influence of Kannaḍa in this record. Apart from the words *Nuigāla* and *maṟumanna* which contain the Dravidian letters ḷ and ṟ, the name Katti-arasa[1] appears to be purely Kannaḍa. More pronounced is the compound expression *sa-tōṭṭam* (l. 13) wherein the word *tōṭṭa* or *tōṭa* is glaringly Kannaḍa. In this passage which is prose, the poet could have easily substituted its Sanskrit equivalent.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Svasti[3][|*] Svāmi-Mahāsēna-Mātṛigaṇ-ānuddhyāt-ābhishiktānāṁ[4] [5]Mānavya-sa-
2 gōtrāṇāṁ Hāritī-putrāṇāṁ Chalukyānāṁ[6] Agnishṭōm-Āgnichayana-
3 Vājapēya-Bahusuvarṇṇa-Pauṇḍarīk-Āśvamē[dh-ā][7]vabhṛitha-snāna-pa-
4 vitrīkṛita-śarīrasya Raṇavikrama-Dharmma-mahārājasya[8]
5 priya-tanayaḥ[9] Katti-arasa-nāmadhēyaḥ sarvva-śāstr-ārtta(rtha)-

Second Plate : First Side

6 pāra-gahan-āvabōdha[10]-smṛiti-dhāraṇa[11]-kuśala-buddhi[r-na]ya[12]-pra-
7 tāp-ōtsādita-sarvva-dāyādaḥ[13] varṇ-āśrama-nyāya-paripāla-
8 n-ānuraṁjita-sarvva-prakṛitiḥ svarājya-saṁvatsarē dvādaśē[14] Kārtti-
9 ka-paurṇṇamāsyāṁ Vēda-Vēdāṁga-pāragēna nītiśā[15]stra-viśāradēna
10 sa-pada-vyākaraṇa-nyāya-kāvya-nāṭak-ētihāsa-gāndharvva-purāṇē-

Second Plate : Second Side

11 shv-asādhāraṇa-vyākhyāna-saṁpadā adyakāla-Bṛihaspatinā rā-
12 jya-sarvvasva-dhurandharēṇa Vyāghrasv[ā]minā mahā-Brāhmaṇēna vi-
13 jñāpitaḥ[16] Nuigāla-grāmasya maṟumannaṁ sarvva-jātakaṁ sa-tōṭṭaṁ sa-jīra-
14 kaṁ sa-pānīyaṁ sa-nivēśaṁ rājamānēna pañchaviṁśati nivarttanaṁ
15 kshētraṁ Kauṇḍinya-sagōtrāya Vēda-Vēdāṁga-pāragāya[17]

Third Plate

16 sa-[18]dv-ātithayē Kṛishṇasvāminē dattavān[19] [|*] ya ēnaṁ harati
17 sa pañcha-mahā-pātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [|*] ya ēnam anupā-
18 layati sa puṇya-phalabhāg-bhavati || Sva-dattāṁ para-da-
19 ttāṁ vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] shashṭiṁ[20] varsha-sa-
20 hasrāṇi narakē pachyatē tu saḥ || ◎

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[1] In the literal sense *kaṭṭi* means 'a sword' and *arasa* 'a king.'

[2] From the original plates.

[3] This word is engraved in the left-hand marginal space between ll. 1 and 2.

[4] The dot denoting the *anusvāra* is wrongly engraved on the top of the previous *akshara tā*.

[5] This *akshara* looks more like *sā*. Dr. Nandimath has read this *akshara* as *sasī*, which has no justification.

[6] The *sandhi* has not been observed here.

[7] This *akshara* is not clear enough. It looks more like *śa* and the mark denoting the length is not fully drawn up.

[8] This expression has been read as '*varmma-mahārājasya* by Dr. Nandimath.

[9] A small horizontal curve denoting punctuation is engraved after the *visarga*; but it is unnecessary.

[10] It would be better to read '*pār-āvagāhan-āvabōdha*.

[11] This *akshara* is rather peculiar and may be taken to be the cursive form of *ṇa*.

[12] Dr. Nandimath's reading is '*buddhi-naya*-.

[13] The *sandhi* has not been observed here.

[14] This word is omitted in the text of Dr. Nandimath's Kannada article.

[15] This *akshara* looks like *śā*.

[16] The *sandhi* has not been observed here.

[17] A small horizontal curve is engraved after this for punctuation, but it is superfluous.

[18] This *akshara* looks like *dava*.

[19] Dr. Nandimath reads the expression as *dattaṁ dānaṁ* and corrects it into *dattavān*.

[20] The reading given by Dr. Nandimath is *shashṭi-varsha*.

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO. Reg. No. 3977 E'36-495'30. SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 11—POLSARA PLATES OF ARKESVARADEVA ; YUGABDA 4248

(1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the last week of December 1949, I received for examination some copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the Utkal University, Cuttack, from its learned Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Chintāmaṇi Āchārya. The inscription under discussion was one of them. It was collected by Mr. Sadāśiva Ratha Śarmā, who has been appointed by the University a Research Assistant to go round different parts of Orissa and collect materials for the compilation of an authentic history of the country. On the 7th August 1949, in course of his tour in the Ganjam District, Mr. Ratha Śarmā found the present set of copper plates with an inhabitant of the village of **Polsara**, named Dwitiya Parida, who had discovered them while tilling a piece of land about the beginning of May 1949. I thank Mr. Āchārya for kindly allowing me to publish the inscription.

The set consists of **three plates** each measuring 7 inches by 3·7 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a **seal** is soldered. The seal, although smaller in size, closely resembles the seal attached to the copper-plate charters of the imperial Gaṅgas and bears the figure of a seated bull in full relief, facing front and bedecked with ornamental drapery and a bell tied to its neck. The first and the last plates are engraved on the inner side only, while the second is written on both sides. The incision is deep and the writing is clear, although most of the letters show signs of additional scratches probably due to some defect of the engraver's tool. There are altogether 40 lines of writing of which the first plate bears 11 lines and the third 9 lines only, while the second plate has ten lines of writing on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The plates without the ring weigh 80 *tolas*, while the ring with the seal weighs 24 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to that variety of the East Indian script of the early mediaeval period which is usually called proto-Bengali, although, as I have suggested elsewhere,[1] a more appropriate name for the script is Gauḍī. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription is ascribable to the 12th or the 13th century. The characters closely resemble those employed in a copper plate charter of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III (*circa* 1211-38 A. D.) recently examined by me.[2] Of initial vowels, we have in the inscription only *a* (lines 33, 40) and *ri* (cf. *Rishikulyā* in line 14), the latter little differing in shape from *jh* in *Jhāḍakhaṇḍa* (line 18). As usual with East Indian epigraphs of the age in question, *b* is generally indicated by the sign for *v*. But in some cases both *b* and *v* appear to have a slanting stroke across the loop (cf. °*āmnu-samvarddhita*° in line 9 and *vaḥ* in line 35) which resembles the stroke distinguishing *b* from *v* in Dēvanāgarī. It, however, seems to me to be nothing but a scratch, to the existence of which in the formation of most letters of the inscription reference has already been made. The inscription employs the numerical figures, 2, 4 and 8.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is, however, Prakrit influence in the name Śriyādēvī (lines 11, 40) as well as in the word *śriyā* standing for Sanskrit *śrī* in line 10. With the exception of the four imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, little calls for special mention besides the reduplication of *dh* before *y* as in *bhāṇḍāddhyaksha* (line 27) and *Maddhyadēśa* (line 16), the preference for the *anusvāra* to the *vargīya* nasals in spelling words like *kumd-ēmdu* (line 4), *saṁgata* (line 9), etc., the occasional reduplication of certain consonants after *r* and the non-observance of the rule of *sandhi* as, for instance, in °*dēvī-Arkkēśvara*° in lines 39-40.

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[1] Cf. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 115-16.

[2] This inscription will also be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The charter is **dated** in the year 4248 of the Yugābda, *i.e.*, the Kaliyuga era. The second (*i.e.*, the hundred) figure in the date resembles the Telugu and English numeral 3 and is found in Indian epigraphs and manuscripts to indicate 3 in some cases but 2 in others.[1] Some inscriptions of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II (*circa* 1278-1305 A. D.), however, show beyond doubt that this was the form of 2 and not of 3 in medieval Orissa.[2] Thus the year corresponds to A. D. 1147-8. The astronomical details relating to the date and occasion of the grant in lines 12-15 show that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Friday, the day of the full moon of Māgha, in the 24th regnal year of the king who issued the charter. The date of the grant was therefore Friday the 6th February A. D. 1148, although Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephimeris* does not recognise any lunar eclipse on that day.

The inscription records the grant of one-half of the village called **Valigrāma**, situated in the **Varttani** *vishaya* forming part of the **Jhāḍakhaṇḍa** *dēśa*, by **Arkēśvaradēva**, son of **Pramāḍidēva** and grandson of **Guṇārṇavadēva** who is described as a member of the **Gaṅga** family and a devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and is styled *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The grant was made in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Vṛiddhikaraśarman, son of Madhukaraśarman and grandson of Jīvakaraśarman, who was a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda. The donee belonged to the Parāśara *gōtra* and originally hailed from the Madhyadēśa. The occasion of the grant is said to have been the lunar eclipse on the date referred to above, when king Arkēśvara, accompanied by his chief queen Śrīyādēvī, came from the Hiṅgulā *kaṭaka* to the banks of the Ṛishikulyā apparently for a bath in the waters of the river. It is well known that the Dharmaśāstras enjoin a purificatory bath after the solar and lunar eclipses as well as the offering of gifts, especially to Brāhmaṇas, on the occasion. It is said that on the occasion of solar and lunar eclipses the bath in the waters of any pool or river is as meritorious as one in the holy waters of the Ganges.[3] It is not known whether the use of the rather unusual Kaliyuga era, instead of the Gaṅga or the Śaka era, had anything to do with the special importance attached by the king and the queen to the auspicious occasion of the grant. The *kaṭaka* (camp or town) of Hiṅgulā, where the king and queen must have been residing, was apparently not far from the banks of the Ṛishikulyā river. The grant was made on the occasion of the lunar eclipse jointly by the royal consorts and, in lines 39-40, it is specifically said to have been approved of by both the queen Śrīyādēvī and the king Arkēśvaradēva. It is interesting in this connection to note that the aim of the grant was not only the usual "increase of the merit and fame of my own self as well as of my parents", but also "the increase of the progeny such as sons, grandsons, etc. (*putra-pautr-ādi-santati-vivṛiddhayē*)". The half of the village that was granted was made free from the obligation of paying revenue and was endowed with a *tāmra*, i.e., *tāmra-śāsana* or charter, which was incised for the purpose and "was free from all troubles", meaning apparently that the charter carried the usual privileges of enjoying the land without obstacles. The privileges specified in the record included the donee's right of enjoying the half of the village together with land and water, with fish and tortoise, with trees, shrubs and creepers as well as with hidden treasures and unclaimed wealth (*sa-nidhi s-ōpanidhika*). The land was also made free from the entry of *chaṭṭa* (or *chāṭa*) and *bhaṭa*, usually interpreted by scholars as regular and irregular soldiers, but possibly meaning actually constables

[1] Cf. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Table No. IX, lines viii, x and xii of the chart showing figures of the decimal notation; Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), Plate LXXII (a), LXXVI (a and b).

[2] See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV, Part i, 1896, Plate X, margin. The figure 3 in medieval Orissan records sometimes resembles Dēvanāgarī 2; cf. *op. cit.*, Plate XII, margin. For the numerical figures, see also Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, Plate between pp. 202 and 203, line 22, where, however, 3 is properly written as in Dēvanāgarī. The views expressed in *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 216-7 are due to confusion.

[3] Cf. quotations in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *grahaṇam*: *chandra-sūrya-grahē snānaṁ śrāddha-dāna-japādikam | kāryaṁ mala-māsē=pi nityaṁ naimittikaṁ tathā ||* Also *sarvaṁ bhūmi-samaṁ dānaṁ sarvē Vyāsa-samā dvijāḥ | sarvaṁ Gaṅgā-samaṁ=tōyaṁ grahaṇē n=ātra saṁśayaḥ ||*

and peons.[1] The list of *rāj-ōpajīvins*, to whom Arkēśvara's order regarding the grant was issued, includes *narapati*, *rājaputra*, *amātya*, *mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *mahākshapaṭalika*, *mahāpātra*, *mahāsāmanta dauvārika*, *bhāṇḍādhyaksha*, *daṇḍapāśika*, *khaṇḍapāla* and *vishayapāla*. Of these, the official designation *mahāpātra* seems to be peculiar to Orissa. *Pātra* and *Mahāpātra* are still popular surnames in the Orissa region. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj, "In the country of Jājnagar (*i.e.*, Orissa), the *mahtas* (*i.e.*, *mantrins*) are called *pātars* (*i.e.*, *pātras*), and the Rāi of Jājnagar (*i.e.*, Gaṅga Bhānudēva III, *circa* 1352-78 A. D.) had twenty *pātars*, otherwise called *mahtas*, under whose advice he conducted the affairs of his state ".[2]

Considering the fact that the 24th regnal year of Arkēśvara corresponds to A. D. 1147-8, he must have ruled from A. D. 1124-5 to a date falling sometime after the 6th February A. D. 1148. Thus he was ruling contemporaneously with the imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (A. D. 1078-1147). It is difficult to believe that an independent Gaṅga monarch was ruling side by side with the Gaṅga emperor in the second quarter of the twelfth century. This coupled with the fact that no royal or imperial epithet is used in connection with the names of Arkēśvara and his father Pramādi may suggest that they were mere feudatories of the Gaṅga emperor, although the issue of the present charter without any reference to the overlord is rather difficult to explain. Arkēśvara's grandfather Guṇārṇava is given the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. But whether he is to be identified with one of the known monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga house or whether this is to be regarded as an improper use of the epithet can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. We know that kings of the Gaṅga house of Śvētaka were ruling side by side with the kings of Kaliṅganagara for a long time, sometimes as feudatories and sometimes as independent rulers. The latest known member of the Śvētaka branch of the Gaṅga family may have been Dēvēndravarman[3] who flourished in the second half of the eleventh century as an early contemporary of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. It may not be impossible that Guṇārṇava, was another name of this Dēvēndravarman, who was apparently subdued by Chōḍagaṅga, and that his son and grandson were subordinate to the Gaṅga emperor. The absence of any reference to the overlord in our record may have been due to the expectation of regaining independence raised in the hearts of the feudatories by Chōḍagaṅga's death.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the reference to Jhāḍakhaṇḍa-dēśa is very interesting. It was the name applied to the wide area of rather jungle land extending from South Bihar to Orissa, although its exact southern boundary is difficult to determine.[4] The grant of Narasiṁha II referred to above mentions Dakshiṇa-Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. In the north, the temple of Vaidyanātha at Deoghar near the junction of the Santal Parganas, Monghyr and Bhāgalpur Districts is often described as lying in Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. A sixteenth century inscription is said to describe a Rāja of Jaipur in the Ganjam District as the ruler of Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, while the Rājas of Baud are known to have claimed the same title. The village called Valigrāma and the *vishaya* or district named Varttani cannot be satisfactorily identified, although the latter may be the same as the Varāha-varttani or Kōlu-varttani *vishaya* mentioned in many other Gaṅga records.[5] The

[1] [See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 134.—Ed.]

[2] See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 493. Verse 90 of the charters of Narasiṁha II (cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV, Part i, 1896, pp. 351-33) refers to the 18 *pātras* serving the king's father Bhānu I (*circa* 1264-78 A. D.).

[3] He is known from such sources as the Mādagrāma grant of Śaka 988 (A. D. 1066) and the Kambakaya grant apparently of Śaka 1003 (A. D. 1081). See *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 220-21.

[4] Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 63-65. According to B. Singh Deo (*Nandapur*, p. 18), the chiefs of Jaipur or Koraput call themselves "Lord of Jhāḍakhaṇḍa" even today.

[5] Cf. above, Vols. IV, p. 185 ; IX, pp. 94-98 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275 ; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 43, 108 ; *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1896, p. 17, No. 220, etc.

ancient village of Khōnna in Varāhavarttanī has been identified with modern Korni near Kalinga-patam in the Ganjam District. This shows that Varāhavarttanī comprised parts of the Ganjam District where king Arkēśvara also apparently ruled. Hiṅgulā, probably the capital of the particular branch of the Gaṅga family to which Arkēśvara belonged, seems to have been situated, as already indicated, on the banks of the Ṛishikulyā, no doubt the river of that name flowing past the town of Ganjam in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The river has retained its old name in the list of rivers issuing from the Mahēndra range (*i.e.*, the Eastern Ghats) mentioned in the geographical sections of the *Purāṇas*.[1] The exact location of Hiṅgulā is, however, unknown, although it may be modern Hinjili of the Survey of India sheet maps 74A/11 c 1 and 74A/15 a 1. Madhyadēśa, to which the donee's family originally belonged, was the name applied to the central region of Northern India roughly between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between the Eastern Punjab and the Eastern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh).

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 [Siddham ||][3] Svasti [||*] śrīmad-**Gaṅga**-kula-tilaka-paramamāhēśvara-paramabha[ṭṭā]raka-saka-

2 la-guṇagaṇ-ālaṁkṛita-śrīmad-**Guṇā[rṇṇa]vadēva** āsīt=tat-putraḥ sakala-dēśa-vi-

3 khyāta-kīrttir=vvīra[ḥ*] sphurad-asama-pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āśēsha-śatru-

4 śa[la]bhaḥ śrīmat-**Pramāḍidēvaḥ** sambhūtaḥ ta(tas=ta)sya cha sūnuḥ kumuda-kund-ēndu-

5 dhavala-yaśō-vibhramaḥ[4]-śvētīta-dig-chakravālaḥ sa[j]jana-manaḥ-kumu-

6 da-vana-vikāśana-nirmmala-pūrṇṇa-sudhākaraḥ [ka(ra)]ṇa-raṅga-saṅga-

7 ta-[vai]ri-vara-rudhira-dhār-ā[dh]āra-chāru-sphurata(t)-khaḍga-va[lli]-maṁ-

8 ḍita-prachaṇḍa-dōr-daṇḍa-nirjit-āśēsha-ripu-va(ba)laḥ(lō) dvija-vara-kara-kama-

9 l-ōdara-saṅgata-dān-āmvu(mbu)-saṁva(saṁva)rddhita-prasṛita-puṇya-tarur=vvitata-pratā-

10 p-ānala-jvālā-māla-samlīḍh-āśēsha-dvēshi-pataṅga-vrātaḥ Śriyādēvi-[5]

11 charita-pariśīlana-śrī-**Śriyādēvi**-nayana-mamadhu[6]kara-pēpīya-

Second Plate ; First Side

12 māna-vadana-paṁkajaḥ śrīmad-**Arkkēśvaradēvaḥ** kuśalī **chaturviṁśati[ta*]-**

13 **mē rājya-saṁvatsarē** pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē **Hiṁgulā-kaṭakād**-ā-

14 gatya **Ṛishikulyā-tīrē Māgha-paurṇṇamāsyāṁ Bhṛiguvārē sōma-**

15 **grahaṇa-samayē Śriyādēvi**-priya-paṭṭamahādēvi-sahitaḥ(tō)

16 Madhyadēśa-viniṛgatāya Parāśara-śā(sa)gōtrāya Jīvakaraśarmma-

17 ṇaḥ pautrāya Madhukaraśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Vṛiddhikaraśarmmaṇē

18 [Brā]hmaṇāya Yajurvvēda-Kāṇva-śākh-ādhyāyinē **Jhāḍakhaṇḍa-dēś**-āntarvva-

19 rtti-**Varttanī-vishayē Valigrāma**-nāmnō grāmasy=ārddhaṁ pūrvva(rva)=siddha-

20 taḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinna-bhūkhaṇḍaṁ sa-jala-sthala[ṁ*] sa-matsya-kachha(chchha)paṁ sa-vṛi-

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[1] Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 107.

[2] From the original plates lent by the Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, and from the impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Omit *visarga*.

[5] *Śriyā* apparently stands for Sanskrit *Śrī*, *i.e.*, the goddess of prosperity.

[6] Read *madhu°*.

i.

ii, a.

B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, DEHRA DUN

Reg No. 426 H.E(C)'50-534.

ii,b.

22 24 26 28 30

iii.

32 34 36 38 40

21 ksha-gulma-latākam sa-nidhi s-ōpani[dhi*]kam a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa[1]-pravēśam-u

Second Plate ; Second Side

22 [tkī]rṇṇa-sarv-ōpadrava-varjita-tāmram-a[ka*]rikritya mātā-pitrō-

23 r-ātmanaḥ[2] puṇya-yaśō-v[i]vṛiddhayē putra-pautr-ādi-saṁtati-vivṛi-

24 ddhayē ch-ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ datvā(ttvā) yathā-kāla-bhāvinaḥ

25 samupāgatān=aśēshān=narapatīn=varttamānāṁś=cha rājaputr-āmā-

26 tyān=mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahākshapaṭalika-mahāpā-

27 tra-mahāsāmanta-dauvārika-bhāṁḍādhyaksha-da[ṁ*]ḍapāśi(śi)ka-kha[ṁ*]-

28 ḍapāla-vishayapāla-prabhṛitīn-aśēsha-rāj-ōpajīvinaḥ(nō) yath-ā-

29 rham=mānayati prārthayati cha matam-astu bhavatāṁ **Valigrām**-ārddha-bhū-kha[ṁ*]-

30 ḍaṁ [Brā]hmaṇāya Vṛiddhikaraśarmmaṇē mayā dattaḥ(ttam) [|*] pālanē svarg-ādi-

31 phala-sādhanād-apaharaṇē mahāraurav-ādi-naraka-pāta-bhayād=bhū-

Third Plate

32 mi-dānam=idaṁ bhavadbhir=[bh]āv[i]bhiḥ pālanīyam=iti || 0 ||

33 atra dharm-ānusaṁ(śaṁ)sinaḥ shlō(ślō)kāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā rāja-

34 bhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā

35 phalaṁ(lam) [|*] Mā bhūmi(d=a)phala-śaṁkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dānā-

36 t=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē) || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā

37 yō harēch=cha vasundharāṁ(rām) | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha

38 pachyatē || Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇa-raktiṁ cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=ā(m=aṁ)gu-

39 lāṁ(lam) | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad-āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || Śriyādē-

40 vi-Arkkēśvaradēvasya[3] saṁmatam || **Yug-āvdā(bdāḥ) 4248** ||

No. 12—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATE OF BHUVANATRINETRA

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

A set of five **copper plates** was received from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1935-36. They were strung together on a bare elliptical ring and gave the appearance that the whole formed one set. But on decipherment of the writing, it was found that they comprised three distinct records[4] belonging **to** different rulers.

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[1] Better read *chāṭa-bhaṭa* usually found in this context in epigraphic records.

[2] Read °naś=cha.

[3] Better read *Śrīyādēvy-Arkkēśvaradēvayōḥ*.

[4] These inscriptions have been noticed as Nos. 5 to 7 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1935-36. The first two of these records belong to the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷa chiefs, Śrīkaṇṭha Chōḷa and Baliya Chōḷa Mahārāja. They have been published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, pp. 31-49 and 285 ff. and plates.

The present inscription which is being edited here for the first time[1] is engraved on the **fifth plate** of the set described above. The plate measures 9¼" in length and about 3" in breadth. It has slightly raised rims all round. The record is engraved on one side only and consists of 8 lines. The **alphabet** is Telugu-Kannaḍa of the transitional stage and perhaps it is for this reason that a certain measure of indifference is noticeable in the formation of the letters.

In regard to **orthography**, the use of *anusvāra* in place of class nasals may be noted in a large number of cases. The expression [*sanni*mi]*tra* in line 3 appears to be a mistake for *sannihita*. The record contains a few minor clerical mistakes which have been corrected in the body of the text.

The **language** of the inscription is archaic Telugu.

The document belongs to the family of subordinate chiefs known as the Vaidumbas. All the records of this family discovered so far are inscriptions on stone. This is the only copper plate record of the family.

The record is brief. It commences with the familiar *praśasti* of the **Vaidumba family** and introduces the chief **Bhuvana-Trinētra** who had assumed the title *Mahārāja*. It is dated **Śaka 893, Āshāḍha śu 7, Thursday, Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti.** The inscription states that this chief, residing at Pottepi in the Pāka-nāḍu, made a gift of the village Kāṭicheruvu[2] situated in the tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve to the god Lōkēśvara Bhaṭāra of Arṭiṭēvula. The gift was entrusted into the hands of Kuchibhadālu,[3] a resident of Mañjaram, who was to protect and enjoy the charity for the merit of Bhimarāja and Bāchavva. Sirama Peggeḍa was the executor of the document and Dēsarali Bhimana the engraver. The charter ends with the expression *śrī-Abhinuta-vāku* which would have been the chief's title used as the sign-manual.[4]

The date is irregular. If Śaka 893 is a mistake for Śaka 891 (expired), the details regularly correspond to A. D. 969, June 21, Thursday. But both these dates are, so to say, inadmissible in view of the statement of an inscription from Uppampalle[5] in the Cuddapah District which speaks of the coronation, in Śaka 894, of Bhuvana-Trinētra Vaidumba Mahārāja who is apparently identical with this chief.[6] But we can get over this difficulty by assuming that though he was wielding authority from an earlier date, the formal consecration ceremony of the chief took place later, on account of the disturbed political conditions.

We are not in a position to assign due place to Bhuvana-Trinētra in the genealogical account of the Vaidumbas. On account of the paucity of information and the disconnected nature of the sources it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the Vaidumba house, even partially, although a good many inscriptions of the family have been discovered so far. From the different names and titles of the chiefs available to us we are led to believe that there existed more than one branch

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[1] My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for the kind permission to edit the record.

[2] The original expression is Kāṭicheruvulu, a plural form. Perhaps the termination *lu* stands for *lo* of the locative case. If so, we have to assume that the gift consisted of some land in the village.

[3] His name proper would be Ku(ñ)chibhaṭa who was evidently the managing priest of the temple.

[4] *Abhinuta-vāk* means 'one whose speech is praiseworthy'. This is an early instance of a ruler using the title for the sign-manual. The famous instance of the later period is *śrī-Virūpāksha* of the Vijayanagara kings. But in the latter case it is the tutelary deity and not the title of any ruler or rulers.

[5] Mad. Ep. Coll., No. 323 of 1905.

[6] The inscription on the front wall of the Śiva temple at Kalakaḍa, Vayalpad *tālūk*, Chittoor District (No. 444 of 1940-41 of Mad. Ep. Coll.) records certain remissions by the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-Triṇētra Irumgoya Mahārāja on the occasion of his coronation. This epigraph is not dated; but may be roughly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. Except for the characteristic title and probable contemporaneity, clinching evidence is lacking for the identification of Bhuvana-Trinētra of the present document with Bhuvana-Triṇētra of the Kalakaḍa record. It is, however, not unlikely that they refer to one and the same person.

of this family of chiefs. The Vaidumbas appear to have reached the height of their power in the 9th century A. D. under Gaṇḍa-Trinētra who was ruling over the territory of Rēnāḍu 7000,[1] the home province of the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs. Bhuvana-Trinētra might be a direct descendant of Gaṇḍa-Trinētra removed by a few generations. Vaidumba Mahārāja mentioned as the subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III in an inscription from Pālagiri[2] in the Cuddapah District, was probably a predecessor of Bhuvana-Trinētra. By the time of Bhuvana-Trinētra, the Rāshṭrakūṭa power had reached its final phase and it is significant to note that neither of the inscriptions of this chief contains any reference to the suzerain. Bhimarāja and Bāchavva, for whose merit the gift was maintained, might be the parents of this chief.[3]

Reverting to the **place names** occurring in the epigraph, **Pottepi** is identical with Pottapi in the old Pallampet or the present Rajampet *tāluk* in the Cuddapah District. This town is said to have been founded by Madhurāntaka Pottapi Chōḷa, an early ancestor of the Telugu-Chōḷa family.[4] **Kaḍapa**, the headquarters of the small tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve which included the gift village, is identical with modern Cuddapah. **Artirēvula** has been identified with Attirāla in the Rajampet *tāluk*. **Mamjaram**, which seems to be identical with Mandaram mentioned in the two accompanying records referred to above, may be identified with Mandapalle in the same *tāluk*.

Lastly, we take up the region called **Pāka-nāḍu** which contained the tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve. This seems to be the earliest reference to the territorial unit and it would be useful to recall here in brief its origin and history. In the Prākrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[5] (circa 3rd century A. D.) is mentioned a people or clan called the Pūkiyas. The domicile of these people appears to have been styled the Pūgi or Pūngi Dēśa by the Sanskritists as attested by a late epigraph.[6] In Sanskrit *pūga* or *pūgi* means arecanut[7] and its corresponding equivalents, *pōka* and *pākku* are found in Telugu and Tamil. Consequently, Pūgi Dēśa might have been changed to Pāka-nāḍu in course of time, its other variants being Pāki-nāḍu, Pākkai-nāḍu, etc. This territorial unit preserved its entity till the 16th century A. D., though its extent and content might have varied under different regimes. From the provenance of the inscriptions[8] containing allusions to this region, it may be gathered that Pāka-nāḍu extended approximately over the major portion of the Nellore District including parts or whole of the Venkatagiri, Rapur, Nellore, Atmakur, Kovur, Kavali and Kanigiri *tāluks*, small areas of the Ongole and Bapatla *tāluks* of the Guntur District and the Cuddapah and Rajampet *tāluks* of the Cuddapah District. Under the Chōḷa regime during 12-13th centuries A. D., the western portion of this tract was designated Mēr-Pākkai-nāḍu forming part of the Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam and Adhirājēndrachōḷamaṇḍalam.[9] A subdivision of the Mēr-Pākkai-nāḍu was called Pottapi-nāḍu,[10] evidently after the village Pottapi noted above. Under the Vijayanagara administration Pāka-nāḍu was incorporated in the Udayagiri-rājya.[11]

TEXT[12]

1 Svasty-anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha-vijaya-lakshmī-samāliṁgita-viśāla-vakshasthaḷa **Bhu-**

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 192.
[2] No. 323 of 1935-36 of Mad. Ep. Coll.
[3] *A. R. S. I. E.* for 1935-36, part II, para. 9.
[4] Above, Vol. VII, p. 121.
[5] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 5, 12, etc.
[6] *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 1025. Compare *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1935-36, p. 57.
[7] Compare, above, Vol. XX, p. 12. *Pūga* also means 'a multitude' or 'a corporation'.
[8] *Nellore Inscriptions*, Kanigiri No. 11, Kavali Nos. 8, 43 ; Nos. 243 of 1897, 398-99 of 1911, of Mad. Ep. Coll., etc.
[9] *Ibid.*, Venkatagiri, No. 1 ; Nos. 398-99 of 1911 of Mad. Ep. Coll.
[10] No. 399 of 1911 of Mad. Ep. Coll.
[11] *Nellore Inscriptions*, Nellore No. 34 A, etc.
[12] From ink-impressions.

2 **vana-Trinētra**-śrīmad-**V[ai]dumba-mahārājulu** Sa(Śa) 893 nāṇṭi A(Ā)sha(ā)[ḍha] su(śu)ddha 7 Guruvāraṁbugā[ṁ] Bā-

3 ka-nāṇṭi Pottapi-vīṭa Dakshiṇa(ṇā)yana-saṁkrānti-nimittamm[u]nan-Aṭṭirēvula [[1]sannimi-]tra Lōkēśvara-

4 Bha[ṭā]ralakuṁ Gaḍapa-Paṇṇeṭilōni Kāṭicheṟuvulu yichchi[ri] [|*] Dinikin va-

5 kkrambu vachchinavāru Bāraṇa(ṇā)śini Śrīpa[r*]vvatambunn-aḻiinavāru [|*] dīniṁ jēkoni kāchi

6 kuḍucheḍuvāru Maṁjaramuna Kuchibhaḍālu Bhīmurājunakuṁ Bāchavvari-

7 ki dharmmavugān-ichchiri [|*] A(Ā)ṇati Sirama-peggeḍla [|*] Dēsarati Bhimana vrālu [|*]

8 śrī-Abhinuta-vāku [|*]

No. 13—HIREGUTTI PLATES OF BHOJA ASANKITA

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

In the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnāṭaka area during 1949-50, I secured the loan of this highly interesting set of copper plates from Sri Uddaṇḍa Bommayya Gaonkar, a resident of **Hire Gutti** in the Kumṭa *tāluk* of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, who owned it as an heirloom. It became possible to obtain its loan from the reluctant owner through the kindness of Sri S. P. Gaonkar of Ankola, M.L.A., who had informed me of its existence about a decade ago. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of **three plates** strung together on a **copper ring** passing through a hole, ⅜" in diameter, at the centre of the margin on the left side. The ends of the ring which measures 2¼" in diameter and whose thickness is about ¼", are secured at the bottom of a circular seal. The plates are of uniform size ; they measure 7" in length, 2¼" in breadth and about $\frac{1}{16}$" in thickness. Only one side each of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second plate are engraved. There are 16 lines of writing which are distributed equally on the four faces. The **seal** measuring 1" in diameter, bears in relief, the rough figure of a miniature elephant in motion facing the proper right. The weight of the plates is 27 *tolas* and that of the ring with the seal 8 *tolas*. The plates are in a good state of preservation notwithstanding their age.

The charter is written in the **southern alphabet** of the early age. The average height of single letters is about ¼" and of conjuncts ½". The characters are of the normal variety, that were in vogue in the Deccan and western part of South India. For general appearance they may be compared with the script of the Sangoli plates of Harivarman,[2] Halmiḍi stone inscription,[3] Bādāmi Vaishṇava cave inscription[4] and Goḍachi plates of Katti-arasa.[5] Two trends, *viz.*, slightly more advanced and somewhat less advanced, are noticeable in the formation of letters like *k*, *j*, *n*, *t* and *y*. The letters *t* and *n* are not generally distinguished. The medial short *i* denoted either by a curve or a circle at the top, is distinguished from long *ī* indicated by a curve with a loop on the left above the letter.

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[1] The reading of this expression is doubtful as some of the letters are not legible. The *akshara* *ni* is engraved below the line and this omission is denoted by a cross incised between the *aksharas* *n* and [*mi*].

[2] Above, Vol. XIV plate between pp. 166 and 167.

[3] *Mys. Arch. Rep. for* 1936 ; plate XXII, facing p. 72.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 57.

[5] Above, p. 62.

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS.

B. CH. CHHABRA

SURVEY OF INDIA, DEHRA DUN.

Reg. No. 420 H E (C) '50-537

In regard to **orthography** the consonant after *r* is invariably doubled, the only exception being *rsha* in line 11. This is justified according to the rule of grammar,[1] which is however optional. The reduplicated letter is further subjected to the *sandhi* rule as may be noted in respect of *rtthya* and *rttha* in line 5, wherein the dental unaspirate is substituted for the corresponding aspirate.

The **language** of the epigraph is Sanskrit. The invocation and the imprecation are in verse. The rest of the record is composed in prose. The writing contains a few minor errors which have been corrected in the body of the text and in the footnotes.

The inscription commences with the praise of Lord **Buddha**. He is described as one 'whose feet are licked by the rays of the shining jewels in the coronets of gods and demons' and 'a reservoir of countless virtues'. Significant in this connection is the epithet, 'affectionate without a motive', applied to him. Next is introduced the king **Aśaṁkita**,[2] 'the moon in the firmament of the lineage of the **Bhōjas** who were endowed with Fortune'. The **object** of the document is to record gift of the village Sundarikā, situate in the Dīpaka *vishaya*, for the enjoyment of the Buddhist *vihāra* belonging to them,[3] by the king, at the request of the chief Koṭṭipeggili born in the lineage of the Kaikēyas of Nandipalli. The gift village was entrusted to the Ārya Saṅgha, *i.e.*, assembly of Buddhist monks in charge of the monastery. It was bounded by Kurvvā in the east, the roaring stream[4] of Marttikaṭṭu in the south, the water-fall on the mountain in the west ; its northern boundary extended up to the boulder with the mango tree. The charter ends with an exhortation to protect the charity bestowed upon the Ārya Saṁgha and an imprecation against its violators.

The epigraph bears no date. So the only means left to us for determining its date is **palaeography** whose evidence may be reckoned as fairly approximate. The alphabet of the inscription betrays archaic traits and appears to be older than that of the four epigraphs[5] mentioned before for general comparison. It bears closer affinity with the script of the copper-plate record of the Kadamba king Mṛigēśavarman, dated in the 4th regnal year,[6] except for the box-headed character of the latter. Of the four records noted above the Sangoli plates of Harivarman are the earliest with some precision in date. They have been ascribed to the middle of the 6th century A.D.[7] Hence it would be reasonable if we assign the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A.D. as the most likely date of our record.

More than one interests centre round this brief document inasmuch as it opens up certain new facts regarding the political and religious history of the south-western region of India in that early age. Firstly, it introduces a new prince of the ruling family of Bhōjas. If we go to the early age of the post-Vedic literature and that of the epics, the Bhōjas figure as a class or clan of rulers[8]

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[1] *Ashṭādhyāyī : acho rahābhyāṁ dve* | (VIII-4-46). This *sūtra* explains the circumstances when the reduplication can take place. The exception is indicated by another *sūtra* : *śarō=chi* | (VIII-4-49).

[2] This name occurs in the combination of two words coalesced by *sandhi*. It is possible to construe the king's name as Śaṁkita also. But on consideration of sense it would be better to take it as Aśaṁkita which means 'the fearless one'.

[3] The *sva* in *sva-vihāra* can be interpreted as relating either to Aśaṁkita or to Koṭṭipeggili or to both. I would prefer the last alternative. This would be in keeping with the fact that both the king and his chief had their leanings with the Buddhist faith as indicated by the circumstances. *Sva* may also point to 'their own faith'.

[4] *Virāva* means 'a roar, thunder'. It is suggested by the natural context that this expression is used here to connote 'a noisy mountain stream'.

[5] One of these is the Halmiḍi inscription. I had a discussion in regard to the dating of this record with Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, who holds that it should be placed in the 6th century rather than in the 5th century A.D. Contra. *Mys. Arch. Rep. for* 1936, p. 72.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII ; plate between pp. 36 and 37.

[7] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 165-66.

[8] K. P. Jayswal : *Hindu Polity* (second edn.), pp. 36 and 79.

claiming some importance. According to the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, the chiefs of the Sātvata clan were termed *Bhōjas* and it is stated that the former were regulated by the Bhaujya constitution wherein the authority seems to have been vested in the chosen representatives or leaders of the people.[1] This institution of leaders which was non-hereditary in the first instance appears to have developed as a hereditary class by itself;[2] for, the Bhōjas are mentioned as a subdivision of the Yādavas in the *Mahābhārata*.[3] The Bhōjas, as specified by the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, were confined to the southern region. It is interesting to note that this general statement in regard to the domicile of the Bhōjas in the south has been confirmed by the specific allusions found in the early epigraphs ranging from the times of Aśōka. In his Rock Edict XIII, the Bhōjas are mentioned along with the Pitinikas and it is surmised that the former hailed from the western part of India.[4] The Bhōjas again, associated with Rāshṭrikas, are referred to as fighting against the Kaliṅga king Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā inscription.[5] According to the *Daśakumāracharita* which seems to reflect certain historical facts, Vidarbha was ruled by a king named Puṇyavarman who belonged to the ancient Bhōja race.[6]

Some of the Bhōja chiefs who had emerged as a ruling class of some importance, seem to have preferred to style themselves Mahābhōjas. The Mahābhōjas figure in a number of Brāhmī inscriptions[7] of about the first and second century A.D. from the western parts of the Bombay State and the sphere of their activities seems to have been confined to that region. They were connected by matrimonial alliance with the Mahāraṭhis on the one hand and the Chuṭus on the other.[8] The Mahābhōjas were adherents of the Buddhist faith.[9]

But the existence of the Bhōjas as an independant ruling family or families of note, prior to the advent of the Chālukyas on the political horizon of South India, is being unravelled for the first time by a series of copper-plate records discovered recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has noticed them in detail in his note on the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja,[10] which are the earliest of the series. Next in chronological sequence after the Siroda plates comes the present epigraph. This is followed by three charters, one issued by Dharmamahārāja Kāpālivarman and two others by Pṛithivīmallavarman.

Thus it has been seen that as many as five copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhōja family have come to light so far. They range in age from the 4th century to the 7th century A. D. In the absence of more information on the genealogical relationship of these rulers it is not possible to say that they belonged to one and the same lineage. It is likely that they were members of various branches. Dēvarāja of the Siroda plates and Aśaṅkita of the present epigraph probably represent different lines. Kāpālivarman seems to be connected with yet another line. This prince appears to have been a ruler of dignified status and we may note the distinguished title *Dharmamahārāja* borne by him. This title was assumed by more than one prince of the Pallava, Kadamba and the Western Gaṅga families. It is not unlikely that Pṛithivīmallavarman of the said plates belonged to the line of Kāpālivarman as suggested by the common name-ending; but we have to observe the absence of the title *Dharmamahārāja* in respect of the former. The provenance of these

[1] *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.
[2] *Hindu Polity*, pp. 79-80 and 86.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 30 and 80.
[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. I; Introduction, p. xxxix.
[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 71.
[6] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVI, parts i-ii, p. 20.
[7] *Lüders' List*, Nos. 1021, 1037, 1045, etc.
[8] *Ibid.*, Nos. 1021 and 1186.
[9] *Ibid.*, Nos. 1032, 1054, 1111, etc.
[10] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

charters and other indications obtained from the place-names occurring in them would show that these princes held sway generally over the strip of land on the west coast, roughly comprising the present day territory of Goa and the North Kanara District.

Secondly, our epigraph brings into relief the state of **religion** prevailing at the time. Save the present inscription, all the Bhōja charters noted above register grants to the Brāhmaṇas. True, no definite conclusion can be arrived at merely on the basis of this fact, but there are other grounds which lead to the assumption that these chiefs were adherents of the Brahmanical faith. Only Aśaṅkita and other members of his house probably owed their allegiance to the doctrine of Lord Buddha. Not merely from the fact that he made the generous grant of a village to a Buddhist *vihāra*, but also from the adoption of the elephant, the symbol of Buddha, as their emblem, it would be reasonable to assume that the family of Aśaṅkita was Buddhist by persuasion. This is in keeping with the traditions of the Mahābhōjas whose Buddhist leanings are already known. Nothing was known in regard to the state of Buddhism in the Western Deccan after the 3rd century A.D. But this epigraph throws welcome light to the effect that that faith had not lost its ground completely and that it was held in esteem at least by a section of the society about the 6th century A.D. This is seen from the reference to the Buddhist monastery, the congregation of monks who held its charge and the patronage and support they received from the ruling king and the feudatory chief. Leaving behind the Brāhmī cave inscriptions of Western India, the Buddhist records are few and far between and **the present one appears to be the only Buddhist copper-plate record of the early period so far known.**

Thirdly, the seal of the present plates presents a noteworthy feature. Whereas three of the above documents bear no seals and the figure on that of the Siroda charter is couched in some doubt,[1] the seal of the present epigraph is well-preserved and distinct. As seen before, it contains the representation of an elephant. The Buddha is symbolically depicted as an elephant[2] and the family of Aśaṅkita appears to have chosen, this figure as the characteristic emblem on their crest to mark their Buddhistic leanings.[3]

We may incidentally notice here a few facts bearing on the history of Buddhism in this part of the country. A statue of the Buddha in the meditative pose, attributed to the early age of the Christian Era, was found some years ago at Colvale in the Goa territory.[4] According to an inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, of about the 3rd century A.D., the region of Banavāsi, approximately representing the North Kanara District, was converted to Buddhism by the Buddhist monks of Ceylon.[5] This piece of information is confirmed by the evidence of the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[6] Kōdabalisiri, a princess of the Ikshvāku house which was a great patron of Buddhism, figures in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraph as the foundress of a *vihāra*.[6] She was consort of the *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsa (*i.e.*, Banavāsi) who may be identified as a prince of the Chuṭu family.[7] The Buddhist influence over the members of the Chuṭu family is indicated by the Banavāsi Prakrit inscription according the

[1] The late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu has stated that the figure on the seal is a swan. Mr. Pisurlekar thought, it was a peacock. Mr. Mirashi suggests it to be a lion. See *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 43, n. 4.

[2] Compare, e.g., H. Hargreaves: *Buddha Story in Stone*, pp. 7-8; *Arch. Surv. of South. Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 33.

[3] An early instance of a Buddhist record on copper-plate comes from the Tippera District in East Bengal. It is dated in the year 188 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to A.D. 507, and registers a grant to a Buddhist *vihāra* by the king Vainya Gupta who, however, was not a follower of the Buddhist faith; *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff. (I owe this reference to Dr. D. C. Sircar). The Pāla rulers of Bengal were Buddhist by persuasion and they had chosen the Dharma Chakra as their characteristic symbol, which is displayed on their copper-plate documents. If the above surmise be correct, this would be the only instance of a ruling family that had adopted as their emblem the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha.

[4] *Kadamba Kula*, p. 258.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 7.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[7] K. Gopalachari: *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 127-28.

gift of a Nāga, and a *vihāra*.[1] Bōdhidharma, founder of the Zen school of Buddhism in China during the early part of the 6th century A.D., hailed, according to one account, from a royal family ruling over the West Coast of South India.[2] It is suggested that he might be a prince of the early Kadamba family.[3] This suggestion seems to be untenable in view of the fact that the early Kadambas are not known to have directly ruled over the West Coast. Nor is the evidence available to show that the Kadambas ever came under the influence of Buddhism. So could it be that Bōdhidharma was connected with the family of Bhōjas some of whom were influenced by the Buddhist doctrine ?

Lastly, we are introduced to a new branch of the Kaikēya family. The Kaikēyas originally hailed from the Kēkaya country situated between the rivers Bias and Sutlej in the Punjab.[4] They are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.[5] They seem to have subsequently migrated to the south and consolidated their position by contracting matrimonial alliances with the princes of the Ikshvāku, Early Kadamba and Pallava families.[6] It appears that there were several branches of the Kaikēyas who had settled in different parts of South India. This may be gathered from the specific reference to the family in the present epigraph as the Kaikēyas of Nandipalli, to distinguish it from others. Allocation of this branch of the Kaikēya family rests on the identification of Nandipalli which appears to have been its headquarters. It may possibly be identified with Nandivalli which was one of the gift villages mentioned in the Vokkalēri plates[7] of the Western Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II, dated in A. D. 758. It was situated on the southern bank of the river Aṛadore or Dharmā in the Pānuṅgal *vishaya* or the territory adjoining modern Hāngal in the Dharwar District. If this identification be correct, it may be assumed that Aśaṅkita's authority extended over a part of the area of the Dharwar District; for, the Kaikēya chief Koṭṭipeggili was his subordinate.

The name Koṭṭipeggili is interesting ; for, it is only an epithet and not a proper name. It is constituted of three words, *koṭṭu*=to strike, *peggu* (*peṛagu*)=back and *il*=not ; and may be derived according to the rules of Kannaḍa grammar.[8] The whole expression would thus mean, ' one who is not a back-stabber '. Similar epithets, *e.g.* *Kokkili*=' one who is devoid of crookedness ' were in vogue in the early age.[9] These expressions are purely Kannaḍa.

The following **place-names** are mentioned in the epigraph: Dīpaka *vishaya*, Sundarikā, Kuṛvvā, Marttikaṭṭu. The first is evidently a territorial division and the last three are villages situated in the former. I am unable to identify the latter and in regard to the former I may only suggest two possible alternatives. **Dīpaka** *vishaya*, appears to have derived the name from the *dvīpa* or an island. It may be either the Anjidiv island, five miles south-west of Karwar[10] or the island of Divar on the north of the island of Goa. The latter is mentioned under the name Dīpavati in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[11] If these names are to be derived from *dīpa* meaning ' light ', they would have derived the appellation on account of the existence of some lighting arrangement like lighthouse on them.

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[1] Lüders' *List*, No. 1186 ; *Early History of Andhra Country*, p. 116.

[2] *Mysore University Journal* (*Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*), 1933, No. 55, p. 39 ; cf. E. J. Thomas : *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 254.

[3] *Mys. Un. Journ.* (*op. cit.*,) p. 44.

[4] *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 98.

[5] Pargiter : *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 109, 164, etc.

[6] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 176-77.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23 ff. and above, Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.

[8] *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇam* (Sāhitya Parishat edition), *sūtra*, 186.

[9] For instance, Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, a prince of the Eastern Chālukya family, had a son named Kokkili : *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 12.

[10] *Bomb. Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, part ii (1883), pp. 249 ff.

[11] *Geographical Dictionary* (*op. cit.*), p. 57.

i.

ii.a.

ii.b.

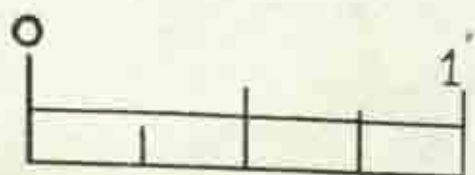
B. Ch. Chhabra

Scale: Seven-eighths

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

Reg. No. 452 HE (C) '50-499.

iii.

SEAL

(From a photograph)

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Jayati sur-āsura-makuṭa-sphuṭa-maṇi-kiraṇ-āvaliḍha-charaṇa-

2 yugaḥ [| *] aparimita-guṇa-gaṇa-nidhir=nishkāraṇa-vatsalō Bu-

3 ddhaḥ[2] [||[3]] Śrī-bhōjānām Bhōjānām-anvay-[4]āmva[5](mbar)-ēndun=Āsaṅkita-rājēna Na-

4 ndipalli-Kaikēy-ānvaya-prasūtēna Kotti[6]peggilin-ābhya-

Second Plate ; First Side

5 rtthyamānēna sva-vihāra-paribhōg-ārttham Dīpaka-vishayē Sundarikā-

6 nāma-grāmō dattaḥ [||*] tasy=āvadhiḥ pūrvvasyām diśi Kurvvā dakshi-

7 ṇasyāṁ Marttikaṭṭu-virāva[ḥ*] paśchimasyāṁ parvvatasy=ōpari pā-[7]

8 nīya-patana ēva uttarasyām=āmra-sahitō[8] pāshāṇa-[9]

Second Plate : Second side

9 paryyantaḥ ||[3] imaṁ yō lōbhād=ava(pa)harati sa pañcha-mahāpātakō bha-

10 vishyati || [10]Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] shashṭiṁ

11 varsha-sahasrāṇi vi[sh[11]]ṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimi[ḥ||*] Manu-pra-

12 bhṛiti[12] bhir=mmānyai[13]r=bhuktā yady=api rājabhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya ya-

Third Plate

13 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [||[14]] Āryya-saṅghāya dattāṁ yō vṛi-

14 ttiṁ pālaya mānava[15] [|*] sa divaṁ prāpya divy-ātmā kalpa-kōṭi-

15 shu mōdatē[16] ||[17] Lōbhād=gṛihṇāti mand-ātmā yaḥ pumān=pāpa-mō-

16 hitaḥ [|*] narakē pachyatē ghōrō sa hi kalpān=anēkaśaḥ||[17]

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Metre : *Āryā*.

[3] The mark of punctuation in the original is peculiar.

[4] The letter *pā* looks like *sā*.

[5] The subscript *v* is indicated by a circle.

[6] This letter may be read as *ṭṭi* also, but the above reading seems to be better ; cf. *ttaḥ* in line 6 and *ttiṁ* in line 14. Its interpretation also warrants this reading.

[7] This letter looks like *ṇā*.

[8] Read *sahitaḥ*.

[9] There is a punctuation mark after this letter, which evidently indicates that the word is not completed.

[10] The metre of this and the next three verses is *Anushṭubh*.

[11] The superscript *shṭ* of this letter looks like *ch* as the left hand hook at the top is not joined to the lower oval body of the letter.

[12] There is a break in the engraving of this letter.

[13] The formation of this letter is peculiar.

[14] The punctuation mark consists of one horizontal stroke.

[15] The construction of this clause is faulty. The defect will be amended if we read *pālayati naraḥ*.

[16] The *ē* sign of this letter is peculiar, being a curve with a hook towards the left.

[17] This mark of punctuation consists of a wavy horizontal stroke.

NO. 14—SHELARWADI CAVE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

C. C. DAS GUPTA, CALCUTTA

There is a well-known series of Buddhist caves at **Shelārwāḍī**, a place twenty miles north-west of Poona.[1] There are at present altogether seven caves in this group. On the outer face of the Cave No. 1 there is an early Brāhmī inscription which has been known for a long time.[2] That inscription informs us that one Siagutaṇikā, wife of the ploughman and householder Usabhaṇaka with her son, the householder Naṁda, residing at Dhāṇukākaḍa, made the gift of this cave. When I had gone to see these caves in January 1940, I discovered another inscription on the door-lintel of the proper left cell in the back side of the cave No. 2. Except one or two letters, the whole inscription was concealed under a thick coat of mud plaster. The mud plaster having been removed, the present record, a hitherto unknown inscription, was brought to light.

The inscription measures 4'×1' 1" and consists of five lines of writing. The last line, consisting of only three letters, is just below the end of the fourth line. The **script** is of the variety adopted in the undated inscriptions of Kuḍā, Nos. 1—6, 11, 20,[3] and may be ascribed to about the 2nd century A.D. With regard to the formation of individual letters it may be pointed out that *a*, *gh*, *ch*, *t*, *dh*, *m*, *l*, and *h* have two different forms[4] each as found respectively in the following examples ; *ata* (line 1) and *bālikāa* (line 2) ; *Ghapa°* and *Saghā°* (line 2) ; *cha* (lines 3 and 4) ; *bhayata* (line 1) and *°ti[k]āya* (line 2) ; *sidha* (line 1) and *Budha°* (line 2) ; *dhama* (line 3) and *°māpito* (line 5) ; *bāli°* (line 2) and *kulehi* (line 4) ; *Sihā°* (line 1) and *°sehi* (line 4). Besides, *s* has four different forms,[4] as in *sidha* (line 1), *Saghā°* (line 2), *saha* (line 3) and *savehi* (lines 3—4). The medial vowels used are *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. Among these, only *i* has two different forms[4] as found in *°siṇiya* (line 1). The **language** used is Prākṛita.

The **object** of this inscription is to record the gift of a *chaitya* hall by two ladies **Budhā** and **Saghā**. The latter was the daughter of Ghapatā, a female disciple of the elder (*thera*) Bhadanta Siha (Siṁha). There are certain interesting points in this inscription which deserve notice. Of the four names in this inscription two, *viz.*, Saghā and Budhā seem to be peculiar, as such names are usually found with some other suffix such as *mitra*, *datta*, etc. This inscription also gives us the evidence for the first time that this particular cave was meant to be the *chaitya* hall of the Buddhist monastery which was situated on this hill. Regarding this cave, Fergusson and Burgess remarked : " The front is entirely gone, and a thick wall has been built, to form a new front, a few feet farther in than the original, with two circular arched doors. The hall has four cells on the right, two in the back, besides a large shrine, and three on the left,—a fourth being entirely ruined. In he shrine recess had stood a dāgoba, the capital attached to the roof as in the Kuḍā

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[1] This series of Buddhist caves was first noticed by the late Dr. John Wilson in 1850, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. III, part II, page 54, where he observes : " A little below the summit of that hill fronting the south-west, we found an excavation with four small cells, containing a *piṇḍi*, and at present sacred to Shiva, which appeared to us, from a bench going round the excavation in front of them, to have been originally Buddhistical. On examining the hill more particularly, we came upon a considerable *Vihār* below them, running E.N.E. and containing about a dozen of cells. Here we found a Buddhist inscription of five lines, which we copied, and which we still preserve. It is very possible that some *Chaitya* may be in the neighbourhood ". It was also noticed by G. H. Johns (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 252 f.), Fergusson and Burgess (*The Cave Temples of India*, pp. 240 f.), Burgess and Indraji (*Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 38 f.), Burgess (*Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions*, pp. 25, 92, Pl. XLVIII., No. 19), Lüders (*A list of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1121).

[2] Lüders, *A List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1121.

[3] Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel III, Col. XV. *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 84, etc.

[4] [The difference noticed is perhaps not a substantial one.—Ed.]

caves,—but this has been hewn away to make room for a small low *chavaranga* or Śaiva altar."[1] From this it is apparent that from the architectural point of view also it was originally a *chaitya* hall which was later transformed into a Śaiva shrine and this inscription establishes beyond doubt that it was the *chaitya* hall of this Buddhist establishment.

TEXT

1 Sidha || therāṇaṁ bhayata[2]-Sihāṇa atevāsiṇiya
2 pāvaiti[k][3]āya Ghapa[rā]ya bālikāa Saghāya Budha(dhā)-
3 a[4] cha chetiya-gharo deya-dhama māta-pita uliza saha [cha] sa-
4 vehi bhikhā(khu)-kulehi sahā cha āchari[ye]hi bhata-vireyehi[5] sa-
5 māpito

TRANSLATION

Success. The meritorious gift of a *chaitya* hall is made by Budhā and Saghā (Saṅghā) (*who was*) the daughter[6] of the nun Ghaparā, a female disciple of the elder (*thera*) Bhadanta Siha for the sake of parents together with all communities of the *bhikshus* and the teachers.

No. 15—MORE LIGHT ON GHUMLI PLATES ; GUPTA SAMVAT 513

B. Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund

Early in 1936, twelve copper plates were unearthed near Ghumli in the Nawanagar State of the United States of Saurāshṭra. They constitute six separate charters of certain Saindhava rulers. The charters have been edited by Dr. A. S. Altekar. They are indicated as A, B, C, D, E and F. In this note, we are concerned with the charter A. It is a grant of the time of Agguka II, dated in the [Gupta] year 513.[7] The last line of this document contains the following recapitulatory verse :

Śrī-Jayaśāṇō mahyaṁ grāmam=adāḍ=Ḍhaṅka-tīrtha-nāmānam [| *]
Gulamayikā-grāma-daś-āṁśa(ś-āṁśa)-sahitam=atibhaktir=Udag-ayanē ||

This is followed by the date *Samva 500 10 3*. The information briefly conveyed by the couplet is the main theme of the charter, set out in detail in lines 27-33. It may be observed that, in the verse, the king Jāīka is mentioned under the Sanskrit or Sanskritised form of his name, and that Gulamikā is spelt as Gulamayikā for the sake of the metre.

The point at issue, however, is that the verse has been considered by the learned editor to be an interpolation. Moreover, the interpolation is supposed to be the work of the donee himself. That this can hardly be the case is shown below.

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[1] Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave temples of India*, pp. 246-7.

[2] It seems that one wrong letter was engraved after *y* which was effaced and the letter ī was then chiselled in the next space.

[3] [The reading of this syllable is definitely *rā*.—Ed.]

[4] It may at first appear that *Saghāya Budhāya cha* may mean "to the Buddha and the *saṁgha*"; but there is one difficulty for which this interpretation cannot be accepted. There is no dative in *Prākrita* and the sense of dative is conveyed by possessive in this language. The reading should, therefore, have been *saghasa Budhasa cha* if it had meant "to the Buddha and the *saṁgha*".

[5] The meaning of the word *bhata-vireyehi* is not clear.

[6] From the context it appears possible that both Saghā and Budhā were the daughters of Ghaparā ; but as the form *bālikāa* which precedes *Saghāya* is singular, I have taken only Saghā to be the daughter of Ghaparā.

[7] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 197 ff., and plate.

While introducing the verse, the learned editor remarks that it 'summarises the contents of the grant mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant'. Continuing, the learned editor says : "Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate".[1] The learned editor, as a matter of fact, is convinced of this state of affairs, as has been evinced by himself in the course of drawing a contrast between this Charter A and Charter D of the series. There, he points to the fish emblem that occurs at the end of the record instead of on its seal, and comments : "In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record".[2]

Now, there are certain considerations that not only do not favour the conclusion arrived at by the learned editor, but positively discredit it. In the first place, the verse in question does not show any hidden motive behind it which would prompt a tampering with the original. Secondly, having no reason to the contrary, we may credit the donee with sense enough to know that any such interference on his part would only go against him, nay, would even annul the grant, legally speaking. These two considerations preclude the possibility of attributing to the grantee any bungling of the suspected sort. It may, however, further be observed that, as shown above, after the so-called interpolated verse comes the date which the learned editor evidently does not take as a part of the interpolation. Since the date occurs nowhere else in the record and he has accepted it as authentic, it may be inferred that he considers the date portion as a part of the original document itself. It follows therefore that the engraver incised the date at the extreme end on the right, leaving on the left a blank just enough to accommodate an *Āryā* to be inserted later on by the donee, so to say. Here again an element of improbability ! Supposing that, after finishing the verse in line 44, the engraver had only the date portion left to be engraved, a more natural course for him would have been either to commence the next line by engraving the very date or to engrave it somewhere in the centre, leaving some space unengraved on either side. Even granting that the insertion of the date is also the doing of the donee, the evidence of the handwriting is strongly against the interpolation theory. It may be seen from the illustration that there is absolutely no difference in the duct of writing between the last line of the record and the rest of it, whereas in the event of any addition by the donee some difference in handwriting was bound to show itself. In the Sone East-Bank copper plate of Indradēva and Udayarāja, we have a clear instance of an interpolation by one of the donees, where the difference in handwriting is as obvious as the object of the interpolator is manifest.[3]

So far as the practice of summarising the contents of a grant at the end is concerned, there is nothing strange about it, though it is not of a frequent occurrence. In a way, it occurs again in charters D, E and F of the series.[4] The same is found in certain other records as well.[5] It would no doubt have been very unusual if, in the present instance, it had been done by the donee himself, as the learned editor believes it has been. According to him, the verse mentions *inter alia* the name of the grantee. This is not true. Further on, however, he makes himself clear by

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 223, 230 and n. 1, plate facing p. 228.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 217, text line 44 ; p. 222, text lines 35-36 ; p. 226, text lines 38-39.

[5] For example, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 197.

adding that ' the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse '. Obviously he has the word *mahyaṁ* in view. This is thus the nucleus of the interpolation theory. In the light of the foregoing discussion one would, however, ask oneself whether the *mahyaṁ* is really the pronoun, first person, singular, dative, or whether it is something else. Can it not be the accusative singular of the word *mahya* used as an adjective qualifying the word *grāma* ? That in any case assorts well with the context, *mahya* being an equivalent of *namasya*. This last is a well-known term, literally meaning ' to be respected ', but technically denoting ' rent-free '. Synonymous terms like *mānya* are also found used.[1] In the present instance, though *mānya*, *pūjya*, etc., would have fitted in equally well with the metre, the author seems to have hit upon a rather unfamiliar word, not realizing that it might give rise to a grave misapprehension. Or, who knows, his choice has been deliberate.

The word *mahyaṁ* in the present context having thus lent itself to a different and more befitting interpretation, there can hardly be any doubt that the verse in question did form part of the original record and is not an interpolation.

I must add that I had occasion to peruse Dr. Altekar's paper on the six Saindhava grants while it was still under publication. In fact, I then made a few suggestions in connection with that paper, which Dr. Altekar accepted. At that time, however, nothing occurred to me as to the delusive *mahyaṁ*. By the association of ideas, I suddenly remembered of this, later on, while dealing with the Bamhanī plates of the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala. In this record, I came across the expression *mahaiya-pādaiḥ*,[2] obviously a mistake for *mahya-pādaiḥ*.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, who happened to go through this note of mine and agreed with the interpretation offered here, kindly suggested that the term *mahya* in the present context may, instead of denoting ' rent-free ', simply mean ' big ' or ' great '. The word is admittedly of rare occurrence,[3] but its meaning is obvious.

No. 16—SUMANDALA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PRITHIVIVIGRAHA-BHATTARAKA : GUPTA YEAR 250

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

Sometime ago a young man named Vāsudēva Nanda found a set of inscribed copper plates from a mound near the village of **Sumaṇḍala** in the Khallikōt State now merged in the Ganjam District, Orissa. The village of Sumaṇḍala is not far from Jaugaḍa, noted for a set of old rock inscriptions of the Maurya emperor Aśōka, and from Buguḍa, the find-spot of an important copper-plate inscription of the Śailōdbhava dynasty which had its headquarters at the city of Kōṅgōda on the river Sālimā (modern Sāliyā) running into the Chilka Lake. Mr. Nanda handed over the plates to Pandit Ananta Tripāṭhī of Berhampore, who is a reputed Sanskrit scholar and is the editor of the Sanskrit journal *Manōramā*. The editing of the plates was entrusted to Mr. S. N. Rājaguru whose paper on the inscription was published in the said *Manōramā*, Vol. I, part i (1949, Āshāḍha, Śaka 1871), pp. 17-24, together with illustrations of the inscribed sides of the plates.

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[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 233.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 142 and note 9. It may be observed that the form *mahaiya* can equally be amended into *mahayya*. This last is met with in the *Chhāndōgya Upanishad*, VIII, 8, 4 : *ātmā—air—iha mahayyaḥ*, etc.

[3] It is, for instance, found used in the sense of ' great ' in the *Yōgakuṇḍalī Upanishad*, II, 13 : *labdhvā sastram—idaṁ mahyam*,

As Mr. Rājaguru failed to notice the most important historical information supplied by the inscription, as yet unknown from any other sources, *viz.*, the spread of imperial Gupta suzerainty over the Kaliṅga country, I re-edit the record.

The set consists of **three plates** having rounded corners and each measuring 6·2 inches by 2·8 inches. They are strung together on a ring to which a **seal** is attached. The oval brass seal contains on its counter-sunk surface (1·25" × 1·5") the emblem of a *tōraṇa* or gateway and the legend *Mahārāja Dharmma*. The first and the third plates are written on one side only, the second being written on both the sides. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh 64 *tolas* while the weight of the ring with the seal is 20 *tolas* only.[1]

The **characters** belong to the class commonly characterised as the Gupta script and are assignable to the sixth century A.D. They have points of similarity with, but are earlier than, the alphabet of the Ganjam inscription of the time of Śaśāṅka dated in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.).[2] The letter *s* in the present record has retained its round loop in some cases and even in the forms with the triangular loop it has no inside opening as is the case in the Ganjam inscription. The latter inscription employs the sign for *v* to indicate *b* in all cases; but, in the present record, *b* has been indicated in some cases by its distinct sign and in others by the sign for *v* (cf. *brāhma*° in lines 12 and 13, but *vappa*° in line 5 and *vahu*° in line 17). Of the initial vowels, we have instances of only *ā* (line 19), *u* (line 16) and *ē* (line 10). Final *t* occurs once in line 19. Interpunctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke. The horizontal stroke indicating the completion of the record at the end of the charter is, however, considerably longer and is possibly meant to indicate a double stop.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, although Prakrit influence can be traced in the word *dāṇḍavāsika*°[3] for Sanskrit *dāṇḍapāśika* in line 7. With the exception of four imprecatory verses about the end of the charter the record is throughout written in prose. As regards **orthography**, the inscription under discussion resembles the Ganjam inscription and the East Indian records of about the sixth century. Attention may be drawn to the occasional reduplication of some consonants in conjunction with a following *y* (cf. °*mātty-ōpa*° in line 7, *vritt-āddhyayana*° in line 13, *etc.*). Reduplication of certain consonants in conjunction with a preceding or following *r* is more regular. Wrong *sandhi* in cases such as °*nyāṁś-cha* (line 8), °*yikāṁś=cha* (line 9), °*yāyāṁ=vasu*° and °*rājyāṁ=varta*° (line 2) and °*dattāṁ=vā* (line 21) is noteworthy. The rules of *sandhi*, which is optional in prose, have not been observed in such cases as °*smābhiḥ Māgha*° and °*yanē ētad*° in line 10. The *visarga* followed by a sibilant has been modified in some cases (cf. *rājabhis-Sa*° in line 17, °*bhis=saha* in line 22) but not in others (cf. °*tanuḥ sa*° in line 5). Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second or fourth foot of a verse (cf. lines 18, 21).

The **date** of the inscription is indicated in words: *vartamāna-Gupta-rājyē varsha-śata-dvayē pañchāśad-uttarē* in lines 2-3 and *Māgha-krishṇasy-aikādaśyām=uttar-āyanē* in line 10. The grant was thus made on the occasion of the *uttar-āyana*,[4] falling on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 250 apparently of the Gupta era. The date corresponds to **the 20th December 569 A.D.**[5]

[1] An examination of the original plates, received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Pandit Tripāṭhī, showed that Mr. Rājaguru's description of the plates and the seal is misleading.

[2] *Above*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-47 and plate.

[3] [This form need not be due to any Prakrit influence.—Ed.].

[4] For the importance of the *ayana* as an occasion for offering gifts, see *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (I, chapter 51, verse 29) quoted in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 299: *ayanē vishuvē chaiva grahaṇē chandra-sūryayōḥ, saṅkrānty-ādishu kālēshu dattaṁ bhavati ch-ākshayam*.

[5] I am indebted to Mr. D. N. Mookerjee for the astronomical calculation.

The inscription records the grant of a village called **Ardhākamaṇḍuka** together with another locality called **Chandanavāṭaka**, both situated in the **Parakkhalamārgga** *vishaya*. It was made by *Mahārāja* **Dharmarāja** who was ruling at **Padmakhōlī** as a feudatory of **Pṛithivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka** when the latter was governing **Kaliṅgarāshṭra** apparently forming a part of the **Gupta-rājya**. Dharmarāja is described as a descendant (possibly son)[1] of Mahārāja **Ubhaya**,[2] as born of the queen **Bappadēvī** and as devoted to the deity **Sahasraraśmi**, i.e., the Sun-god. The localities mentioned above were made an *agrahāra* or free gift in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas belonging to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*, only the chief amongst them being mentioned as the *upādhyāya* (teacher) Maṭūsvāmin who was an inhabitant of the **Homvaka** *agrahāra*. The Brāhmaṇas are said to have been men of good conduct and learning. The order of *Mahārāja* Dharmarāja was issued to the persons connected with the administration of the region in his time as well as to those who would be associated with it in future. These include the *Sāmanta-mahārāja* (or *Sāmanta* and *Mahārāja*), *Rājaputra*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Daṇḍavāśika*, *Sthānāntarika*, *Vyavahārin* and *Vaishayika*. The land was made free from the obligation of paying any tax or revenue and from all obstacles (*sarva-kara-pīḍā-varjita*). It was granted together with the *uddēśa* (i.e., space above the *tala* or ground) and *uparikara* (i.e., rent to be realised from temporary tenants). The charter was written by Dāsuka the *ādhikaraṇika*, (i.e., an officer attached to the *adhikaraṇa* or an office of administration). It was heated (for the purposes of affixing the seal) by a person named Lakshaṇasvāmin.

The most important historical problems raised by the inscription under discussion are three. In the first place, it says that in the Gupta year 250 (A.D. 569) the *rājya* or empire of the Guptas was *vartamāna*, i.e., 'still existing.' Secondly, the *rāshṭra* (territory or province) of Kaliṅga is implied to have formed a part of the Gupta empire. Thirdly, Pṛithivīvigraha-*bhaṭṭāraka's* rule over the Kaliṅga-rāshṭra apparently as a viceroy of the Guptas in the second half of the sixth century has now to be adjusted with the already known facts of that country's history.

As regards the first problem we know that the Gupta empire broke up about the middle of the sixth century, that is to say, some two decades earlier than the date of the Sumaṇḍala inscription, when it is said to have been existing. The latest imperial Gupta record is dated in the Gupta year 224 (543 A.D.).[3] There is a Jaina tradition recorded by Jinasēna that the Gupta emperors ruled for 231 years.[4] As the Gupta era started in 320 A.D.,[5] which seems to be the date of the beginning of the Gupta sovereignty, the end of the empire, according to the tradition noted above, appears to have come about 551 A.D. That the heart of the Gupta empire in Bihar and the U.P. passed soon after that date to the Maukharis is indicated by the Haṛāhā inscription,[6] dated Vikrama Saṁvat 611 (A.D. 553), of the time of Īśānavarman, the first imperial ruler of the Maukhari family, as well as by the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription[7] referring to the rule of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, son and grandson respectively of Īśānavarman, over the Shahabad District of Bihar.[8] The present inscription indicating the continuity of the imperial Gupta rule as late as A.D. 569 thus seems to

[1] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 250 ; *Naishadhīya*, V, 124, where Nala is described as *Vīrasēna-kula-dīpa* although he was Vīrasēna's son.

[2] [See below, p 84, note 5—Ed.]

[3] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 337.

[4] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1938, p. 531 ; *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, p. 70, l.n.1 : *Guptānāṁ=cha śata-dvayam=ēka-triṁśach=cha varshāṇi*, etc.

[5] Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 299.

[6] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff. and plate.

[7] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 215 ff. and plate.

[8] *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 72-74.

suggest that, even after the disintegration of the empire, there were some members of the family who claimed the status of their imperial predecessors. Whether their position was nominal like that of James III of England or of the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II and his successors can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There is, however, no doubt that till A.D. 569 viceroys like Pṛithivīvigraha-*bhaṭṭāraka* of Kaliṅga continued their allegiance to the Gupta emperor. The word *bhaṭṭāraka* attached to Pṛithivīvigraha's name may suggest that he ruled practically as an independent monarch; but he did so without officially throwing off the yoke of the Guptas. It is possible to conjecture that he had blood relationship with the Guptas and was eager to display it to improve his own case against those of other rival rulers of the country.[1]

The second problem raised by the record, viz., the expansion of the Gupta rule over Kaliṅga, is equally interesting. Roughly speaking, Kaliṅga was the name of the coast land between the Mahānadī and the Gōdāvarī, although it included the valley of the Vaitaraṇī river on the north-east. But this was Kaliṅga in a wider sense, the name being applied in a narrow sense only to the Puri-Ganjam area of modern Orissa. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 38—9, associates the Kaliṅga country especially with the Mahēndra (i.e., the Mahēndragiri peak in the Ganjam District) and locates the Utkala country, comprising the present Balasore District together with parts of the Midnapur and Cuttack Districts, to its north-east.

In the fifth and sixth centuries some rulers, having their headquarters at cities like Siṁhapura (modern Siṅgupuram near Chicacole or Śrīkākulam), Vardhamāna (modern Vadama in the Palakonda *tāluka* of the Vizagapatam District), Dēvapura (capital of Dēvarāshṭra in the Yellamañchili *tāluka* of the same District) and Pishṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) assumed the title " lord of Kaliṅga ".[2] From the last decade of the fifth century kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty were ruling from Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam in the Ganjam District) and Dantapura (near Chicacole) often with the same title. These Gaṅgas were devoted to the deity Śiva-Gōkarṇēśvara installed in a temple at the top of the Mahēndragiri. In the records of the Eastern Chālukya kings of the Āndhra country, a portion of the Vizagapatam District was sometimes called Madhyama-Kaliṅga or Elamañchi-Kaliṅga. It is interesting to note that the Gupta emperor Samudragupta led an expedition, about the middle of the fourth century, against a number of kings of Dakshiṇāpatha, some of whom ruled over different parts of the Kaliṅga country. The Allahabad pillar inscription[3] of Samudragupta, while giving a list of these kings, mentions kings Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra (possibly Kōthur near the Mahēndragiri), Mahēndragiri of Pishṭapura, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (probably near Chicacole) and Kuvēra of Dēvarāshṭra. It is said that Samudragupta captured the kings of Dakshiṇāpatha including the above rulers of the Kaliṅga region, but that he let them off. The implication is that the Gupta emperor reinstated the defeated kings in their respective kingdoms. This may be a mild way of saying that Samudragupta failed to establish his supremacy over the countries of the south. But there are some indications of the spread of Gupta influence over many parts of South India. The Guptas are known to have contracted matrimonial alliances with the Vākāṭakas of the Berar region and the Kadambas of the Kannaḍa country.[4] The Gupta era seems to be used in an inscription of Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba dynasty.[5] The Arang copper-plate inscription of Bhīmasēna, a ruler of Dakshiṇa-Kōsala in the present Chhattisgarh region, is also dated in the Gupta era[6]

[1] Cf. the claims suggested by the medals issued by certain Indo-Greek kings (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 550-54).

[2] See *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 77; *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 78-84.

[3] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 256-7 and plate.

[4] *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 88n, 256

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 234n.

[6] *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 65.

and coins of king Prasannamātra of Śarabhapura in South Kōsala exhibit influence of Gupta coinage.[1] Recently coins of the South Kōsala king, Mahēndrāditya, who seems to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I Mahēndrāditya, have been discovered.[2] This may actually indicate that the Gupta suzerainty was accepted by the kings of this family of South Kōsala.[3] Of course the discovery of a large hoard of Kumāragupta's coins at Satara may or may not indicate the expansion of Gupta influence over that part of the Deccan, but the other evidences cited above have to be taken into consideration in this connection. As regards the question of Gupta influence in Kaliṅga in particular, we may refer to the use of the Gupta era in that country. The Ganjam inscription of the time of Śaśāṅka, as we have already seen, is dated in the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619). The Soro[4] (Balasore District) and Patiakella[5] (Cuttack District) inscriptions mentioning a king named Śambhuyaśas who was the ruler of Tōsalī, both North (roughly the Balasore District) and South (Puri-Cuttack region together with the eastern portion of Ganjam at least in the age of the Bhauma-Karas), are dated in the Gupta years 260 (A.D. 579) and 283 (A.D. 602) respectively. Tōsalī (modern Dhauli in the Puri District) was the name of the chief city of northern Kaliṅga in the days of the Mauryas and it seems that the rulers of the Puri region in northern Kaliṅga felt the necessity of giving this new name to their kingdom sometime after the Eastern Gaṅgas had established themselves at Kaliṅganagara in the last decade of the fifth century and were describing themselves as lords of Kaliṅga. In any case, South Tōsalī was practically the same as the northern part of Kaliṅga. The use of the Gupta era in the records of Śambhuyaśas, ruler of both north and south Tōsalī, is thus additional evidence in favour of the spread of Gupta influence over the Kaliṅga country. Till now, however, there was no direct evidence to prove that Kaliṅga formed an integral part of the Gupta empire. The present inscription proves this fact for the first time. The Guptas may have entered Kaliṅga either through South Kōsala or through South-West Bengal, more probably through the latter. Samudragupta is known to have extirpated Chandravarman who, according to the Susunia inscription, ruled over South-West Bengal from his capital at Pushkaraṇā (modern Pokharna on the Damodar).[6] Thus South-West Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta empire since the middle of the fourth century. The rule of Śaśāṅka, king of the Gauḍas who were political successors of the Guptas in Bengal, in the Kōṅgōda country, comprising the eastern part of the Ganjam District, as well as in Utkala, as indicated by the Ganjam and Midna-pur[7] inscriptions seems to be merely an after effect of the Gupta occupation of Kaliṅga. For the extent of Gupta domination over Kaliṅga and its duration we have yet to wait for further evidence.

The third problem raised by our inscription relates to chronology, viz., fixing the date of Prithvivigraha's rule over Kaliṅga in relation to some known facts of Kaliṅga history. We know that the Eastern Gaṅgas began to rule at least in the Ganjam District with the exclusion of its eastern part from a date falling in the period A.D. 496-98.[8] Kōṅgōda on the Puri-Ganjam border was under the Śailōdbhavas at least from the middle of the sixth century, since Mādhavavarman II Sainyabhīta, who was the fourth ruler of this family, is known to have been reigning in A.D. 619

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. X, pp. 137-42.

[3] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 176, 248n, where instances of Gaṅga kings bearing Pallava names indicating their subordination to the Pallava monarchs are given.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 197.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 285 and *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 84n.

[6] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42.

[7] *Pravāsī*, Śrāvaṇa, 1350 B.S., pp. 291-300; *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 1-9 and plates.

[8] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21.

as a feudatory of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. As we have seen, king Śambhuyaśas was ruling over Uttara- and Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī, i.e., the country extending at least from the borders of the Midnapur District up to those of the Ganjam District, in the period A.D. 579-602. It thus seems that, about A.D. 569, Pṛithivīvigraha was ruling over that part of Kaliṅga which lay to the north-east of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom. The Śailōdbhavas appear to have originally owed allegiance to him and, through him, to the Guptas. The dynasty represented by Śambhuyaśas probably overthrew the family to which Pṛithivīvigraha belonged. One of the records of Śambhuyaśas speaks of the suzerainty of the Mānas. It appears that Gupta rule in Orissa was substituted by that of the Mānas shortly after Pṛithivīvigraha. The Mānas in their turn were probably ousted by the Gauḍas. Thus the Śailōdbhavas appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty at first of the viceroys of the Guptas, then of the Māna family to which Śambhuyaśas belonged or owed allegiance, and ultimately of the Gauḍas. An as-yet-unpublished copper-plate inscription discovered from a locality called Kanās in Orissa is said to speak of a king named Lōkavigraha.[1] It is possible to suggest that Pṛithivīvigraha and Lōkavigraha belonged to the same family.

Little is known about the kings Ubhaya[2] and Dharmarāja from other sources. It seems that Padmakhōlī was not only the name of the capital of *Mahārāja* Dharmarāja but also that of his kingdom which lay around the present Khallikōṭ in the Ganjam District.

Of **geographical** names mentioned in the Sumaṇḍala inscription, we have already discussed the location of Kaliṅga-rāshṭra. The city of **Padmakhōlī** has been suggested to be no other than modern Padmakhol near Narayankhol in the now defunct Khallikōṭ State. The *vishaya* or district called **Parakkhalamārga** must also have been situated in the Khallikōṭ region. The localities Ardhākamaṇḍuka, Chandanavāṭaka and Homvak-āgrahāra cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 [Siddham [||][4] Sva[s]ti [|] chatur-udadhi-mēkhalāyāṁ sapta-dvīpa-pa[r]vvata-sar[i]t-patta[na]-

2 bhūshaṇāyām-va(yāṁ va)sundharāyām-va(yāṁ va)rttamāna-**Gupta-rājyē varsha-śata-dvayē**

3 **pañchāśad-uttarē Kaliṅga-rāshṭram-anuśāsati śrī-Pṛithivīvigraha-**

4 **bhaṭṭārakē** tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ **Padmakhōlyām** mahārāj-**Ōbhay**-ānvayō[5]

5 **Va(Ba)ppadēvyām**-utpanna-tanuḥ Sahasraraśmi-pāda-bhaktō mahārāja-**Dharm-marā-**

6 **jaḥ** kuśalī **Para[kkha]lamārgga-vishayē** varttamāna-bhavish[y]at-sāma[nta]-

Second Plate ; First Side

7 mahārāja-rājaputtra-kumārāmātty-ōparika-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍavāsika-[6] sthān[ā]-

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[1] See *Mandowma*, *loc. cit.* After this paper had been sent to the press, I received the Kanās plate of Lōkavigraha for examination. That inscription will also be published in this journal. A faulty transcript of the Kanās plate has since been published in *J. K. H. R. S.*, V 4, II-III, pp. 202-3.

[2] [See below, note 5—Ed.]

[3] From the original plates and their impressions.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] This may be the *ēka-dēśa* of names like *Ubhayajāta* (*Matsya Purāṇa*, 193, 21) and *Ubhayachara* (cf. *Uparichara*) or epithets or titles like *Ubhayadakshiṇāmukha* (above, Vol. XII, p. 202). [*Ubhaya* as proper name of a person sounds rather queer. Mr. Rajaguru takes it to be *Abhaya*. More probably this is what is meant. The reading in that case may be given as *mahārājā[*=A]bhay-ānvayō*. Or, better still, it may be corrected into *mahārāj-Ābhay-ānvayō*, otherwise Abhaya will go without the title *Mahārāja*, whereas Dharmarāja will have it mentioned twice.—Ed.]

[6] *Daṇḍapāśika* is no doubt intended. [See above, p. 80 note 3—Ed.]

i.

2 2

4 4

6 6

ii,a.

8 8

10 10

12 12

ii,b.

14 14

16 16

18 18

B. CH. CHHABRA

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3377 E'36 - 499'51

iii.

20

22

24

Seal

(From a photograph)

8 ntarikān-anyāṁś-cha(nyāṁś-cha) vallabha-jātīyān-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō vyu[va]hāri-vaishē(sha)-

9 yikāṁś-cha(kāṁś-cha) yathārham-mānayatty-ādiśati cha viditam-astu vō ya[th]-ā-

10 smābhiḥ **Māgha-krishṇasy-aikādaśyām-uttar-āyanē** ētad-vishaya-saṁ-[1]

11 [ṭṭivṛ]-**Ā[rddhā]kamaṇḍuka-grāmaś-Chandanavāṭaka**-sahitō-grahārīkṛitya **Hom-vak-āgra-**

12 hārīya-brāhmaṇ-ōpādhyāya-Maṭūsvāmi-pramukhānāṁ nānā-gōttra-charaṇā-

Second Plate; Second Side

13 nāṁ vṛitt-āddhyayanavatāṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ(ṇā)m-ā-chandr-ārkka-sama-kāla-sthittyā tāmra-[pa]-

14 ṭṭ-ābhilikhitaḥ sarvva-kara-pīḍā-varjjitaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ mā[tā]-

15 pittrōr-ātmanaś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē pratigrahēṇa pratipāditaḥ[|*]

16 tad-ēsh-āsmad-dattir-ddharmma-gauravāt-pratipālanīy-ēti | uktañ-cha dharmma-

17 śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ-Sagar-ādhibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya ya-

18 dā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||*] shashṭim-va(shṭiṁ va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati

Third Plate

19 bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakaṁ(kē) vasēt [||*] Mā bhūd-a-pha-

20 [2]la-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt-ēti pārthivāḥ [|*] sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantyaṁ para-dā-

21 n-ānupālanaṁ(nē) [||*]sva-dattāṁ para-dattām-vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām)] sa vishṭhā-

22 yāṁ kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhis-saha pachyatē [||*] likhit-ādhikaraṇi-[3]

23 ka-D[ā]sukēna | Lakshaṇasvāminā[4]

24 tāpitam-iti ||[5]

No. 17—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

(*1 Plate*)

M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund

Śālaigrāmam is a village in the Paramagudi *tāluk* of the Ramnad District, a region which once formed the core of the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas. The village contains an old temple of Śiva worshipped under the name of Varaguṇīśvara, an appellation evidently associated with the Pāṇḍyas among whom there were two kings of the name of Varaguṇa. The goddess bears the name, Kāmākshi-Amman. Mr. K. Ramaswami Aiyangar, the then Revenue Officer of the Ramnad Samsthanam, drew the attention of the Government Epigraphist for India to the historical associations of the temple and to its antiquity borne out by the old inscriptions in the temple and by

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[1] Read *sambaddh-Ārddhaka°*.

[2] Before *la*, another *la* was incised; but it seems to have been rejected by the engraver owing to damage in its lower part.

[3] *Likhita* qualifies a word like *lipi* understood here.

[4] *Lakshmaṇa°* seems to have been intended. *Tāpitam* qualifies *śāsanam* understood.

[5] The *i* sign of *ti* is joined cursively with the long horizontal stroke at the end indicating full-stop. This characteristic is also found in other records. Cf. Soro plate (C), line 16 (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate opp. p. 202); Ashrafpur plate (B), lines 17, 23 (*Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, Plate VII); etc.

references in ancient Tamil literature to the place. Two verses in the *Peruntogai* [1] refer to a chief, Teṉkoḷumār Vēṇāḍaṉ, who is stated to have founded Śālaigrāmam and endowed thirty-two *kuḻis* of land in it to god Varaguṇavīchchuvarar, who was responsible for the routing of the hostile kings and making them climb the northern mountain. The local people of the village derive the name Śālaigrāmam from *śālai* or road-stead for the pilgrims proceeding to Sētu and Rāmēśvaram. It may be noted, however, that the inscriptions secured from the place, which are edited here, give its name as Śāḷaigrāmam.

The inscriptions under publication (A and B) [2] are engraved on the left and right door jambs of the entrance into the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. Both are engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu **characters** and their **language** is Tamiḻ. The Grantha alphabet is employed wherever letters or words of the Sanskrit language had to be written, *e.g.*, *brahmadēyam* (A. lines 7-8; B. lines 9-10), *Paramasvāmi* (A. lines 10-11; B. lines 24-5), *Sālaigrāmam* (A. lines 8-9; B. lines 10-11), etc. In the word *Kōnō-iṉmai-koṇḍāṉ* (A: lines 20-1), we have a title which bears close similarity to *Kōn'riṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* and *Kōnērimaikoṇḍāṉ* found in inscriptions of much later date than the present record and which have been generally understood to mean 'one who had no rival king' (*Kōṉ-ṟr-iṉmai-koṇḍāṉ*) and 'the unequalled among kings' (*kō-nēr-iṉmai-koṇḍāṉ*).[3] But neither of these derivations can suit the form of our inscription. Apparently, its meaning has to be derived as *kōn-nōy-iṉmai-koṇḍāṉ*, *i.e.*, 'one who had no ill health'. This would correspond, as Venkayya thought, to the term *kuśalī* of Sanskrit inscriptions.[4] Both the records are engraved with care and the writing may be attributed, on **palaeographical** grounds, to the **10th century A. D.** A few **orthographical** peculiarities found in the inscriptions may be noticed. Instances of the use of ṉ for ṇ are found in *iruṉḍu* (B. line 14) and *vaḷa-ṉāḍu* (A. line 5). The following uncommon usages of certain words due, evidently to colloquial expression, may be noted: *y-ēri* for *ēri* (A. lines 19, 28, 33; B. 52); *valunāṭṭu* (A. lines 22-3) for *vaḷanāṭṭu*; *iṟaiy-oḻiñju* (A. lines 30-1) for *iṟaiy=oḻichchu*.

Record A is dated in the 2+1st year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ and registers the order issued by Kōnōiṉmaikoṇḍāṉ to the *sabhā* of Śāḷaigrāmam, a *brahmadēya* village in Mayimākara-vaḷanāḍu *alias* Tuvvūrkūṟṟam, to use the waters of the *Kuḷavāṇai-ēri* for irrigating the lands of the god Varaguṇa-īśvaruttu-Paramasvāmigaḷ. It is also stated that the permission so granted was in accordance with the *śirimukam* (Skt. *Śrīmukha*) of Perumāṉaḍigaḷ Śivallavadēvar (Śrīvallabhadēva) granting the village as *dēvadāna* to the god with facilities for irrigation. *Kōnōiṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* was evidently the title of king Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ. As far as I know this is the earliest mention of the title in Pāṇḍya records.

Record A is engraved immediately below another short Tamiḻ inscription[5] in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Grantha characters which states that the *nilai* (door jamb) was set up by Vāsudēva-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kōṭṭaiyūr. Since the characters of this record are so similar to inscription A it may be supposed

[1] Edited by M. Raghava Ayyangar (1935-36), Nos. 1231-2.
[2] Nos. 33a and 34 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1946-47.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 110.
[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 291, note 2.
[5] No. 25 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1946-47. The text of the record runs :—
1 Svasti Śrī[|*] Sāḷai-
2 grāmattu Kōṭ-
3 ṭaiyūr Vāsu-
4 dēva Nārāya-
5 ṇaṉ ṟṟa-
6 nilai [||*]

that both were written at the same time, if not by the same hand, soon after the setting up of the door jamb.

Record B is dated in the year 15+5 of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya, 'who took the head of the Chōḻa'. The date quoted here is the highest known regnal year of this king. I have not been able to make out the full sense of the record owing to the complicated wording of the text, the syntax of which is not clear. Its main purport seems to be to register the grant of 35 *pāṭakams* of land made evidently to god Varaguṇa-īśvara of Sāḷaigrāmam by the *sabhā* of Sāḷaigrāmam, a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* in Tavvūr-kūṟṟam *alias* Mayimākam-vaḷanāḍu. It also seems to say that Perumāṇaḍigaḷ (*i.e.*, the king) abolished a tax of 9000 *kāśu* which he at first said he would levy on Tirukkuḷuṅgaḷūr, but later decided not to do so. A sum of 100 *īḻakkāśu* is separately mentioned in the record as an endowment made for the purpose of supplying ornaments (*tiru*=*ābharaṇam*) and cake-offerings (*tiru-appam*) to god Varaguṇa-īśvara. It is not clear who the donor of the 100 *kāśu* was; whether the assignment of 35 *pāṭakams* of land made by the *sabhā* was made in consideration of the 100 *kāśu* only, or in return for the 9000 *kāśu* of tax abolished on Tirukkuḷuṅgaḷūr by the king is also not clear. In the latter case it must be understood that this village was within the jurisdiction of the *sabhā* of Sāḷaigrāmam. The order of the Perumāṇaḍigaḷ is stated to have been issued from Tiruppālaiyūr where he was staying (*irundu*). The inscription thereafter specifies the boundaries of the land granted and records the provision made for its irrigation by the *Kuḷuvāśai-ēri* for the two crops of the year.

The importance of the records under study lies in their close palaeographical resemblance which permits the inference that the kings mentioned therein, *viz.*, Śaḍaiya-Māṟar and *Śōḻan-talai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya could not have been much removed from each other in point of time. Śaḍaiya-Māṟar of record A can be identified with Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ Rājasiṁha, the donor of the Bigger Śinnamaṉūr plates issued in the 2+14th year of his reign.[1] The identification is sustainable on the ground that the records of this king are invariably issued in the years opposite the second year,[2] as also on palaeographical considerations. Śaḍaiya-Māṟar is to be assigned to the 10th century A. D., a period to which the donor of the Bigger Śinnamaṉūr plates also belonged. The contemporaneity of this Rājasiṁha *alias* Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ with the Chōḻa king Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-953) is well known. The actual dates of the beginning and the close of his reign are not definitely ascertainable owing to the lack of necessary data, astronomical or other, in his inscriptions. But an attempt can be made to indicate them approximately. In the first instance, the duration of his rule might be fixed by taking into consideration the highest regnal year quoted in his records, which is 2+22.[3] Thus he had at least a reign of 24 years. That his rule for this entire period was quite uninterrupted is evidenced by his inscriptions which are dated in almost every year of his reign, from the 2nd to the 2+22nd, and which are found in distant parts of his kingdom, in places as wide apart as Cape Comorin[4] and Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pudukkottai).[5] The most outstanding events of his reign were his conflict with Chōḻa Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-953), with whom he fought finally at Veḷḷūr, and his subsequent flight to Ceylon abandoning his kingdom to which he never returned. Since the battle of Veḷḷūr in which the Pāṇḍya king was aided by the Ceylonese troops, finds mention

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 450 ff.

[2] *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1932-3, part II, para. 29; above, Vol. XXIII, p. 282.

[3] No. 228 of 1932-3 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. A few records issued in the name of Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ with single regnal years like 46 (No. 440 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) cannot with certainty be ascribed to this ruler. It is likely, as Mr. Sarma has suggested, that this record might have been issued by his grandfather also called Śaḍaiya-māṟaṉ with the surnames of Śrīvallabha, Śrīmāra and Avanipa-śēkhara (*J. O. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 225). Hence, as a working hypothesis, we may take the year 2+22 of Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ's records as his highest regnal year.

[4] No. 107 of 1896 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[5] No. 343 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

in two stone records of Parāntaka I dated in his 12th regnal year,[1] *i.e.* A. D. 919, the engagement must have been fought prior to this date, say about A. D. 918.[2] From the way in which the incidents of the battle are described in the Chōḷa records, it would appear that it was a fierce and undecisive fight. Victory is claimed for the Chōḷa king in the Udayēndiram record of Pṛithivipati II, issued a few years later in the reign of Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-2, which evidently narrates the events of the same battle though it omits to mention the places.[3] On the other hand, the Bigger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates issued by the Pāṇḍya king in his 2+14th regnal year, embody an elaborate eulogy of his victories over his enemies including that over the king of Tañjai, *i.e.* the Chōḷa.[4] It seems likely that the Pāṇḍya king was just giving his version of the same conflict with Parāntaka I, which culminated in the Veḷḷūr battle. If such be the case, the 2+14th year of the Pāṇḍya king's reign might be equated with a date around A. D. 918. The Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahāvaṁsa*, relates that in the reign of Dappula IV (A. D. 923-934), 'the Pāṇḍu king, through fear of the Chōḷa (king), left his country, took ship and came to Mahātittha' and then having made an unsuccessful attempt to rouse the Ceylonese to fight his cause, ' the Pāṇḍu king left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kēraḷas'.[5] No mention of the Pāṇḍu king's fate is made in the subsequent portion of the chronicle, though a reference therein to an attempt made by the Chōḷa king to get possession of the Pāṇḍya king's diadem is found among the events of the reign of king Udaya IV (A. D. 945-953).[6] We may, therefore, conclude that the Pāṇḍya king never returned to rule over his country again. His flight to Ceylon must have taken place soon after his 2+22nd regnal year, the highest date found in his records. The presence of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-3 at Kuḍumiyāmalai[7] once forming part of the Pāṇḍya king's territory, must have hastened the flight of the Pāṇḍya. The event may be placed approximately about A. D. 926-7, *i.e.*, his 2+22nd regnal year since, as we saw, his 2+14th year lay somewhere about A. D. 918-9. In the light of all this, we may fix the period of the rule of Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ Rājasiṁha as lying between c. 903 and 926-7 A. D.[8]

In the subjoined inscription (A) of his, mention is made of Perumāṉaḍigaḷ Śivalluvadēvar (Śrīvallabha), who is stated to have made the original grant of the village of Śāḷaigrāmam to god Varaguṇa-Īśvara. Among the Pāṇḍya kings who preceded Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ Rājasiṁha there was only one king of the name of Śrīvallabha, *i.e.*, Śrīmāra, the grandfather of Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ Rājasiṁha. It is evidently this king Śrīmāra who is referred to here and if so, the god Varaguṇa-Īśvara must have been named after a Varaguṇa, a predecessor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, who was in all probability Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800). Successive kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty seem to have bestowed their patronage on the temple and worshipped the deity from the time of Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800) to that of *Śōlaṉ-ṯalai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya of the subjoined ins. B, the period of whose rule we may now proceed to discuss.

Earlier in this article it has been stated that *Śōlaṉ-ṯalai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya of inscription B could not have been far removed from Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ in point of time since the palaeography of their records is so much alike. The latter's rule, as we saw, may be placed approximately between c. A. D. 903 and 927. Vīra-Pāṇḍya should, therefore, be relegated to the same period, though not exactly to the same dates, since it is not likely that both the kings ruled simultaneously.

[1] Nos. 231 of 1926 and 693 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 99, pp. 231-33.

[2] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri puts the date about A. D. 915 (*Colas*, Vol. I, p. 146.)

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 383, text ll.24 ff ; vv. 10-11.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 455, 461 ; text ll.123 ff.

[5] *Mahāvaṁsa* (Culavaṁsa), ch. 53, vv. 5 ff. ; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 147.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. 53, vv. 40 ff ; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.

[7] No. 351 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. *Inscriptions in Pudukkottah State* (Translated into English), pt. I (1941), Nos. 79 to 80A.

[8] c. A. D. 900 to 920 or a little later is the date given to this king in *Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 41 and 82.

It is well known that he was not one of the predecessors of Śaḍaiya-Māṛaṉ and consequently he must have been one of the latter's successors; probably he ruled in the second quarter of the 10th century A. D.

In an article contributed to this journal[1] the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar fixed the period of Vīra-Pāṇḍya's reign as extending from A. D. 947 to 966 on the basis of a few astronomical details found in one inscription of the king at Ambāsamudram. Of the three alternative dates which this record yielded for the commencement of the king's reign, *viz.*, A. D. 938, 947 and 948, he selected the second, *i.e.* A. D. 947 as the best suited. The main consideration which weighed in its favour was that by accepting it, it would be possible to satisfactorily fix the initial date of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king's Chōḷa contemporary and foe, Āditya II Karikāla, at whose hands he died before the latter's second regnal year. Hence, the second year of Āditya II, by being equated with the last known regnal year of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, *i.e.* 15+5 corresponding to A. D. 966, would yield A. D. 965 as the starting date of Āditya II's reign. On this fixation, the five year rule for Āditya II could be placed between A. D. 965 and 969, since from the latter year, Āditya II's successor Uttama-Chōḷa, counted his regnal years. There are, however, some points to be considered before accepting the above chronological position for the reign periods of Āditya II and *Śōlan-talai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Paṇḍya. These arise from the Pāṇḍya as well as the Chōḷa sides. It is not likely that the last years of the rule of Vīra-Pāṇḍya lay beyond the middle of the 10th century A. D. which the above chronological adjustment envisages; for, there is evidence to show that part of the early life of Vīra-Pāṇḍya coincided with the latter part of Śaḍaiyamāṛaṉ Rājasiṁha's reign. One of the records of the latter dated in the 2+18th regnal year (*i.e.*, c. A. D. 923) mentions a servant of Vīra-Pāṇḍya[2] who could be no other than *Śōlan-talai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya. On the Chōḷa side we encounter one difficulty. Besides Āditya II, another prince, Pārthivēndra-Ādittavarman who had a reign of thirteen years, claims to have taken the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya. A strong case for the identity of these two princes has been made out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.[3] Granting the identity which some scholars hold in doubt,[4] the 13 years' rule of Āditya II (*alias* Pārthivēndravarman?) when placed immediately before Uttama Chōḷa's accession in A. D. 969-70, would yield A. D. 956-7 as the date from which Āditya II counted his reign probably on account of his being associated in the administration with his father Sundara-Chōḷa.[5] Taking A. D. 956-7 as the initial year of Āditya II his second year would correspond to A. D. 957-8 and this date when equated with the last year of *Śōlan-talai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya, *i.e.* 15+5, would yield A. D. 937-8 as the Pāṇḍya king's initial year. This date was also taken into account by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar while discussing the astronomical details of the Ambāsamudram record, but discarded owing to one consideration. He feared that its acceptance as the initial year of Vīra-Pāṇḍya would lead to 'the inconsistent results that Āditya II killed him in A. D. 957 and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōḷa defeated him in A. D. 963'.[6] This, indeed, is a great difficul-

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[1] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

[2] No. 122 of 1905 of Mad. Ep. Coll. Here we may also point out that the chieftain Śōḷāntaka Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṛaṉ Ādichchaṉ of Pōḷiyūr figures in records of the 4+3rd (No. 429 of 1914 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and 13+1st year (*T. A. S.* Vol. III, p. 72) of the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and this chief was evidently the grandson of his namesake Tennavan Pallavadaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṛaṉ Āchchaṉ of Pōḷiyūr, mentioned as a subordinate of Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ *alias*, Varaguṇa (II) (acc. A. D. 862) in or about A. D. 867 (No. 90 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). Should we put Vīra-Pāṇḍya's last date beyond the middle of the 10th century A.D., it would result in the above two chieftains, grandfather and grandson, being removed from each other by about a century, rather a rare instance to happen though not impossible.

[3] *Colas*, Vol. I, pp. 178 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 36, n. 9.

[5] *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 180.

[6] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

ty in the way of assigning the dates, *viz.* A. D. 937-8 to 957-8 to Vīra-Pāṇḍya and A. D. 956-7 to 969-70 to Āditya II as a possible alternative to those fixed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar, although these dates would help in narrowing down the interval between Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his predecessor Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ Rājasiṁha (c. 903 to 926-7) to about a decade[1] and would also help to solve the Āditya II-Pārthivēndra identification. It should be also admitted that with the revised dates the identity of the Chōḷa king whose head Vīra-Pāṇḍya took would remain unsettled since he cannot be identified with Parāntaka I as proposed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar. We may, nevertheless, suggest that the Chōḷa victim of Vīra-Pāṇḍya might have been a less conspicuous prince, perhaps one of the sons of Parāntaka I, Uttamaśili. Of Uttamaśili we hear nothing subsequent to A. D. 933 when he makes an endowment to a temple at Kaṇḍiyūr, Tanjore District, in the 26th year of the reign of his father, Parāntaka I.[2]

The position occupied by *Śōlaṉ-talai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍya genealogy still remains undetermined. That he might have been the son of Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ Rājasiṁha himself has been suggested by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar.[3] This may not be unlikely in view of the fact mentioned in the Larger Śinnamaṉūr plates that Rājasiṁha had 'prosperous sons worshipping at his feet'.[4] Granting that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was one of them, it still remains inexplicable why he does not call himself as Śaḍaiyaṉ, being son and successor of Māṟaṉ Rājasiṁha. Could it be that these names Śaḍaiyaṉ and Māṟaṉ were alternately used only by the anointed supreme sovereigns of the Pāṇḍya throne, and that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was not perhaps anointed and hence could not lay claim to such a title? We know that the Pāṇḍya diadem and other regalia of supreme rulership necessary for such anointment were left in Ceylon by Rājasiṁha and were not recovered by the Pāṇḍyas even up to the time of Udaya IV (A. D. 945-93).[5] The importance of these regalia for the exercise of supreme authority over the Pāṇḍya kingdom seems to have been recognised by the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I 'who wished to achieve consecration as king in the Pāṇḍya kingdom and sent (messengers) concerning the diadem and other things which the Pāṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Laṅkā)' as the *Mahāvaṁsa* succinctly relates.[6]

A word about the term *ōlai* occurring in Inscription B (line 59). In ordinary parlance the word is understood to mean 'order or document'. In literary usage[7] we find it equated to *āvaṇam* in the same sense. *Āvaṇam* is evidently derived from Skt. *śrāvaṇam* 'causing to be heard'. Similarly, *ōlai* would signify an order or document. The *Tamil Lexicon* gives *āpaṇa* as the Sanskrit root of *āvaṇam*, meaning market. It seems that it would be better to derive the word from *śrāvaṇam*. Expressions found in inscriptions such as *vilai-y-āvaṇam-śeyda*[8] or *vilai-*

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[1] It may be noted that Chōḷa Parāntaka I's records in the Pāṇḍya country fall partly in this interval, *e.g.*, (1) No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated 24th year = A. D. 932; (2) No. 63 of 1905 of the same collection (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 106) dated year 33=A. D. 940 and (3) No. 448 of 1917 of the same collection dated year [36]= [943] A. D. See *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 422 and n.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 575. This prince was in the Pāṇḍya country in the 24th regnal year of his father, *i.e.* A. D. 931 (No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)

[3] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 38.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 461, text 1. 139.

[5] *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.

[6] *Ibid. Mahāvaṃsa* (*Culavaṃsa*), ch. 53, vv. 40 ff. Here it may be pointed out that it was Rājēndra Chōḷa I who gained possession of the regalia from the Ceylonese king with whom they had remained all the time since they were first deposited with him by the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṁha. It was after this event that Rājēndra Chōḷa I crowned his son as the ruler of the Pāṇḍya country.

[7] *Periyapurāṇam*, (Kovai Tamil Saṅgam ed.), vv. 190, 193, 207.

[8] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 10, text ll. 2, 10 and 11. The translation of the words given here as 'executed the sale deed' would perhaps be better rendered as 'having declared its price'; cf. *vilai-pramāṇam-paṇṇi* occurring in similar context in inscriptions.

śrāvaṇam śeydu[1] and *vilai-y-āvaṇak-kaḷam* or *kaḷi*,[2] (*i.e.* place of declaration of sale price), would support our derivation of *āvaṇam*.

A few words may now be said about the geographical names mentioned in the two inscriptions. **Sāḷaigrāmam**, same as modern Śālaigrāmam in the Paramagudi *tāluk* of Ramnad District, the findspot of the inscriptions is stated in the records as being situated in Mayimākara-vaḷanāḍu *alias* Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam. **Mayimākara** might either be a title of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍayamāṟaṉ of the record (A) or of one of his predecessors. **Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam** in which Sāḷaigrāmam is stated to have been situated may be the region around Tugavūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. In a number of late copperplate records of the Sētupati chiefs of Ramnad[3] the territorial division Tugavūr-kūṟṟam finds mention and this name may have been a later form of Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions edited here. **Ṇeduṟūr** may be identified with Nōṟūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. **Tiruppālaiyūr** where Vīra-Pāṇḍya was staying (B. lines 13-14) seems to be identical with Tiruppālaikuḍi in the Tiruvadanai *tāluk* of the Ramnad District. I have not been able to locate Tirikkulaṅgaḷūr of record B (lines 16-7).

A. TEXT

1 Svasti śrī[||*] **Kōchchaḍai-**
2 **ya-Māṟarkku** yāṇḍu
3 2 idaṉ=edir=ām=āṇ-
4 ḍu Mayimākara-va-
5 ḷanāḍ=āyiṉa Tuv-
6 vūrk-kūṟṟattut-
7 tēvadāṉa brahmadē-
8 yam Sāḷaigrā-
9 mattu Śrī-Varaguṇa-
10 ichchuvarattu Para-
11 masvāmigaḷuk-
12 ku dēvadāṉam=i-
13 ṟai śurukkiyum
14 nir pāyavum Pe-
15 rumānadigaḷ **Si-**
16 **valluvadēva-**
17 r śirimugam ku-
18 ḍuttapaḍi Śiri-
19 Kuḷuvāṇai [yō]ri-
20 yāl Kōnō-iṉ-
21 mai-koṇḍāṉ Mayi-
22 mākara-vaḷ[u]nāṭ-
23 ṭu dēvadāna-brahmadē-
24 yam Sāḷaigrāmat
25 tu sabhaiyārkku taṅ-
26 gaḷ=ūr śi-Varaguṇa- ich-
27 chuvarattu-dēvar [ū]r
28 varamoḷi-yēriyum

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 105 and note 9.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 96, text l. 12, "*kaḷañju-m-āvaṇak-kaḷiyuṅgāṇak-koṇḍu*"; cf. *in-nilam viṟṟuk-kuḍukka koḷvadāna ummil iśainda vilaip-poruḷ muṟṟum āvaṇak-kaḷiyē kiḷippichcheḷuk-koṇḍu viṟṟuk-kuḍuttōm* of No. 458 of 1905 (text ll. 10-11) of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[3] C. P. Nos. 31, 33, 35, 36 and 37 of the *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-47*.

29 Vāsudēva-ēriyum i-
30 ttēvar nilam iṟai-
31 y=oliñju taṅgaḷ
32 nilamu[da]luṉ(n) tāṅ-
33 gaḷ śurukkik-kuḍut-
34 ta nilattukku Kuḷuvā-
35 ṇai-yēriyāl nīr pāyu(yavu)-
36 m Nedu[ṟū]ruṉ ta[ḍu]k-
37 kappeṟā[dā*]gi Vaiguṇa-
38 śiyanakkaṉ=eḻuttu [||*]

A. TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity !

In the first year opposite the second year of (*the reign of*) king Śaḍaiya-Māṟar, (*the following is the order of*) Kōṉōṉmaikoṇḍāṉ (*addressed*) to the *sabhā* of Sāḷaigrāmam, a *dēvadāna-brahma dēya* in Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam *alias* Mayimākara-vaḷanāḍu, (*which reads*) in accordance with the *sirimugam* (*śrīmukha*) of Perumāṉaḍigaḷ Śivallavadēvar (*ordaining*) the grant of (*the village*) Sāḷaigrāmam as *dēvadāna* to god Śrī-Varaguṇa-Īchchuvarattu-Paramasvāmigaḷ, free of taxes and with facilities for irrigation, you (*the sabhaiyār*) have, in the village of Sāḷaigrāmam which is your village as also that of Śrī-Varaguṇa-Īchchuvarattudēvar, granted to the deity lands (*irrigated by the*) Varamoḻi-ēri (*tank*) and Vāsudēva-ēri (*tank*) making them free of all taxes, we do hereby permit the irrigation of the said lands by the waters of the Kuḷuvāṇai-ēri (*tank*) and (*the residents of*) Neduṟūr shall not obstruct this, (*to which effect this is the*) signature of Vaiguṇaśiya-Nakkaṉ.

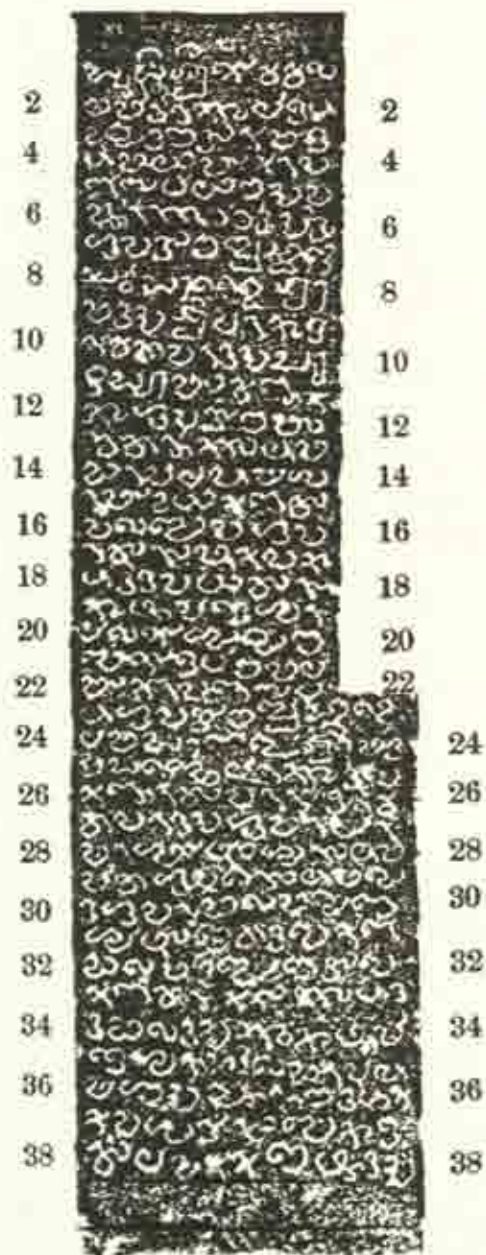
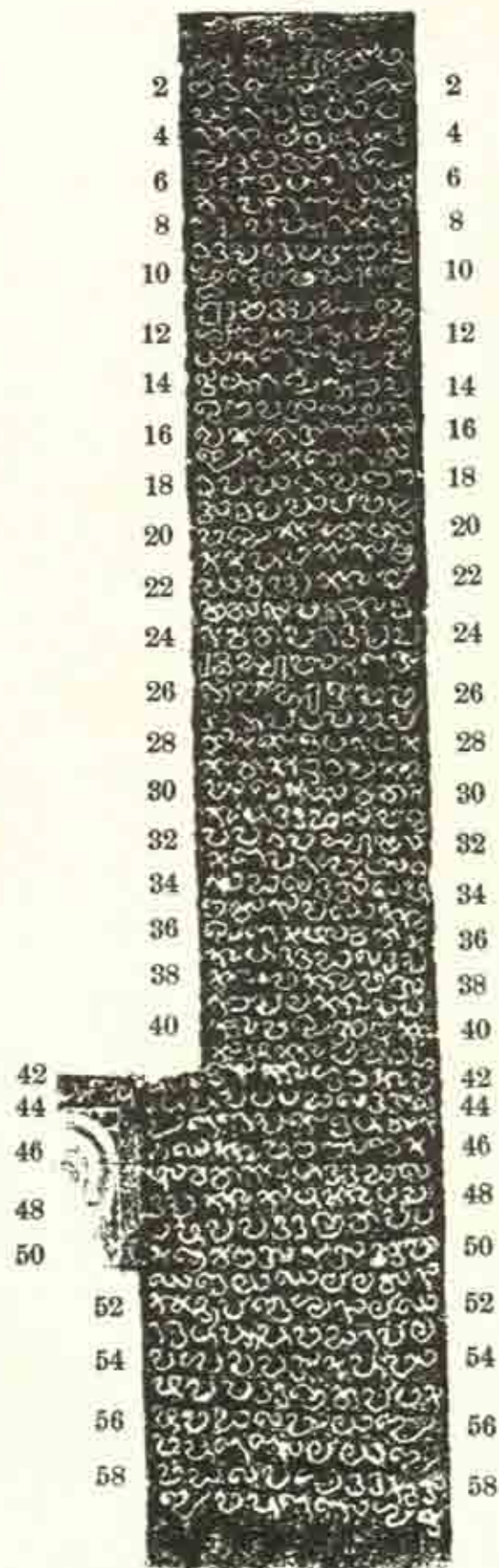
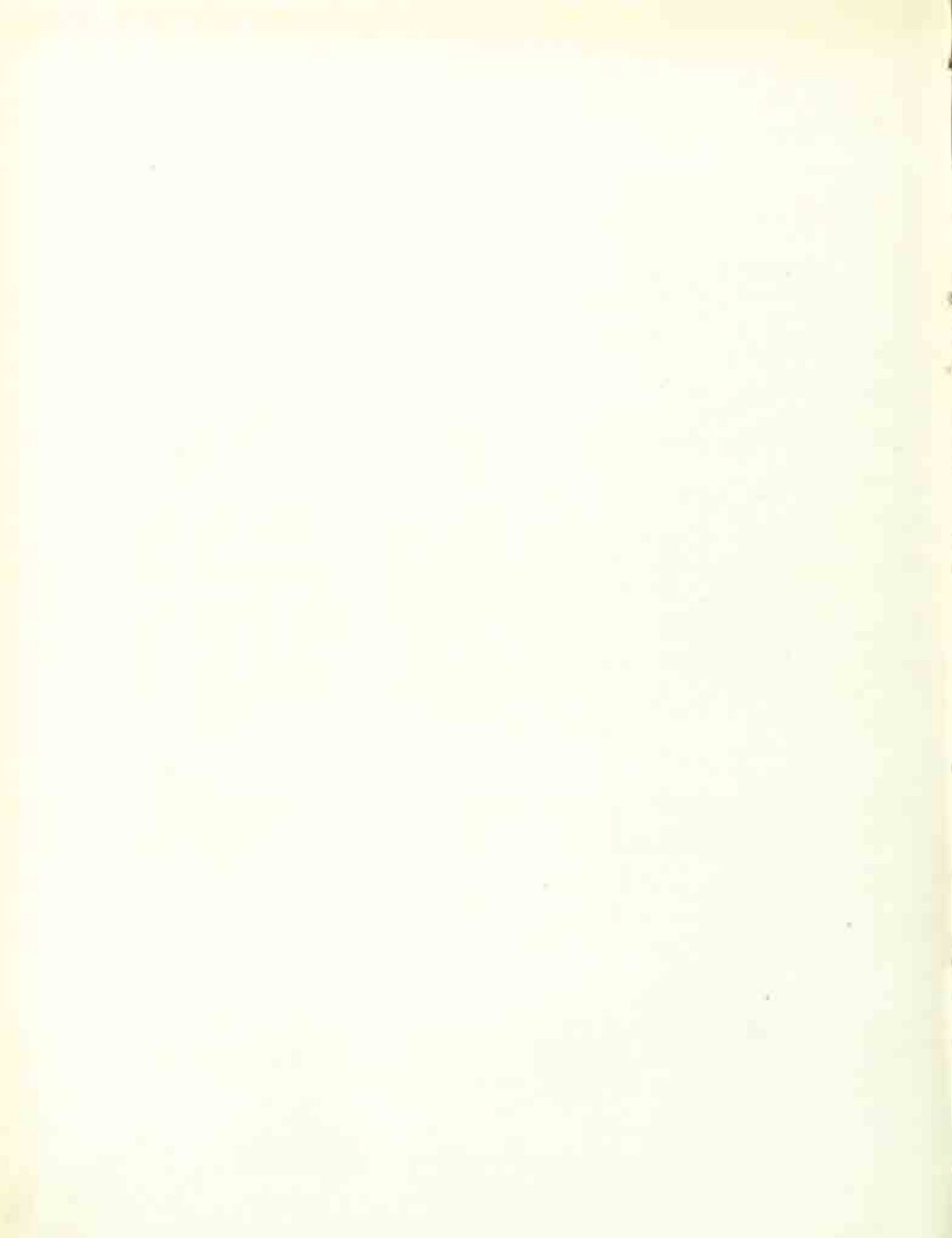
B. TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śōḷa-
2 ṉ-ṟalai-koṇḍa **Kō-**
3 **Vīra-Pāṇḍiya-**
4 rkku yāṇḍu 15-
5 idaṉ=edir 5 i-
6 vvāṇḍu Mayim[ā]-
7 karavaḷanāḍ=āyi-
8 ṉa Tuvvūr[k*]kūṟ-
9 ṟattu dēvadāṉa-bra-
10 hmadēyam Sāḷai-
11 grāmattu sabhai-
12 yōm [Pe]rumāṉa-
13 ḍigaḷ Tiruppā-
14 laiyūr iruṉ(n)du
15 oṉbadināyira-
16 ṉ-kāśu Tirikku-
17 luṅgaḷūr ti-
18 ṟapp=iḍuvaṉ=eṉ (=iḍuvēṉ=eṉa
19 tiṟapp=iḍāmalu-
20 m ik-kāś=oḻi-
21 kkavum kāriya-

B. Ch. Chhabra

SCALE : ONE-EIGHTH

Survey of India, Calcutta

Reg. No. 3977 E'36—499'51

22 viśattukku [1] [Yā]-
23 m śiri-Varaguṇa-
24 Ichchuvarattu Pa-
25 ramasvāmigaḷ ti-
26 ruv-ābharaṇamum
27 tiruv-appamum[=i]-
28 dikkoṇḍa [2] iḷak-
29 kāśukku nūṟṟukku-
30 m=iṟai kaḷichchuk-
31 kuḍutta nilam[=i]
32 p-paramasvāmi-
33 gaḷ Varamoḻi ē-
34 ri nilattil mu
35 ṉ śirivalikku
36 iṟai kaḷichchuk-
37 kuḍutta nilattu-
38 kku mē[r*]kkum di-
39 raṉ-vāykku vaḍa-
40 kkum idiṉukku
41 kiḻakkum puṟavu-
42 [li]kku teṟkum
43 [mū]liyuṉ=uṭpa[ḍa][3]
44 naḍuvu-paṭṭa nilattil[4]
45 uḷḷadu koṇḍu śiri-
46 valikku muṉṉ=iṟai ka-
47 [ḷi]chchuk-kuḍutta nila-
48 ttukku kiḻakk=uṭpa-
49 ḍa muppattañju p[ā]ṭa-
50 kañ chaṉ(n)dir-āditta va-
51 l=iṟayiliyāy śiri-
52 kKuḷ[u]vāṇai-yēriyāl=i-
53 raṇḍu pūvum nīr pāy-
54 vvaippad=āgavum=i[m*]
55 muppattañju pāṭaka-
56 m[u]m nilam-āyilu-
57 m [mu]ḷḷiy-āyilu-
58 m nilam=aṉaitt=agatti-
59 lum-[mu]ḷḷiv=ōlai[5]

[1] This word evidently refers to the managing body of the temple.

[2] The letters =appamum[=i]dik- can also be read as =appamu[mā]rik-, but I am not able to understand it. Evidently =appamum[=i]dik- has to be corrected as =appamum=[i]ḍarkkuk-

[3] This line (43) has been inserted later between lines 42 and 44.

[4] The letters nilattil may also be read as nilattāl.

[5] The sense conveyed by the lines 56-59 is not clear.

No. 18—NIMBAL INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA BHILLAMA

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

Nimbāḷ or Nimbāḷa (Bujrukh) is a village in the Indi *tāluk* of the Bijapur District of the Bombay Province.[1] It is situated at a distance of about 9 miles south-west of Indi, the headquarters of the *tāluk*. Nimbāḷ is a railway station on the metre gauge section of the M. & S. M. Railway between Gadag and Sholapur. The ancient name of this village is given as **Nimbahura** (from **Nimbapura**) in the present inscription and as **Nimbahaḷḷa** in another record at the same place. And the present name Nimbāḷ has to be derived from Nimbahaḷḷa. The stone inscription published here is engraved on a slab built into the wall (inner side) which is to the proper left of entrance into the central shrine of the Śaṅkaraliṅga temple in the village. This temple is evidently the same as the **Kōṭi-Śaṅkaradēva** temple mentioned in the inscription.

The inscription was first copied by the late Rao Bahadur (then Mr.) K. N. Dikshit and has been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1924-25, pp. 119-20.[2] It was again copied by the office of the South Indian Epigraphy during the year 1937-38 in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Indi *tāluk* and has been listed as B. K. No. 49 of 1937-38 of Appendix E to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year.[3] It is from the ink-impressions of this collection that the inscription is edited here, for the first time, at the suggestion of the Superintendent for Epigraphy and with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

At the top of the slab, on proper right and left sides, are the **figures** of the sun and the cresent moon and below these in the centre, is a standing cow with its calf. And behind the calf, to the proper left, is a dagger with the point turned upwards. Below these figures, at about a distance of 5", the inscription commences. There are twentyfive lines of **writing** and the inscription covers an area 21" high and 19" broad. Each line consists of about 21 *aksharas* and the average size of an *akshara* is $\frac{5}{8}$". The inscription has been fairly well preserved.

The **characters** belong to the Kannaḍa alphabet and are regular for the period to which the record belongs, *viz.*, end of the 12th century A. D. The cursive form of *v* is found in *kiḍuvuḍu* line 2, *-dēva-* line 6, *vyatīpāta* line 7, *sarvva-* line 12, *-pūrvvakam* line 13 and *Kamnavūri-* line 23; and the cursive form of *m* occurs in *-māṇikuva* line 16, *mattaru* lines 17-18, 19 and *-namaḥ* line 23. Initial *a* is found in lines 3, 4, 7, 11, 17, 19 and 20. *Visarga* is met with in *-namaḥ* line 23 and *krimiḥ* line 25. The consonant after a *rēpha* is usually lengthened[4]; *e.g.*, *chakravartti* lines 5-6, *sūryya-* line 7, *-dēvargge* line 11, *sarvva-* line 12, etc. *Anusvāra* has been used for class nasal in several places; see *e.g.*, *paṁcha-* line 2, *anaṁta* line 4, *aṁga-* line 11, etc. The figures for the numerals *1*, *2* and *50* occur in lines 18-23. Marks of punctuation represented by two vertical strokes are found in lines 5, 13, 16, 23 and 25.

Except the imprecatory verse at the end, the inscription is in Kannaḍa **language** and is written in prose. The following linguistic features may be observed: The change of *p*>*h* which is met with in the history of the Kannaḍa language as early as the 10th century A. D.[5] is found in the word *Nimbahura*<*Nimbapura*, lines 1, 10, 15 and 17. The *qualitative phonemic variation*[6] is met with

[1] The adjoining village is called Nimbāḷ (Khurd).

[2] See also the same periodical for 1929-30, p. 172.

[3] Eight more stone records have been copied at the same place and are listed as *B. K.* Nos. 50-57 in the same Appendix.

[4] See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 146-47.

[5] See G. S. Gai, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa*, p. 14.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

in the speech-forms *-Saṁkhara-*<*Śaṁkara* lines 2, 4, 15, 17 ; *Śrisaila*<*Śrīśaila* line 3 ; *-saṁkhatā-*<*saṁkathā* line 9, *sāsana*< *śāsana* line 13, *varsa*<*varsha* line 6 ; other speech-forms such as *braṁhmēti*<*brahmahatyā* line 2, *-amavāse* <*amāvāsyā* line 7, *-muksha-*<*mukhya* line 10, *-seṭṭi-*<*śrēshṭhin* line 15, are also noteworthy. Alveolar *ṟ* is met with in *mūṟeneya* line 6, *mūvattāṟu* line 14, etc. There is an epenthetic vowel in *Phalavaṁga-*<*Plavaṅga* line 6. The conjunctive suffix *-uṁ* is found in *nālkuṁ* line 3 and *-seṭṭiyuṁ* line 15. The normal *word-order* in Kannaḍa is *subject-object-verb.*[1] But in the sentence *-puṁnyavaṁ śrī Kōṭi- Saṁkharadēvaru kuḍuvaru*, lines 4-5, there is deviation of this normal form, inasmuch as the *word-order* is *object-subject-verb.*

The inscription belongs to **Bhillamadēva** and, from the titles *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* and *Pratāpa-chakravartti* given to him, he is evidently no other than the king Bhillama of the **Yādava dynasty** of Dēvagiri, who is regarded as the real founder and first sovereign king of this family. The inscription does not give any genealogical or historical details about this king.

The **chief interest** of the record, however, lies in the mention of the date which is given in the king's regnal year coupled with the cyclic year, *viz.*, **3rd year, Plavaṅga-saṁvatsara.** When Fleet wrote his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* as early as 1896 he had come across only three certain records of this king.[2] One of them is dated in Śaka 1113, Virōdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, and the other two in regnal years, both citing the Saumya *saṁvatsara* as the third year of the king's reign. From this, the first year of the king was fixed as Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara*, Śaka 1110 (current)=A.D. 1187-88.[3] But the inscription under publication cites Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara* itself as the third year of the king's reign, thus fixing his first year as Viśvāvasu, Śaka 1107 (expired)=A.D. 1185-86.

Till now, as many as fourteen inscriptions, all on stone, of this king Bhillama have been discovered and, as far as I know, only one inscription has been published.[4] Nine of these fourteen records are dated in the king's regnal year, coupled with the cyclic year and they may be shown in the tabulated form as follows :

Place of inscription.	Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription.	First year of the king's reign as calculated.	Reference.
1 Nimbāḷ— Bijapur District (inscription under publication).	3rd year, Plavaṅga (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	Viśvāvasu (Ś. 1107=A. D. 1185-86).	*An. Rep., S. I. E.*, 1937-38, B. K. No. 49.
2 Muttigi— same district . . .	8th year, Paridhāvi (Ś. 1114=A. D. 1192-93).	Ditto . . .	*Ibid.*, 1929-30, B. K. No. 108.
3 Bijapur— same district . . .	4th year, Saumya (Ś. 1111=A. D. 1189-90).	Parābhava (Ś. 1108=A. D. 1186-87).	*Ibid.*, 1933-34, B. K. No. 159.
4 Ankalgi— Jath State, Bombay Province.	5th year, Sādhāraṇa (Ś. 1112=A. D. 1190-91).	Ditto . . .	Copied by the office of *S. I. E.*, during 1940-41.
5 Haltur— Bijapur District . . .	2nd year, Kīlaka (Ś. 1110=A. D. 1188-89).	Plavaṅga (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	*An. Rep., S. I. E.*, 1929-30, B. K. No. 18.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 518 and n. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 518.

[4] Above, Vol. III, pp. 217-20.

Place of inscription.	Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription.	First year of the king's reign as calculated.	Reference.
6 Pirapur—Bijapur District . .	3rd year, Saumya (Ś. 1111=A. D. 1189-90).	Plavanga (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	*An. Rep., S. I. E.*, 1929-30, B. K. No. 55.
7 Muttigi—same district . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 518.
8 Appigere—Dharwar District . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	*Ibid.*, also *An. Rep., S. I. E.*, 1928-29, B. K. No. 192.
9 Madbhāvi—Bijapur District . .	4th year, Sādhāraṇa (Ś. 1112=A. D. 1190-91).	Ditto . . .	*An. Rep., S. I. E.*, 1935-36, B. K. No. 114.

It may be noted that most of these records come from the Bijapur District. The first two give Viśvāvasu *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1185-86) as the first year of the king. The next two fix Parābhava *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1186-87) as the first year, while, according to the remaining five records, Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1187-88) would be the first year of the king's reign. And there is an inscription at Mārḍi in the Sholapur District, belonging to the time of Bhillama's grandson Singhaṇa and dated in the Śaka year 1134, Āṅgirasa *saṁvatsara* (A. D. 1212-13).[1] This epigraph, while referring to the previous gifts to a temple, cites Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara* as the fourth year of Bhillama's reign, fixing Krōdhi *saṁvatsara* (A. D. 1184-85) as his first year. Thus Bhillama's year of accession varies from A. D. 1184-85 to A. D. 1187-88. It is indeed difficult to account for these conflicting dates. Possibly, it may be due to the fact that Bhillama had to encounter opposition from all sides before establishing his sovereignty in the northern portion of the Western Chālukyan kingdom. And he might have finally and publicly proclaimed his accession to the throne in the year 1187-88.

The other details of the date given in the record are **Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, vyatīpāta** and **saṁkramaṇa**. Though the week-day is not given, the Christian equivalent would probably be A. D. 1187, September 4, Friday, when there was a solar eclipse. But the Kanyā-saṅkramaṇa had occurred on the previous Friday.[2]

The **object** of the inscription is to register gifts of toll-income made by Māyidēva and others, and also of money and lands situated in different villages (specified) made by Gaṁgara Kaṁnisețți and Bāteya [R]ōvisețți headed by the community of *Mūvattāru-biḍu* (thirty-six villages) for the benefit of the temple of Kōṭi-Śaṅkaradēva at Nimbahura, while the king was ruling from Taḍavalage.

The following **place-names** are mentioned in the record : Vāraṇāsi, Śrīsaiḷa, Nimbahura, Attarage, Taḍavalage, Goṇavalage, Haṁjige, Aṁdiṭige, Gaṁḍavaṁḍa, Bairaḷige, Ajjunavāḷa, Hiri-y-Iṁḍi, Chikka-Bēvinūr, Battakuṇike and Kaṁnavūri. These places can be identified and most of them have retained their names even to this day, of course with slight modifications in some cases. The first two places are too well known. **Nimbahura**, which is called here *dakshiṇa* Vāraṇāsi, and *abhinava*-Śrīsaiḷa, is evidently modern Nimbāḷ, as stated above, where the inscription was found. **Attarage** is the present Atharga (also called Hattaraki), 9 miles south-east of Nimbāḷ. Taḍvalgā, just 4 miles east-south of Nimbāḷ and its adjacent village Ganvalgā are

[1] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 43-54.

[2] See *An. Rep., S. I. E.*, 1937-38, Appendix F, p. 299, No. 49.

MGIPC—S1—25 DGA—8-11-52—450.

ATTENTION

The obituary notices and the relevant plates appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of Vol. XXVIII at the time of getting the volume bound.

DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT.,
LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1925 - 1933.
BORN: DECEMBER 1878. DIED: 4TH AUGUST 1946.

B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. NO. 3977 E'36-459'49

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

IN MEMORIAM

DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI

Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the late Government Epigraphist for India, passed away at Gurdaspur in the Panjab, on 4th August 1946. He was an archæologist of considerable experience, having worked in that field in the Panjab, the United Provinces, Kashmir, the Central Provinces, Bihar and South India, and having conducted many excavations. Epigraphy was his main interest during the latter part of his service under the Government of India. He served as Curator of the Museums, too, at Nagpur and Lucknow as also in Kashmir. He was a sound Sanskrit scholar and kept up his interest in this subject till the end. Having worked as Curator of Museums in different parts of India, he had an opportunity to acquaint himself thoroughly with Indian art.

He was born in 1878 in the Panjab. He had a brilliant educational career in the D. A. V. College, Lahore, from where he graduated, winning a gold medal for standing first in the B.A. examination in Sanskrit with English. He continued his studies in the Oriental College, Lahore, from which institution he took the M.A. degree of the Panjab University in 1900, winning gold medals and a purse for standing first in Sanskrit and Oriental Classics with English. He started life as Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy in his own College (the D. A. V. College) and was the Reader in Sanskrit at the Panjab University, teaching Sanskrit and Comparative Philology to the M.A. classes. He then passed the Honours Examination in Sanskrit and got the degree of Master of Oriental Learning. Later in 1928, when he was the Government Epigraphist for India, his University again honoured him by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Literature for a thesis on "Bhāsa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays" published as Memoir No. 28 of the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. In 1938 the Baroda Government honoured him with the title of Jñānaratna.

He joined the Archæological Survey of India in 1903 as Assistant Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle. In 1906 he was made Archæological Assistant, Librarian and Curator of the Government Museum at Nagpur. Subsequently, in 1913, he became the Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. In 1917 he was sent on deputation to the Jammu and Kashmir State as Superintendent of Archæology. There, besides holding the post of the Curator of the State Museum at Srinagar, he was in charge of the State Library. In 1920 he was posted as Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, Patna, and became the Officiating Superintendent of that Circle in 1922. In the same year he was transferred to Ootacamund as Superintendent for Epigraphy but went to Kotagiri within about a month as Officiating Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, Southern Circle. In 1923 he came back to the Epigraphical Branch as Superintendent, and in 1925, on the retirement of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, became the Government Epigraphist for India. Dr. Hirananda Sastri held that post for nearly nine years with distinction and in that capacity edited parts of Volumes XVIII and XXI and the whole of Volumes XIX and XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. After his retirement in December 1933 from service under the Government of India, he was appointed in the Baroda State as Director of Archæology in November 1934. He held that post till 1942 when he retired from that service also.

His contributions to Indology cover a very wide range. As an officer of the Archæological Department, he issued many annual reports of the various Circles and Museums he happened to be in charge of. He also contributed many informative articles to the Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India. The pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* were enriched with 8 contributions from him, the list of which is given below :—

1 Machhlishar copper-plate of Harischandradeva of Kanauj ; Vikrama Samvat 1253 (Vol. X).

2 Copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva ; Samvat 1186 (Vol. XIII).

3 Haraha inscription of the reign of Isanavarman; Vikrama Samvat 611 (Vol. XIV).
4 Nalanda copper-plate of Devapaladeva (Vol. XVII).
5 Brahmi inscription on a Wooden Pillar from Kirari (Vol. XVIII).
6 Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva; Vikrama Samvat 893 (Vol. XIX).
7 Nalanda stone inscription of the reign of Yasovarmadeva (Vol. XX).
8 Clay seals of Nalanda (Vol. XXI).

He also contributed five items to the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, *viz.* :

1 Some recently added sculptures in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
2 Origin and Cult of Tara.
3 Baghela Dynasty of Rewa.
4 Bhāsa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays.
5 Nalanda and its epigraphical material.

Deeply and widely learned in Sanskrit, painstaking and conscientious in research, urbane in manners, in his death Indology has lost an erudite scholar in various fields.

RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU

Born on the 1st of July 1888, of a Śrīvaishṇava family, in the village of Gaṅgavaram in the Nellore Taluk of the Nellore District, Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu matriculated in his early teens from the V. R. High School, Nellore, and joined the Christian College at Madras for his collegiate courses. Having finished his F. A. in that College, he took his University degree from the Pachchayappa's College, Madras, and started his career as a teacher in the M. S. Lower Secondary School, Nellore. He later joined the Nellore Collectorate. After a brief term of service there, an opportunity presented itself for him to join the Epigraphical Department. He took his early training in the field of epigraphy and worked in close collaboration with the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. He was promoted to the post of Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1925, became the Superintendent in 1931 and took charge of the office at Madras in December of the same year. He became the Government Epigraphist for India in 1942, on the transfer of the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy to Ootacamund and its subsequent amalgamation with the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. He died on the 31st of August, 1947.

Mr. Krishnamacharlu was a sound scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu and an expert epigraphist in South Indian languages. The *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* that appeared under his name from 1931 onwards bear ample proof of his remarkable capacity to organise the staff in collecting and presenting the inexhaustible epigraphical material of South India for the benefit of the research scholars. The numerous copper-plate charters, including the Pallava grants which form landmarks in the Pallava history, and of which the discovery goes solely to his credit, show the flair he had for collecting such valuable documents. Among his works may be mentioned *The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopbal* and other Memoirs for the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, *The Subject Index to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, *A List of Inscriptions* copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and some learned articles in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He had a great aptitude for archaeological exploration and had an unerring instinct for locating pre-historic sites. During his last days, after his retirement, he had prepared a list of pre-historic sites in South India. In his death Indian epigraphy has sustained a serious loss indeed.

Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A.
Late Government Epigraphist for India, 1942-1943.

Born: 1st. July 1888
at Gangavaram,
Nellore District.

Died: 31st. August 1947
at Madras.

B. Ch. Chhabra. Survey of India, Calcutta.

respectively **Taḍavalage** and **Goṇavalage** of the record. **Haṁjige** is represented by modern Haṁjgi, 3 miles north-east of Nimbāḷ. **Guṁdavaṁda** is to be identified with Gundvān, 9 miles north-west of Nimbāḷ and situated on the Bijapur-Jhalki road. **Aṁdiṭige** is the same as Amjuṭgi, 7 miles north-west of Iṇḍi and about 8 miles north of Nimbāḷ. **Bairaḷige** is modern Bhairaṇgi, about 10 miles north of Nimbāḷ. **Ajjunavāḷa**[1] and **Battakuṇike** have to be identified with modern Arjanāḷ and Bhatguṇki, 5 miles to the north-west and 1 mile west of Bhairaṇgi respectively. **Hiri-y-Iṁḍi** is still known by the same name and is said to have existed close by the modern Iṇḍi.[2] **Chikka-Bēvinūr** has also retained its name to this day and is 7 miles north-east of Nimbāḷ and 3 miles north-west of Iṇḍi. And lastly **Kaṁnavūri** is modern Kannūr, 12 miles west-south of Nimbāḷ. It may be noted that except Kannūr which is in the Bijapur *tāluk* of the same district and Vārāṇāsi and Śrīśaila, the above-mentioned places are included in the modern Indi *tāluk*.

TEXT[3]

1 ⊛ Śrīmatu dakshiṇa-Vāraṇāsi Niṁbahurada Kōṭi-tīrtthava miṁdu śrī-

2 Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvara[4] sparśana māḍidaḍe paṁcha-braṁ[5]hmēti kiḍuvudu

3 abhinava Śrisaiḷa[6] yi-nālkuṁ bāgil-oḷage puṁ[5]ṇyakha(ka)ra hiri-

4 du vommaḍi māḍidaḍe anaṁta puṁ[5]ṇyavaṁ śrī-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēva[4]-

5 ru kuḍuvaru ‖ Svasti śrīmatu Yāda[va*][7]-Nārāyaṇaṁ Pratāpa-cha-

6 kravartti Bhilla[ma*][7]-dēva-varśa(rsha)da mūṟeneya [Pha]lavaṁga[8]-saṁvatsarada

7 Bhādrapada-amavāse sūryya-grahaṇa vyatīpāta

8 saṁkramā(ma)ṇa nimittavāgi Taḍavalageya kuppa-

9 daḷ sukha-saṁkhatā[9]-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-gaiyutta-[10]

10 m-iddalli Māyidēva mukshavāgi[11] Niṁbahurada śrī-

11 Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvargge[4] aṁga-bhōga raṁga-bhōgakke koṭṭa a-

12 ṟuvatt-ettiṁge suṁka [ha]sāda baṇnige[12] sarvva-namasyavāgi dhā-

13 rā-pūrvvakaṁ māḍi koṭṭa sā(śā)sana maṁgaḷa mahā Śrī-Śrī [Śrī] ‖

14 Mūvattāṟu bīḍu mukshavāgi[11] Gaṁgara Kanni-seṭṭiye(yuṁ) Bā-

15 teya [R]āvi-seṭṭiyuṁ Niṁbahurada śrī-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēva-[4]

16 rgge mutta-māṇikava biṟidere (daḍe) . . . . voṭṭila goḷagava biṭṭaru ‖

17 Niṁbahurada śrī-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvargge[4] Attarageyali ma-

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[1] See p. 98, n. 1 below.

[2] Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, Bijapur District, p. 654, n. 5.

[3] From the ink-impression.

[4] Read *Śaṁkaradēva*-.

[5] This *anusvāra* is unnecessary.

[6] Read Śrīśaila.

[7] The engraver has inadvertently omitted to write this *akshara*.

[8] Read *Plavaṁga*.

[9] Read *saṁkathā*.

[10] Read *rājyaṁ-geyyutta*-.

[11] Read *mukhya*-.

[12] The subscript of the letter ṇ here is the same as that of the letter n used in the inscriptions of this period.

18 ttaru 50 aḍavalageyali mattaru 50 Goṇavalageyali mattaru 50

19 Haṁjigeyali mattaru 50 Aṁdi igeyali mattaru 50 Guṁḍavaṁ-

20 dadali mattaru 50 Bairaḷigeyali mattaru 50 Ajjunavāḷali[1] mattaru 50

21 Hiri-y-Iṁḍiyali gadde mattaru 1 Chikka Bēvinūrali gadde ma-

22 ttaru 1 Goṇavalageyali gadde mattaru 2 Battakuṇikeyali

23 gadde mattaru 2 Kaṁnavūriyali gadde mattaru 1 Si(Śi)vāya-namaḥ ||

24 Sva-datta(ā)ṁ para-dattānāṁ[2] yō da(ha)rēti(ta) vasuṁdharā[m*] sa(sha)shṭir-vva(shṭim va)-

25 rśa(rsha)-sahasrāṇi mi(vi)shṭā(ṭhā)yāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ ||

No. 19—AJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF NANA ; V. S. 1345

(1 Plate)

H. L. SRIVASTAVA, NEW DELHI

This inscription, according to James Prinsep, was presented to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart. It was inserted in the Catalogue of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, as ' a stone slab from Ajayagarh in Bundelkhand with a Sanskrit inscription ' or ' a stone bull from Kalinjar, with a Sanskrit inscription '. **Ajayagaḍh** is a hill-fort, 16 miles in a straight line south-west of Kalinjar, Long. 80° 20′ E ; Lat. 24° 54′ N. It was edited with a specimen facsimile and translated for the first time by J. Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, (1837) pp. 882-4, and his assistant, Pt. Kamalakanta, insisted on inserting that he was not responsible for the various defects of grammar, prosody and rhetorics occurring in the text as he read as he saw it and copied it so. A careful study of the facsimile shows that the text presented is really defective. The inscription thus requires to be re-edited.

The inscription[3] is incised on a slab of stone. It contains 21 lines and covers a space 4½′ × 2¾′. The average height of letters is 1″, except in the last line where it is a little reduced, *i.e.* ·9″. The record is well preserved except in line 20 where the particulars of the date and the *tithi* are lost and in line 21 where more than half is either broken or obliterated. This portion thus cannot be deciphered.

The **characters** are Nāgarī as in the Ajayagaḍh rock inscription of Bhōjavarman.[4] The letters are deeply cut and well formed. As regards the formation of individual letters, the following peculiarities may be noted. It is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ch* and *v*. Besides the usual form of *k*, there appears another in *ksh* (line 19, *kshaṇadē-*, but not in *kshaṇaga-*, or *Śukrākshi*). The *anusvāra* is represented by a small circle but some cracks here and there above the letters are often mistaken for it. The final *m* is frequently substituted by the *anusvāra*. The sign for *avagraha* has been used only twice in lines 12 and 17. An omission in line 17 is supplied immediately below the line, the height of the letters there being ·2″ and the omission being indicated by a *kākapāda*.

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[1] The correct reading would be *Arjunavāḷali*.

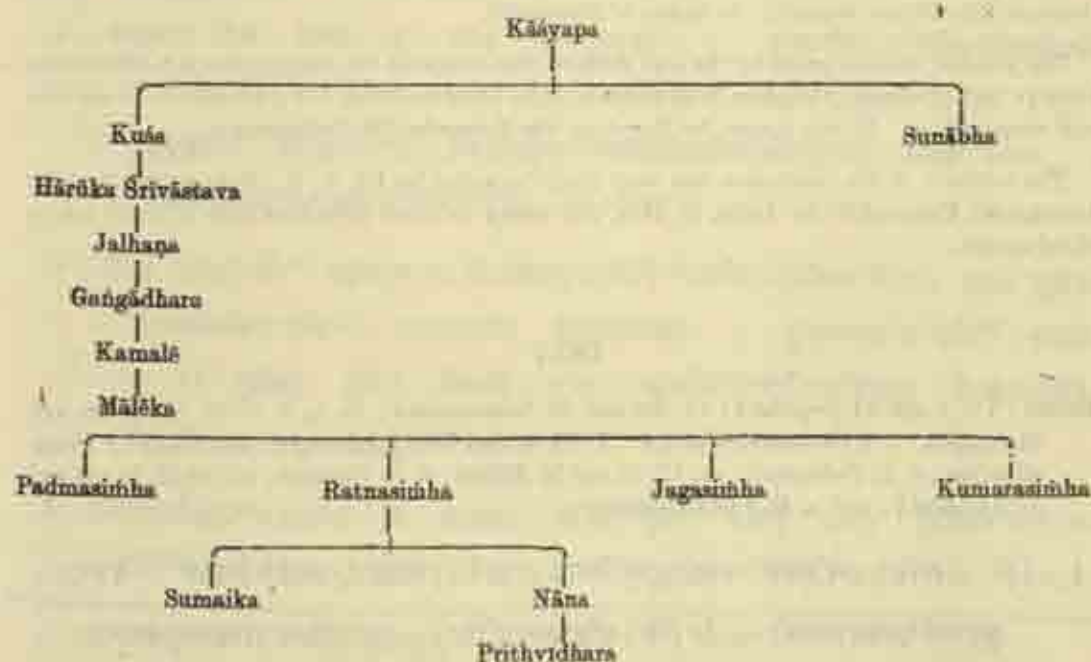
[2] Read *para-dattāṁ vā*.

[3] It is No. 620 of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

[4] Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XV, ed. by Kielhorn, above, Vol. I, pp. 325-8.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the salutation to Vāsudēva in the first line and mention of the date in line 19, and the name of the scribe and his family in lines 20 and 21, where the composer invokes blessings for himself, the whole record is in verse.

As regards **orthography**, *v* is generally substituted for *b*, cf. *vabhrat*, line 1, *vahu*, line 14; and *ś* for *s* and vice versa, cf. *Vāśu-*, line 1, *vaśati*, line 5, *visāla*, line 4. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in the majority of cases.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the establishment of a temple at **Jayadurga** with the image of **Kēśava** (verses 33-34). After salutation to Murāri in the first three stanzas, the incarnations of Vishṇu in the forms of Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Nṛisiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma and Rāma are invoked for blessings. Thereafter comes the donor's genealogy which stands as follows :—

Nāna introduces himself as the minister of Bhōjavarman who is known to be the penultimate king of the Chandrātrēya (Chandel) dynasty of Bundelkhand. This Bhōjavarman was the son and successor of Vīravarman and Kalyāṇadēvī. He was followed by Hammīravarman.

What is interesting here is that the ancestors of Nāna are said to be the hereditary ministers of the Chandrātrēya kings, *i.e.*, the Chandellas. The genealogy of Nāna as given in the inscription is of little historical interest, except that the Kāyastha Śrīvāstava family to which Nāna belonged is said to have originated at Kauśāmyapura and that Hārūka, a member of this dynasty, is said to have earned the surname Śrīvāstava for the first time. "A Vāstavya-vaṁśa is mentioned in line 27 of Malhara inscription of the Chēdi year 919=1167 A. D.; a Vāstavya-kula in line 5 of the Sahet-Mahet inscription of the Vikrama year 1276; and also on the two inscriptions from Mahōba (*A. S. I. R.*, XXI, pl. 21 and 23) one of which is dated in the Vikrama year 1240 records that in the illustrious great Vāstavya family there was one Suhila, the son of "Hallaṇa". The Ajayagadh rock inscription of Bhōjavarman also gives an account of some members of the Vāstavya

clan of the Kāyasthas[1] who held responsible positions under the other Chandella kings. And a Śrīvāstava Thakkura is mentioned in the Meohad (Vikrama 1245) inscription of Jayachchandradēva of Kanauj (*J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 676).

The inscription is dated in the year 1345 which is expressed both in figures and words *kshapada*=moon=1, *īśēkshaṇa*=Śiva's eyes=3, *śruti*=Vēdas=4, and *bhūtas*=elements=5, the usual rule of reading the numeral from right to left not being applied here. The month specified is Vaiśākha, but the actual date and week day, if given at all, are lost at the beginning of line 20. The year is to be taken as the Vikrama year in which the other inscriptions of the Chandellas are dated. The word *Saṁvat* also points to that.

As for the **geographical** names mentioned in the present inscription, Kauśāmvapura seems to be identical with Kauśāmbī or Kosam in the Allahabad District. Jayadurga (line 17) and Jayapura (line 20) are certainly the names of Ajayagadh.

The *praśasti* was composed by the poet **Amara** who compares the composition to a *chitravarṇa* fabric (v. 36). Certainly the poem is of no mean order and, therefore, the poet cannot be charged with exaggeration. It was incised by Paṁsuha, the Kāyastha [Śrī*]vāstavya.

The facsimile of the inscription was very kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934, but owing to other preoccupations it could not be edited earlier.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1 and 23 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 2-4 and 35 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 5, 8, 13-16, 18, 25-28 and 32 *Upajāti* ; v. 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 7, 10, 29 and 30 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 9 and 12 *Drutavilambita* ; v. 11 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 17, 33 and 36 *Mālinī* ; v. 19 *Viyōginī* , vv. 20-22, 24, 34 and 37 *Anushṭubh* ; and v. 39 *Vaṁśasthavila*.]

1 [ॐ नमो भ]गवते वाशु(सु)देवाय ॥[2] प्रायः प्रौढेन्दिरायाः प्रचुरतर-
सुखाश्लेषमक्लेशकायो वि(वि)श्रद्विश्रान्तदृ[ष्टि] द्रुतचकितरतोत्कीर्णपूर्णानुरागः ।
उच्चक्षो(च्छ्रो)वत्सदीपद्युतिरभसरसोल्लासितानंगहेतिर्देवः श्रीविश्वमूर्त्तिर्दितितनयरिपु-
विश्रम्भो(म्भं वो) [वि(द्वि)]-

[1] Besides the Śrīvāstavas, information regarding the other Kāyasthas is as follows : A Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior inscription of the successor of Mahīpāladēva of V. S. 1161 (*I. A.*, XV, 202) , a Karaṇika Thakkura in the Chhatarpur plate of Gōvindachandra of Kanauja, V. S. 1177 (*E. I.*, XVIII, 225), Vāstavya and Sakaśūna Kāyasthas in the Gadhwā pillar inscription, V. S. 1199 (*A. S. I. R.*, III, 58), a Naigama Kāyastha in the Nadol plates of Kīrtipāla of Marwār, V. S. 1218 (*E. I.*, IX, 68, *I. A.*, XL, 146), a Kāyastha pilgrim of the Gauḍa lineage in the Nemawar inscription, V., S. 1281 (*P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1920-21, p. 55), a Kaṭāriyā Kāyastha community in the Belvan inscription of the time of Hammīra, V. S. 1340 (*E. I.*, XIX, 49) , a Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior Museum inscription of Gaṇapati, V. S. 1350 (*A. S. I. R.*, 1903-04, part II, p. 290), in the Bijōlā inscription of V. S. 1376 (*P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1905-06, p. 58) and in the Baṭihāgaḍh inscription of V. S. 1385 (*E. I.*, XII, 46), and Māthura and Naigama Kāyasthas in the Bijōlā inscription of V. S. 1386 (*P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1905-06, p. 58), and a Kāyastha Sūrasena in the Patna plates of Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēva (II) (*J. P. A. S. B.*, L, p. 10). I owe this information to the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

[2] This has been omitted by Prinsep.

2 भर्त्तुं ॥१॥ पिण्याकपिण्डमिव चण्डरुचिर्म्मुरारिर्ग्गोवर्द्धनाच[ल]मलंकृतव[1]त्कराग्रे । प्रेमोत्कवल्लव[2]जनीजनिताद्भुत[श्रीः] श्रेयांसि वो दिशतु गौमपदृश्यमानः ॥२॥ आलो[3]टनर्म्मललितं विदधन्ह(द्व)रिर्व्वो[4] गोपीकठोर[5]कुचगु(कु)ण्ठित[6]शायक-

3 श्रीः । कामातुरोत्त[7]न्कुरङ्गवधू[विला]सा[8]ग्र[न्थ]न्कुतूहलतया धियमादधातु[9] ॥३॥ मज्ज[10]त्समुज्ज्वलतनुर्भवभारभेदी यो वेदवृन्द[11]मुदधाविदमुज्जहार । सं(शं)खासुरा-शुहरणः[12] किल मीनरूपी देवः श्रियः पतिरसं(शं) भवता विहन्तु ॥४॥ संवर्त्तविन्यस्ततटे

4 जलानां रेमे निधौ यः खलु योगयुक्त्या । जगद्गतिः संस्थितचिद्विभिश्रीः स वो विभूतिं कमठः करोतु ॥५॥ क्रोडीकृत्य विसा(शा)लनिष्ठुरतरां दंष्ट्रां[13] वहन्नुद्वहो मूत्तिर्म्वि(र्त्ति वि)[14]स्तृतधर्म्मकर्म्मनियतिर्व्वांशो[15](सो) धियां माधवः । औपात्पिण्डितपंकपेशलरुचिर्म्बि[16](र्च्चि वि)श्वंभरा-

5 मुद्दधे सं(शं) वो[17] वर्द्धयतां स विश्ववस(स)तिर्नि[18]त्याविनाशोदिताः[19](तः) ॥६॥ सुमेरु-शृंगाग्रनिविष्टरश्मेः[20] सहस्रभानोः श्रियमाददानः । सुदानवांतोत्तलितैः[21] कराग्रैः स वो नृसिंहो दुरितं भिनत्तु ॥७॥ शुक्राक्षिविक्षेपनिषादिपूर्णां विरूपयश्रीति-मिवामिताभः । व(ब)-[22]

6 लिप्रमादोद्धव[23]वर्द्धमानः स वामनो मे(वो)भ्युदयं ददातु ॥८॥ द्विजकरे क्षितिम-क्षत[24]शासनो दधदनुद्धवकृद्रिपुयोषिताम्[25] । जययशोभवनो(नं) जयति प्रधीः स परशुः

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[1] Prinsep reads असौ कृतवान्

[2] P. बल्लर

[3] P. श्रीस्वेद

[4] P. र्व्वौ

[5] P. करोर

[6] P. गुण्ठित

[7] P. कामातुरान्तर

[8] P. विपक्षात

[9] P. मातनोतु

[10] P. मज्जत्स्य

[11] P. दुग्ध

[12] P. सुहरण

[13] P. निष्ठुरतरान्दन्तान्

[14] P. मूर्त्तिर्व्वि

[15] P. र्व्वासौ

[16] P. पङ्कपिशलरुचिर्व्वि

[17] P. मे

[18] P. वसति

[19] P. त:

[20] P. शुभ्रंतुशृङ्गाग्रनिविष्टरश्मिः

[21] P. वप्रोत्तुनितैः

[22] There is a *kâkapada* sign after ब

[23] P. प्रमादादव

[24] P. माकृत

[25] P. °द्वतकृद्रिपुर्योषिताम्

खलु[1] राम इति श्रुतः ॥६॥ समुन्नति[2] र्यस्य पराक्रमाणां महाजने[3] पुण्यजनोपहारी । प्रमोदजालन्तनुते तनुश्री-

7 कृता[4] विपद्भ्यः स धिनोतु रामः ॥१०॥ आसीन्महर्षिः स किलादिवेदी छन्दो[5] विदां काश्यप इत्युदारः । यं जातवेदो विधिभिः सुराणां संतृप्तये[6] हन्त[7] विधिः ससर्ज[र्ज ?] ॥११॥ कुशसुनाभ इति प्रथितौ सुताविह व(ब)भूवतुरस्य महात्मनः । अपि तमोहरणे तदनुत्तमं शशिरविद्वयमत्र दिवौगतम्[8] ॥१२॥ कु-

8 शस्य कौशाम्ब्यपुरे निवासो व(ब)भूव पुण्योन्नतचारुमूर्त्तेः[9] । अवाप्य साचिव्य-मनु(मु)ष्य मौख्यं[10] तत्र स्थितिं कोपि पुमान्व(न्ब)भार ॥१३॥ स कोपि कायस्थतया प्रतीतो मनीषिभिर्मानितशेमुखी(षी)कः[11] । सद्गोत्रमादौनवमाश-यन्न[12]स्तत्काश्यपीभूतमलंचकार ॥१४॥ गवां प्रपंचेषु[13] ततौ शुभायां सुमन्त्रमार्गा-

9 चरणेषु[14] नित्यं(त्यम्) । श्रियो निवासा(सो)दभजत्त(त्स) वंशो[15] वास्तव्यतामप्रतिरूप-कोटिम्[16] ॥१५॥ जह्ले मनस्वास्तया जनीनां महीक्षितां दण्डनयांकुरैश्च । सुविद्यया श्रीरकुलस्य श्रीमान्हारुकनामाभवदत्र जन्तुः ॥१६॥ लिपिकर[17]-कुलकोटेः कोटरस्यागमानां सुकृतविटपिमूलस्याश्रयस्य[18] द्युती-

10 नां(नाम्) । अभवदमिततेजा जल्हणस्तस्य सूनुः सुरगुरुरिव भूमौ भूपतीनां क्रियार्थम्[19] ॥१७॥ ततो गुणानां स निधिर्विविज्ञो गंगा(गङ्गा)धरोजायत

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[1] P. किल

[2] P. नास्त्यावति

[3] P. वने

[4] P. जालं तनुते बहुतीकृतो

[5] P. जनो

[6] P. सतृप्तये

[7] P. यत्र

[8] P. रविशशिद्वयमुद्धततामस. The scribe did not incise मत्र, but it was added later on immediately below it in very small letters.

[9] P. मूर्तिः

[10] P. प्रगधयाक्तिः समनुष्यमौख्यं

[11] P. सेमुशीकः

[12] P. तं

[13] P. प्रपांगोष्ठ

[14] P. तरणेषु

[15] P. जयत्प्रवंशो

[16] P. कोट्रि

[17] P. जह्लः

[18] P. स्य

[19] P. क्रियार्हः

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

मानव(ब)न्धु:[1] । यस्मिन्मणीभूतविसु(शु)द्धदेहे तमोगतिर्नाश्रय[2] माससाद ॥१८॥ कमलापतिपादपंकजे हृदयं[3] वि(बि)भ्रदनिन्द्यमानस: । कमले[4] इति नाम कोमलं

11 सुकुलक्षालितकायसुन्दर: ॥१९॥ ततोजन्यजनीकाशो मालेकोमलविग्रह: । माला-भूतमिदं यत्र गुणवृंदं विदिद्युते ॥२०॥ पद्मसिंहो रत्नसिंहो जगसिंह: सुतोत्तमा: । जाता: कुमरसिंहश्च[5] चत्वारस्त्न[6] (श्च)तुरास्तत: ॥२१॥ तेषु[7] संख्यावतां श्रेष्टो[8] (ष्ठो) रत्नसिंहो महामना: । अजायत ॥[9]

12 जितात्म(त्मा)नस्त्रीन्सुता[9a] नमितौजस: ॥२२॥ तत्पूर्व्वोऽपूर्व्व[10]मूर्तिः प्रतिकृतविमदो[11]भूत्सुमेक: प्रवीण: प्रीतिप्रजा(ज्ञा)रुचीनां गणपतिरपरो वेश्म[12] विस्फीतकाय: । धाम ज्ञानोद्भवानामविहत[13] महिमा नाननामोन्नतांगो ।[14] रेजे राजीवचक्षु: क्षितिपति-समितिप्राप्तमानानुभा-

13 व: ॥२३॥ दिग्जनीकर्णकुहरविश्रान्तयशसास्तु ते[15] । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां सचिवत्व-मुपागता:[16] ॥२४॥ तयो: स विज्ञानविधिर्म्मनीषी मनोरमो नान इति प्रतीत: । श्रीभोजवर्म्माणमुपेत्य नाथं[17] स्वम[न्त्र]मित्रोदयमाततान ॥२५॥ प्रियं-वदत्वात्प्रमदामदानां[18] श(स)भ्यात्मक-

14 त्वाज्जगतीश्वराणां । पुमानयं प्राणतया गुणी यो नानाभिधानं सफलीचकार ॥[२]६॥ यस्मिन्गुणाधारतया प्रदिष्टे विकृष्यमाणे तयकुम्भमुच्चै: । नवाभिषेका-मिव राजलक्ष्मीं प्रभुश्चिरं कामयते फलाय ॥२७॥ तदा व(ब)हुप्रेंखल-कंबु(त्रु)जालं पयोनिधिं यस्य यशोविसारि[19] । समंडयन्मण्ड-

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[1] P. मानवेंद्र:

[2] P. यस्मिन्नृपेभूरतिशाक्वत्तं मन्ये तिनाकश्रिय

[3] P. न्हृदयं

[4] P. कमाल

[5] P. समर

[6] P. श्च

[7] P. तेषां

[8] P. श्रेष्ठो

[9] The dandas are unnecessary.

[9a] P. श्रीपूता

[10] P. उत्पुर्व्वोपूर्व्वं

[11] P. विनयो

[12] P. विश्व

[13] P. प्रतिहृत

[14] P. Danda is unnecessary.

[15] P. यशसास्तुत:

[16] P. सुपागत:

[17] P. नाथं

[18] P. जनानां

[19] P. वसारि

15 नसारशोभाधिकेन रूपेण मनोनुहारि ॥२८॥ विहारिणी यस्य दिगंगनाभिः सम समृद्धा श्रुतवृत्तवृत्तिः । मरुद्घघूमिः किल कर्णपूरीकृता मुनिभ्यो मुदमादधाति ॥२९॥ नवेन्दुसंकाशतनुप्रकाशः प्रकाशय(यन्)[1] सत्कुमुदो(दौ)घमुच्चैः । मनोरम-त्वान्महनीयदेहः पृथ्वीध-

16 रस्त[2] तनयो रराज ॥३०॥ अवेत्य पोतं भवनीररासौ(शौ) समुन्नितीर्षो(र्षु)-र्दयितं श्रियोमु(मुम्) । स मुक्तये पुण्यत[3] रानुभावादाराधनीं वृत्तिमलंकरोति ॥३१॥ समीक्ष्य संसारसुखं पटीयान्[ा]पातरम्यं विषयानुसारि[।*] मुमुक्षुरात्मोदयमिद्ध-कीर्त्यां वि(बि)भर्त्ति सत्तुंडसरो-

17 रुहेण ॥३२॥ अथ सुललितवु(बु)द्धिर्नान एष प्रभावी जयवति जयदुर्गे कीर्त्तिहेतोः कलावान्[4] । सुरचितहरिदेहं पैत्(त्र)मेतद्गुणज्ञः प्रविततनयजालो-ज्ञारयत्कृत्यवेदी ॥३३॥ माननीयो मति(माननीयमति)र्नानः प्रतिमीकृतकेशवं(वम्) । प्राशा(सा)दं स्थापयामास पितृवि-

18 [श्राम]हेतवे ॥३४॥ यावन्नगा वसु(सु)मती महतां कुलानि रत्नाकराः शशिदिवाकर-दीप्तिवृंदम् । तावत्स पुण्यवसतिर्मनुजो विधातु विश्मा[5] (वेश्मा)-धितिष्ठति सुगोत्करमाननीयः ॥३५॥ अमरकविरनघ्यो[6] नृत्यलंकारसारां पट्टपदलप-

19 [नीयामेष] शिष्टस्त्वविष्ठः । अनवदुरगुणाङ्कः[7] संभृताभिजनज्ञः । कृतिकुतुकम-भीप्सुर्वाक्पटी[8] चित्रवर्णाम् ॥३६॥ क्षणदेशेक्षणगतश्रुतिभूतसमन्विते । संवत्सरे शुभेलेखि वैशाखे मासि तद्दिने ॥३७॥ अङ्केपि ॥ सम्व(संव)त् १३४५ समयो वैशा-

20 [ख: . . . .] ॥३८॥ परस्परं प्रीतियुजो प्रियम्व(यंव)दौ सुमंक-नामा[न्त]र[9] नाथवल्लभौ । नयेन युक्तौ भुवनं यशस्विनो स चम्पकायान्तनया-वजीजनत(त्) ॥२४(३९)॥ कायस्थवास्तव्यान्वे[10](न्वये) प्रतोलिकान्वितजयपुर-दुर्गाधिपठकुरश्रीअयो[11]सुतसंमुहद[12]

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[1] P. सदा स यज्ञः

[2] P. रत्न

[3] P. नायात

[4] P. फलाना

[5] P. विश्मो

[6] P. पतिरनन्यो

[7] P. अनयदुग्गुणाकं

[8] P. पदीं

[9] P. मुतौ सुकर्मोत्तर

[10] P. यातें

[11] P. सुयो

[12] P. दु

21 . . . . केनमितां[शुषि] लिखितः सकारश्रीगोपाल[1]
. . . . शुभं भवतु कारकस्य ।

TRANSLATION

Salutations to the illustrious Vāsudēva.

(Verse 1) May Dēva (Vishṇu), the preserver, the enemy of the sons of Diti (*Asuras*), afford you joy, who generally does not feel physical weariness, being in the constant happy embrace of the bold Lakshmi and who signifies amazingly consummate love (*for the consort*) with his restless rolling eyes intoxicated with delight ; and whose srivatsa (*breast-jewel*) shines like the Cupid's arrows shot by the expanded bow of its blazing rays.

(Verse 2) May Murāri (*i.e.* the enemy of Mura), of ardent beauty, bless you, who, while being looked upon by his herd of cows, held upon the tip of his hand the mount Gōvardhana like a lump of mustard cake, and whose wonderous lustre was enhanced by the love-stricken wives of the cowherds.

(Verse 3) May Hari who is, as if in pleasant sport, thwarting in jest the diversions of the licentious deer with their consorts by an (*array*) of arrows whose beauty has been blunted by the stiff breasts of the milk-maids, enhance your knowledge.

(Verse 4) May Dēva, the fish-transformed husband of Srī (Lakshmī), the restorer of the set of the Vēdas buried in the ocean, the refulgent, the destroyer of the burdens of the world, and the slayer of Śaṅkhāsura, destroy your sins.

(Verse 5) May the tortoise, who revelled in abstract in the watery ocean with its shores destroyed by the Saṁvarta (one of the seven clouds at the dissolution of the universe), the refuge of the world constant in refulgent beauty, prosper you.

(Verse 6) May Mādhava, (*in the form of a boar*) who, by the mighty thrust of his long cruel tusks delivered the earth in the shape of a muddy lump of clay and who extended the fixed order of religion and duty ; the abode of intelligence and the habitat of the universe, and who is ever-ready to destroy the mental agonies, increase your blessing.

(Verse 7) May Nrisiṁha, resplendent like the rays of thousand suns resting on the tip of the peaks of the Sumēru, and appearing with drawn nails for the destruction of the demon (*Hiraṇya-kasipu*), destroy your sins.

(Verse 8) May Vāmana (dwarf), of matchless glory, bless you ; who by the pretext of smashing the eye of Sukra denounced the very statesmanship of his enemies ; who expanded himself proportionate to the arrogance and haughtiness of Bali.

(Verse 9) Victorious be that renowned Paraśurāma, of great intelligence, the abode of victory and fame, who placed the earth in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas after acquiring its governance, and who made the wives of the enemies sad.

(Verse 10) May Rāma, too, the slayer of demons, whose deeds of valour gladden the hearts of the magnanimous and serve as the protection of the body, save you from all miseries.

(Verse 11) There lived the venerable sage Kāśyapa, the foremost amongst the expounders of the Vēdas, whom happily the creator created to satisfy the deities according to the injunctions,

[1] This is not clear from the facsimile, but it has been adopted from Prinsep.

(Verse 12) Of that noble spirit were born two reputed sons, Kuśa and Sunābha, as though the two matchless (*luminaries*), the sun and the moon, had descended from heaven to dispel the darkness.

(Verse 13) The residence of Kuśa, who had a handsome appearance due to his virtuous deeds, was at Kauśāmyapura. There dwelt a certain person who became his chief minister.

(Verse 14) That uncertain person, who became well known for the performance of the Kāyastha duties known by the surname of Kāyastha and respected by the learned for his (*versatile*) genius, satisfier of the expectations of the needy, became the ornament of that noble Kāśyapa lineage.

(Verse 15) Being endowed with the grace of flowery speech, charming personality, and love for ever practising the rational course of honest policy, he along with his whole family enjoyed the (*appellation*) Śrīvāstavya.

(Verse 16) That wise being was named Hārūka because he stole the hearts of women by his beauty, those of kings by his statesmanship and of the learned by his wit and deep erudition.

(Verse 17) Superior to all of the writer caste, the receptacle of the *āgamas*, the root of the tree of virtue, the vessel of light, he had a son named Jalhaṇa of infinite valour, (*peerless*) like the preceptor of the gods born on the earth for the benefit of kings.

(Verse 18) Of him was born the honourable Gaṅgādhara, the receptacle of all virtues; conversant with the law of common usage, in whose jewel-like immaculate person the *tamas* (*guṇa*) never found any quarters.

(Verse 19) (*His*) noble-minded (*son*) bore the gentle name of Kamalā who concentrated his heart on the lotus feet of Kamalā's husband, of personal beauty commensurate with his virtues.

(Verse 20) Of him was born Mālēka, resembling Aja, of immaculate person and encircled by a halo of good qualities.

(Verse 21) From him were born these four, the wisest and the best of the sons, namely Padmasiṁha, Ratnasiṁha, Jagasiṁha, and Kumarasiṁha.

(Verse 22) The broad-minded Ratnasiṁha, the best of the learned, begot three sons who were self-restrained and of infinite prowess.

(Verse 23) The first and foremost among all of them was Sumaika the lotus-eyed, of matchless figure, conqueror of passion, skilful, another Gaṇapati, fat and abode of love, intelligence and beauty; he, who had never lowered his head before the haughty and the vainglorious and who had earned respect and honour in the courts of the kings.

(Verse 24) They got the ministership with the kings of the Chandrātrēya line whose fame had reached the ear-cavities of the damsel-like quarters (*i.e.* the ends of the world).

(Verse 25) One of the (*remaining*) two, the teacher of religious laws, learned and fascinating, was known as Nāna, who having resorted to the illustrious king Bhōjavarman wrought about the dawn of the sun of his statesmanship.

(Verse 26) This versatile man justified his name Nāna (*i.e.* various) by winning the favour of women by his sweet speech and of the kings by his polite behaviour, nay every one loved him as his own life.

(Verse 27) He (Nāna), being appointed the receptacle of merit and having carried aloft the standard (*kumbha*) of politics to a high pitch, the king expected the newly anointed royal Lakshmī to yield rich harvest for a long time to come.

(Verse 28) Whose spreading fame then adorned, like a beautiful ornament of dazzling splendour, the ocean in the shape of the countless conch-shells playing about (*on its billows*).

(Verse 29) His consort who was well adorned like the damsels of the quarters, and who was well versed in the practical lore of the scriptures, and whose ear-ornaments were dressed by the damsel-like Maruts, became a source of pleasure to the sages.

(Verse 30) His son Prithvidhara shed lustre like the new moon by causing delight to the masses of lily-like righteous persons; he possessed attractive manners and a commendable personality.

(Verse 31) Being desirous of crossing the worldly ocean by the ship of the husband of Lakshmī, he takes to the devotional course for salvation with the most pious intentions.

(Verse 32) Thus seeing the futile agreeableness of worldly pleasure derived from the objective world, and desiring salvation, he maintains his face like the lily after having wrought his fame for the elevation of his soul.

(Verse 33) This highly spirited and versatile Nāna, an adept in all the fine arts, caused this well-made image of Hari to be placed at the victorious and celebrated fort of Jayapura in honour of his ancestors, for love of fame; he was a judge of merits, an expounder of all polity, grateful, and of splendid understanding.

(Verse 34) This Nāna of respectable intellect established a temple with the image of Kēśava for the salvation of his ancestors.

(Verse 35) So long as the mountains, the earth, the gods, the oceans, the moon, the sun and the heavenly luminaries *(shall endure)*, so long shall that man, the seat of virtue and the beloved of the gods, live in the habitation of the Creator.

(Verse 36) The poet Amara, being desirous of satisfying the curiosity of the learned, wove this variegated priceless literary carpet, replete with excellent metaphors expressed in appropriate phrases. He was gentle and stately and had earned the title of 'wise man' by dint of his eminent qualities.

(Verse 37) This inscription was written on the lucky day of the month of Vaiśākha in the Saṁvatsara indicated by the moon, Śiva's eyes, the Vēdas and the *bhūtas*.

In figures also Saṁvat 1345, time Vaiśākha..................

(Verse 39) He had two sons named Nātha otherwise known as Sumaika and Vallabha by Champakā *(his wife)*, who loved one another, who spoke sweetly and were well known in the world, and a pattern of morality.

This was written by Paṇ..nha *(here)* in the family of Kāyastha-[Śrī*]vāstavya, the son of the illustrious Ṭhakura Āyo, the commandant of the balconied Jayapura fort.........May good luck attend the author.[1]

No. 20—HINDOL PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. Acharya, Cuttack

The copper plate inscription, which is being published here for the first time,[2] was lying in the office of the Subdivisional Officer of **Hindol**, the headquarters of a state (now merged)[3] of that

[1] See *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 539 et seq. 'The Sanskrit *pratoli* and its new Indian derivatives' by J. Ph. Vogel.

[2] The inscription was noticed by B. Misra in his *Medieval Dynasties of Orissa*, p. 28.

[3] Hindol is now a Subdivision of the newly formed Dhenkanal District.

name in Orissa. Little is known about its original findspot and the story of its discovery. The record was exhibited, along with the Utkal University's valuable collection of antiquities, on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian History Congress in December, 1949. Later it was secured for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, where it is at present lying.

The inscription is written on **a single plate** measuring 9·2 inches by 5·1 inches. A circular lump of brass soldered at the centre of its left side contains the seal of the king who issued the charter in question. There is a projecting knob at the back of the lump resembling the hair collected in a knot behind a woman's head. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal, there are the emblems of the sun and crescent moon at the top, the legend *Śrī-Kulastambhadēvasya* in the middle, and the emblem of a standing boar facing proper right at the bottom. The lower part of the subscript *y* in the *akshara sya* of the legend looks like two parallel straight lines demarcating the legend and the figure of the boar below. The plate is engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 31 lines of writing, the obverse and the reverse containing 15 and 16 lines respectively. The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and shows signs of corrosion and of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. This has rendered the reading of a few passages difficult and doubtful. The plate is partly broken at the right side top and bottom corners. It weighs 54 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern alphabet and the inscription may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the eighth or ninth century A. D. In point of palaeography, the charter under discussion closely resembles other inscriptions of the family to which its issuer belonged.[1] The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. In this respect as well as in point of orthography, our record has very close resemblance with the other records of the family. The verses are mostly common, although they have slight variations in some cases.

The charter is dated not according to any era, but in the issuer's fourth regnal year, Bhādra-sudi 12. This date itself does not help us in determining the age to which the charter has to be referred. But as we shall presently see, one of the records of the grandfather of the issuer of our grant appears to be dated in the year 103 apparently of the era used by the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Orissa. As this era is now usually identified with the Harsha era of A. D. 606, it may be assumed that the date of the said charter corresponds to A. D. 709. If therefore the grandfather flourished about the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., the reign of the grandson, who issued the grant under discussion, may be roughly assigned to the middle or the third quarter of that century. It has, however, to be admitted that the identification of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era is not accepted by some scholars who are inclined to assign the Bhauma-Karas to a later date.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. Verse 1 is in adoration to the god Girīśa, *i.e.*, Śiva, and is found in several other inscriptions of the family in question. Verse 2 introduces king Raṇastambha of the Śulkī family which is said to have been favoured by the goddess Stambhēśvarī. The next verse says how the Śulkī king Raṇastambha constructed a number of temples apparently for the god Sadāśiva. Verses 4-5 describe king Jayastambha who was the son and successor of Raṇastambha. The following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha who was the son and successor of Jayastambha and issued the charter from the city of Kōdālōka. While kings Raṇastambha and Jayastambha of the Śulkī family of Kōdālōka are known from their own records, king Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha, is known for the first time from the present inscription. He is called a *Mahārāja* and has the feudatory title *samadhigat-āśēsha-mahāśabda*. He is further said to have been a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara.

[1] Cf. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1694-1701.

The inscription records the grant of a locality or probably several localities situated in Sōggagrāma (?) forming a part of the Gaṇārasiṅga *vishaya* belonging to the Kanarbiā *maṇḍala*. The name or names of the locality or localities granted cannot be satisfactorily made out. The royal order regarding the grant was addressed to the *Rājanaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Antaraṅga* and others including the *Vishayapatis* and *adhikārins* together with their *karaṇas* (either meaning scribes or the *adhikaraṇas*, *i.e.*, administrative offices). The grant was made in favour of the *agnihōtrin* Bhaṭṭa Viśvarūpasvāmin who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kauśika *gōtra* having the Viśvāmitra, Dēvarāta and Audala *pravaras* and was a student of the Mādhyandina branch of the Yajurvēda. Lines 17-18 appear to mention several places, *viz.*, Pañchasasya, Puṇyavṛiddhi, Sarvadā...., Sārapura and Kharaṇḍava, as boundaries of the gift land. It is interesting that the grant is said to have been made with the king's family-deity, the goddess Stambhēśvarī-bhaṭṭārikā, as the *pramāṇa*. The word *pramāṇa* is here apparently used in the sense of *sākshiṇī* (witness) which actually occurs in the same context in some records of the family. The donee of the grant was allowed to enjoy rent from temporary tenants (*cf.* *s-ōparikara*). The gift land is also described as *s-ākāśa* which means "together with the space above the *tala* or ground." The sentences speaking of the grant are followed by two interesting passages in prose, one of them being benedictory and the other imprecatory. Next come four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 30-31 mention the writer of the document, *Bhōgin* Kalyāṇa, and the engraver Durlabhasaka whose father's name was Āchārya. The record ends with the date already noticed above.

As indicated above, a number of copper-plate inscriptions of the Śulki family, also called variously Śūlki, Śaulki, Sōlki, etc., have been published. The earliest of the Śulki records appears to be the Dhenkanal plate[1] of the *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda samasta-Mahāsāmant-ādhipati* Raṇastambha. This record seems to be dated in the year 103, although the first of the two numerical symbols was read by H. P. Sastri as 30 and by D. R. Bhandarkar as 200. Considering the feudatory titles applied to the name of Raṇastambha as well as the fact that the era used is no doubt the same as that used by the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa, it seems that Raṇastambha was a semi-independent feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara monarch Śubhākara III, two of whose inscriptions are dated in the same year.[2]

The Talcher plate[3] seems also to belong to the same Śulki king, although in this record he is called both Raṇastambha and Kulastambha and the seal attached to the charter bears the legend *Śrī-Kulastambhadēva*. The king Raṇastambha *alias* Kulastambha is in this inscription endowed with both feudatory and imperial titles, as he is not only called *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* and *Rāṇaka* but also *Mahārājādhirāja* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The mere issue of the Dhenkanal plate of the year 103 without specific mention of his Bhauma-Kara overlord points to Raṇabhañja's importance, while the partial assumption of imperial titles in the Talcher plate seems to indicate his success in a struggle with the Bhauma-Karas. The Talcher plate also mentions Raṇastambha-Kulastambha's father Kalahastambha-Vikramāditya who is represented as the son of Kāñchanastambha. Both Kāñchanastambha and his son Kalahastambha *alias* Vikramāditya appear to have been loyal vassals of the Bhauma-Karas. The Jārāgrāma grant[4] of Raṇastambha also represents him as the son of Kalahastambha and the grandson of Kāñchanastambha, although H. P. Sastri wrongly read *Kulastambha* for *Kalahastambha*. This record does not apply any imperial title to the name of Raṇastambha and seems to be earlier than the Talcher plate.

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[1] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1697; *JBORS.*, Vol. II, pp. 397 f. Cf. B. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[2] See B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12-22. Cf. *JOR.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 49-51.

[3] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1694; above, Vol. XII, pp. 157 ff.; N. N. Vasu, *Arch. Sur. of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff., etc. In line 4, read *Śulki-vaṁśē* which has been wrongly read as *Śulkikē-vaṁśē*.

[4] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1696; *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 169 ff.

The Bhimanagarigarh plate[1] is usually assigned to king Raṇastambha-Kulastambha. It represents the king as the lord of the whole Gōndrama with Śaṅkhajōṭi forming the borderland of his kingdom. This description is also found in the two Puri plates[2] published by M. M. Chakravarti. Unfortunately the text of the Puri records is extremely corrupt. The Bhimanagarigarh plate represents *Mahārāja* Raṇastambha as the *ātmaja* (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word *suta* (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Raṇastambha-Kulastambha but actually to a Kulastambha who was the son of Raṇastambha.

Another son of Raṇastambha *alias* Kulastambha was Jayastambha of the three plates[3] discovered at Dhenkanal. In one of these records Jayastambha is called *Mahārājādhirāja* and *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* which together appear to be a combination of feudatory and imperial titles. In the same record, Jayastambha is also called " lord of the whole Gōndrama " and is represented as the son of Raṇastambha (*i.e.*, Raṇastambha-Kulastambha) and as the grandson of Kulastambha (apparently a mistake for Kalahastambha *alias* Vikramāditya). In the second of the Dhenkanal plates, Jayastambha is called a *Mahārāja* and is represented as the son of Nidayastambha which seems to be another name of Raṇastambha-Kulastambha. The third plate of Jayastambha calls the king both *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. It represents king Jayastambha as the son of Alānastambha, the grandson of Kaṇadastambha (undoubtedly a mistake for Kalahastambha) *alias* Vikramāditya, and the great-grandson of Kāñchanastambha. Thus Jayastambha's father seems to have enjoyed no less than four names, *viz.*, Raṇastambha, Kulastambha, Nidayastambha and Alānastambha. According to the charter under discussion, Jayastambha was succeeded by his son Kulastambha who ruled at least up to his fourth regnal year. Nothing is known about the Śulkis after this ruler. Probably they were extirpated or completely subjugated by the Bhauma-Karas not long after the rule of the issuer of our plate. That the semi-independent rule of the Śulkis from Raṇastambha-Kulastambha to his grandson Kulastambha, who issued the present charter, did not last for more than about half a century is indicated by the fact that the same person seems to be the writer of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha dated year 103 and of the charter of Kulastambha under discussion. The *Bhōgin* Kalyāṇadēva who wrote the said grant of Raṇastambha is very probably the same as the *Bhōgin* Kalyāṇa mentioned in line 31 of our record as its writer.

The *Śulkis* of Orissa are probably mentioned in the Hārāhā inscription of Maukhari Īśānavarman of Bihar and the U. P., dated in Vikrama Saṁvat 611 (A. D. 554).[4] If this suggestion is to be accepted, it has to be assumed that the Śulkis were ruling in Orissa or its neighbourhood at a much earlier date than that suggested by the inscriptions of the family discussed above. M. M. Chakravarti believed that *Śulki* is but a variant of the family name *Chālukya* and that the *Śulkis* of Orissa represented a branch of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of the Āndhra country.[5] But this theory seems to be rightly challenged by others who are inclined to associate the Śulkis of Orissa with a people called Śuklī that are still inhabiting parts of the Midnapur District in South-

[1] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1698; *JBORS.*, Vol. II, pp. 401-3. The word *jōṭi* (modern *jōr* in the dialect of S.W. Bengal and *jōḍikā* of the [illegible], p. 15, etc.) means a canal or small stream. Misra identifies Śaṅkhajoṭi with the Saṅkha river in the Sundargarh region of Orissa.

[2] *JASB.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 123-27. Only one of these two records is recognised in Bhandarkar's List, No. 1698, the other being inadvertently omitted. The suggestion that the first of these two records mentions one Kadukhadera is wrong as the reading intended is known from other records to be [illegible]. Cf. line 10 of the record under discussion. *Gōndrama* is now roughly taken to mean the same as Oriya *Gaḍajāta* (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 77), although the real meaning of the word is uncertain.

[3] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1699-1701; *JBORS.*, Vol. II, pp. 406-17.

[4] H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 438.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

West Bengal.[1] It is interesting to note that the Šuklīs of Midnapur trace their origin to a place called Kēdālaka which may be the same as Kōdālāka, capital of the Śulkī kings of Orissa. The records of the Śulkī kings have been mostly found at Dhenkanal and in its neighbourhood and there is little doubt that the dominions of the Śulkis lay in the Dhenkanal-Talcher area of Orissa. That their dominions did not include a wide region is not only suggested by the fact that they were feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas of Jājpur, but also by the existence of several other contemporary ruling families such as the Nandas, Bhañjas, Dhavalas and Tuṅgas. The Tuṅgas ruling from Mahāparvata in the Cuttack District (S. I. sheet map No. 73/H/11) were the southern neighbours of the Śulkis. H. P. Sastri[2] and R. D. Banerji[3], however, suggested that the Śulkis of Orissa extended their power over South-Western Bengal. In our opinion, this theory is absolutely unwarranted. It is based on the wrong assumption that Jārāgrāma in the Jārā *khaṇḍa*, granted by king Raṇastambha in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Pāchuka (not *Pauchuka* as read by H. P. Sastri), was no other than the present village of Jārā in the Hooghly District of West Bengal. Sastri says that " the land granted belonged to the village of Jārā in the district of Jārā in the Rāḍhā *maṇḍala* ".[4] As a matter of fact, however, Rāḍhā-maṇḍala is not mentioned in the record in question in connection with *Jārā-khaṇḍē Jārā-grāmē* in line 15 ; it occurs in line 18 in the passage *Rāḍhā-maṇḍalē Tēllaṅgala*[5]*-bhaṭṭa-grāma-vinirgata*°. This simply says that the donee's family originally belonged to the village of Tāllaṅgala situated in the Rāḍhā *maṇḍala* which had thus absolutely nothing to do with the gift village of Jārā. There is no doubt that Jārāgrāma of Raṇastambha's inscription was situated in the Dhenkanal region of Orissa. The donee of Raṇastambha's grant was apparently a Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇa settled in Orissa. It is, however, interesting to note that the donee is said to have belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* having the Kāśyapa, Āvāchhyāyana (a mistake for *Āvatsāra*) and Naidhruva *pravaras* and to have been a student of the Kāṇva branch of a *charaṇa* of the Yajurvēda (*i.e.*, Śukla-Yajurvēda). The present day Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal almost all claim to belong to the Sāmavēda. This seems to point to the incomplete and unreliable nature of late traditions in regard to the reconstruction of the social history of the early period.[6]

As regards Stambhēśvarī, the family deity of the Śulkis of Orissa, we have elsewhere[7] suggested that the representation of the goddess was probably made out on a *stambha* indicating a Śiva-liṅga. Such a Liṅga with the representation of the Śakti is no doubt found among the sculptural remains of Eastern India.[8] It should, however, be pointed out that, whatever may

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[1] R. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 103-06 ; H. P. Sastri, *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, p. 169. Šuklī weavers are found in Orissa and Singhbhum. Some of them are said to be Jains. In that case, *Šuklī* may indicate *Šukl-āmbara* having little to do with the Śulkī kings. The matter, however, requires investigation.

[2] *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, p. 169.

[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 195-6.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

[5] Sastri's transcript has *Tāllaṅgala*°. There is a case of the *sāpēksha-samāsa*, so common in epigraphic literature, (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 175-77, 179, 278, 407, etc., and notes) in this passage. Cf. also *Śrāvastyāṁ Muktāvastī-grāma-vinirgatāya* (*IHQ.* Vol. XX, p. 247), *Rāḍhāyāṁ Vallibandara-vinirgatāya* (above, Vol. XI, p. 94, where *Rādhāpham*° is a wrong reading), etc., in the records of Mahāśivagupta I Janamējaya. See *JOR.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 45-48.

[6] *Cf. Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 498-500. N. N. Vasu (*Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, Part I, 2nd ed., p. 203) succeeded in tracing only a few Ṛigvēdīya and Yajurvēdīya families among the present day Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas. The number of such families must have been considerable in the early period. Later they mostly merged themselves in the Kauthuma-śākhīya Sāmavēdins.

[7] *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (*JRASB.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948), p. 104.

[8] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 452, Plate VI, 19 ; *A. R.*, *A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 155, Plate XLC ; N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 122-24, Plate LXIV.

have been the form of the goddess worshipped by the Śulkis, the deity Stambhēśvarī is still adored by the people of the different castes of Orissa in some parts of the country under the Prakritic name Khambēśvarī and in the shape of a post or pillar.[1] Now therefore the word *stambhēśvarī* seems to indicate merely " the goddess of the pillar " without any special association with the Śiva-liṅga. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Kalahandi plates[2] of Mahārāja Tushṭikara, who possibly flourished about the fifth or sixth century A. D., mention that ruler as a worshipper of goddess Stambhēśvarī. Whether the Śulkis claimed descent from Tushṭikara and whether the goddess worshipped by Tushṭikara was the very same as that later adored by the Śulkis cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. It is also uncertain whether the pillar known as Stambhēśvarī and at present standing at the centre of the Sonepur town had anything to do with king Tushṭikara and the rulers of the Śulkī family.[3] The rulers of the Angul State, confiscated in 1847, had names ending with the word *stambha*. There are also certain *Stambha* families in Orissa even today. Nothing definite, however, is known as to whether these late Stambhas had any relations with the ancient Śulkis whose names ended with the word *stambha*.

No satisfactory identification of any of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been possible. Kōdālōka, capital of the Śulkis, may, however, be the same as modern Kōālu in the Dhenkanal subdivision of the Dhenkanal District (former Dhenkanal State) of Orissa, about 6 or 7 miles from Talcher, on the left bank of the Brāhmaṇī river.

TEXT[4]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Āryā* ; vv. 3, 5 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2, 4 *Upajāti* ; v. 6 *Upajāti* (*Vaṁśasthavila* and *Indravaṁśā*) ; v. 7 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 8-10 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 11 *Pushpitāgrā*]

Obverse

1 [Siddham ||][5] Svasti [||*] Jayati sur-āsura-[si](si)ddha-dvi(vi)dyādhara-mauli-ghṛishṭa-charaṇ-āvja(bja)ḥ [|*] śaśi-maṇi-mayu(yū)kha-bhā[s]i[ta-pi]-

2 ṅga-jaṭṭā(ṭā)-bhāsurō Giriśaḥ [||1*] Stambhēśvari(rī)-la[vdha(bdha)]-vara-prasādē Śulki-kulē-bhu(bhū)t=kshitipa[ḥ*] kshat-āri[ḥ |*] Śrī-Raṇastambha[6]-

3 ti pra[ti]taḥ sphurat-pratāp-ōdaya-tāpit-āri[ḥ || 2*] Bhāsvad-vichi[tra]-ruchir-ōjva(jjva)-la-chārā(ru)-śōbhair=uchchaiḥ Sadāśiva-

4 pura-pragam-sika-mārgair=[7]dēvāla(la)yair=nija-yaśō-dhavalair=anēkair=yēn=ātmanas=tridivam=udgamit=ēha kīrttiḥ [|| 3*] Tasy=ātmajō

5 visruta-puṇya-kīrttiḥ śrīmāṇ(mān) Jayastambha iti kshiti(tī)śaḥ[|*] va(ba)bhūva bhu-(bhū)pāla-śirō-maṇ-indra-jyōtsnā-prasa(bhā)-bhāsura-pāda-[pī*]-

6 ṭhaḥ [||4*] Yaḥ sarvvadā nija-guṇ-ānu(ṇ-ādhān)-samu(mā)ha-pātair=di[k*]-kāmini(nī)-mukha-manōhara-karṇṇapu(pū)raiḥ [|*] saṅkōchit-āhita-

7 vadhu(dhū)-[va]dan-āravindō dōsh-ānda(ndha)kāra-bhiduraḥ śuśubhē śaś-īva [||5*] Tatō-bhavach=ch=āvani-pā[la*]na-kshamaḥ parā-

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[1] R. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 107 ff.

[2] *JKHRS.*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 107-110.

[3] Mazumdar, *loc. cit.*

[4] From the original plate kindly lent by the Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack, and from impressions prepared at the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read *Śrīmad-Raṇa°* for the sake of the metre. The verse is adapted from the records of Raṇastambha (cf. *JBORS.*, Vol. II, p. 401) where we have *Śrī-Vikramāditya iti*. In another record (cf. *ibid.*, p. 406) we have *Śrīmān Kulastambha iti*. These passages are metrically correct.

[7] Read *mārgaiḥ | dēvā°*.

HINDOL PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

Obverse

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

B. CH. CHHABRA

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36—429'51.

Reverse

8 kram-ākrānta-sama[sta]-dik-ta[ṭa]ḥ [|*] sutō va(ba)l-ōtsārita-vairi-vāridō dig-vāraṇ-ēndra-pratimō va(ba)bhūva yaḥ [|| 6*]

9 anēk-ābhramkaṣa(sha)-dēvālaya[1]-sudhā-dhavala-va(ba)hal-ā[lō]ka-janita-sakala-digantar-ālō-

10 kāt[2] K[ō]dāl[ō]kāt sa ēva dvija-guru-charaṇ-ārādhan-āsakta-chētāḥ Śrīmān-durvvāra-vairi-pravara kari-gha-

11 ṭā-kumbha-kuṭṭāka-vā(bā)huḥ[|*] trasyā śaktā[3] samētaḥ Pṛithur-iva gaditaḥ pārthivatvā tu yasya kṛichchhrē(chchhrē)-py=a-tyaktya(kta)-satya[ḥ*]

12 prakaṭa-guṇatayā dharmma-[su(sū)]nur-na tulyaḥ [|| 7*] Parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ samadhigat-āvaśēsha[4]-mahāśavdō(bdō)

13 mahārājaḥ Śrī-Kulastambhadēvaḥ kuśalī Kanarddā(?)-maṇḍalē Gopāraśriṅga-[vishayē Sōgura(?)-grā]mē [? . . . nd[ā]sa(?)-

14 ṇa[dhaka]vrē bhavishyat-kālinō rāja[na*]ka-rājaputra-mahāsāmanta-kumārāmāty-ānta-raṅg-ō(āṅg-ā)[n-anyā*]-

15 ṁ-cha[5]yathākāl-ādhyāsinō vishaya-pati(t)n adhikāriṇaś=cha sa-karaṇa(ṇān) yathārha[ṁ*] kuśalayu[ti vō(bō)dha*]-

Reverse

16 yati ch=ā[diśati*] [vidi]tam=astu bhavatām [grā][ma*]. . . kshētra-sahitaya[6] s-ōpari[karaḥ] s-ōddēśaḥ sa*]-

17 rvv-āvā(bā)dha-vivarjitaḥ chiranta[na*]-sīmā-charushṭaya-vē[shṭ]itaḥ parika*]rita[7]-parya-[ṁ*]taḥ Pa[ñcha]śasya-Puṇya[vṛi]ddhi-Sarvvadā. . . . .

18 . . . . Sāmṭura-Kharaṇḍava-simāntaḥ yajñ-ōpakaraṇa-prachura-kuśa-samit-samētaḥ japa-svā-dhyāya-śaucha-jā(yā)[jana]-ni[ya]-

19 ma-tapō-bhāvit-ātmanē śi(śī)la-guṇa-samudāchāra-yuktāya [Kau]śika-gōtra-prabhav- ānvay-āvāpta-janmanē Yaju[rvvē]da-[mā]-

20 dhyandina-śākh-ādhyāyinē Viśvāmitra-Dēvarāt-Audala-pravarāya agnihōtṛi(tri)ṇē bhaṭṭa-Viśvarūpasvāminē-

21 asya[8] puṇy-ābhivṛiddha(ddha)yē mātā-pitrōr=asya[9] ch=ātmana(d-vṛi)ddhayē bhakti-rā[g-ā*]-rādhan-āvarjita-[sa(bu)ddhi]bhir=asmābhir=ā-chandr-ārka-

22 vyavasthayā pratipāditō=yam=asmai[|*] yatō bhavadbhi[ḥ*] dharmma-gauravād=asmad-gaurav-ōparōdhāch=cha pratipālitavya(vy-ō)[ya]-

23 m=asmad-datti[ḥ|*] tathā cha dānam=idam=asmad-ādi-kula-dēvatām=bhagavati(tīm) sur-āsura-vidvan-muni-manuja-vandi[ta]-Śrīmat-Stambhēśvarī-

24 bhaṭṭārikām=pramāṇi(ṇī)kritya pratipāditam=asmai[|*] yaś=ch=aitad=asmat-kulajō=nyatamō vā bhu(bhū)patiḥ pālayati tasya maha-

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[1] It seems that the engraver incised the left half of ya and later made la over it.

[2] We may suggest a stop here as the compound word is followed by a verse.

[3] Read *trayyā śaktyā*.

[4] Better read *-śēsha*.

[5] Read *°ṁś=ānyāṁś=cha*.

[6] The reading intended was *sahitaḥ* or probably *sahitaṁ* or *sahitāḥ*.

[7] The word *parikarita*, found in the Sulki records, appears to stand for Sanskrit *parikrita*, *parikriti* or *parikshēpa* meaning the surrounding in general.

[8] Better read *asmad°* in the place of *asya*. As it is, the language would suggest that the grant was made for the increase of the merit of the donee and his parents.

[9] The word *asya* is redundant here.

25 d=arjjitam rājya-suta-sambhaś=cha bhavēd=yaś=ch=ānyathā kurutē tasya santati-vichchhē(chchhē)dō rājya-bhraṁśa(bhraṁśa)ś=cha bhavēd=i[ti] bō-bhu[drā]-
26 [mōksha]-hit-aishibhiḥ pālitavyam idam(dam) | paṭhyatē cha dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā datā(ttā) rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ā[dibhi]-
27 r=yasya[1] yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [|8] Svadatā(ttā)m para-data(ttā)m vā yō harēd= vasudhām=iha[| *] śva-vi[shṭhā]-
28 yāṁ kṛimir=bhu(r=bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē[| 9*] Hiraṇyam=ēkam gām=ēka(kā)m bhu(bhū)mim=apy=ēkam=aṅgulam(lam) [| haran(ran) naraka-
29 m=āyāti yāvad=āhu(hā)ta-samplavam(vam) || 10| Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śrī yaḥ[2] manushya-ju(jī)vitañ=cha[| *]
30 sva(sa)[ka]lā(la)m=idam=udāhṛi[ta*]m=cha vu(bu)dhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ || 11*] iti prasa(śa)stir=[likhi]tā
31 y=ēyam=Bhōgi-Kalyān-ākhyēna [| *] utkīrṇam[3] Āchārya-putra-Du[rlla]bhasa(?)kēna [| *] Bhādra-śudi 12 Saṁva 4 [|*]

No. 21—MACHUPALLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SOMIDEVA-MAHARAJA

(1 *Plate*)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

Māchupalle is a village in the Siddhavattam *tāluk* of the Cuddapah District, Madras. It is situated on the southern bank of the Pennār, about five miles to the west of Siddhavaṭṭam. The stone bearing the inscription[4] edited here is set up near a well called *Guruva-Reḍḍi-bhāvi* adjacent to a ruined temple of Śiva in the village. The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab. At the top of the first side are carved the emblems of the sun, moon, a seated bull and a lamp-stand. Owing to the damage sustained by the stone, a few lines at the bottom of its first side are lost. As a result of this, the record cannot be read continuously from the end of the first side to the beginning of the second. The writing on the second side is well preserved, the concluding portion of the record being retained intact.

The **script** of the record is mixed Grantha and **Tamil**. Grantha letters are employed for Sanskrit words and letters. The **language** of the inscription is **Tamil** and it is in prose. A few orthographical errors are found in the record and they occur in places where the Sanskrit words or letters are written. Such examples are: first side, line 5, *bauyamādrāyai* for *puṇyamādrāyai*; line 10, *bhujabbala* for *bhujabala*; line 20, *dekshiṇa* for *dakshiṇa*, line 25 *dā(r)ā* for *dhārā*; second side, lines 22 and 24, *tārā* for *dhārā*.

The inscription does not formally refer itself to the reign of any ruling king as is usual with inscriptional records but straightaway commences with the mention of a date and proceeds to state some facts of a transaction that took place on that day. The date cited is Śaka 1178, Rākshasa, Karkaṭa, śu. pūrṇimā, Tuesday, Tiruvōṇam, lunar eclipse. The details correspond to **A. D. 1255, July 20, Tuesday**, a day on which there occurred a lunar eclipse. The inscription states that on the date specified *Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Maṇḍalika-brahmarākshasa* Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇiyār who was ruling from Valluru in Mulki-nāḍu(?)

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[1] Read °*dibhiḥ* | *yasya*.
[2] Read *śriyam=anuchintya*.
[3] Read °*rṇam*.
[4] No. 23 of 1939-40 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

(*i.e.*, Mulki-valanāḍu) obtained from Sōmidēva-Mahārāja who bore the epithets *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Trailōkyamalla*, *Bhujabala-vīranārāyaṇa* and *Niśśaṅkapratāpa*, the village of Māsaruppalli, situated near the southern gateway of Śrīśailam (*i.e.*, Siddhavaṭṭam) and that Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇiyār in his turn made over the village as a gift (*prītidānam*) to Kālaḍi Vāsudēva Nāyaka of the Bhārgava *gōtra* who hailed from Malaimaṇḍalam (*i.e.*, Malabar). This Nāyaka, again in his turn, granted a part of the village as *Brahmapuri* to a *Brāhmaṇa*, Perumāḷ, son of Siddhamaraśar of the Pūtimāsha *gōtra*. Of the remaining lands in the village, he gifted away one share to the temple of Siddhavaṭamuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār for the expenses of offerings and worship at the time of the morning service (*tiruppalli-eḻuchchi*) of the deity. The rest of the lands was endowed to a *Malaiyāḷi-maṭha* in the village for offering of alms to the *ēkadaṇḍi-sanyāsins* and for feeding *Malaiyāḷa-Brāhmaṇas* living in the *maṭha* and engaged in religious penance. The inscription ends with the usual imprecation against the destroyers of the charity and contains a final benediction that the religious faith, *Māhēśvaram* might grow and spread.

It will be seen that the inscription is of interest in several respects. In the first place it is to be noted that the language and script of the record is Tamil and this is important in view of the fact that the region where it is found and the chiefs mentioned therein are associated with the Telugu country. Attention will be drawn to the significance of this in the sequel. Historically, the record is of interest in the mention made in it of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sōmidēva-Mahārāja who, to judge from the string of *birudas* attached to his name, seems to be a local chief of some importance ruling over the region around Siddhavaṭṭam. As to his identity it may be observed that the *birudas* held by him are identical with those adopted by a line of chiefs who were further distinguished by the additional epithets of *Kalukaḍa-puravarādhīśvara* (*i.e.*, the lord of the best of cities, Kalukaḍa) and *Siddhavaṭadēvara-divya-śrī-pādārādhaka*. Some members of this family are known from inscriptions in and around Siddhavaṭṭam itself. One of them was Rāyadēva-Mahārāja who bore the epithets, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Karkaṭapuravarādhīśvara*, *Trailōkyamalla*, *Bhujabala-vīranārāyaṇa*, *Pāṇḍyagajakēsari*, *Audumbarābharaṇa*, *Niśśaṅkapratāpa* and *Siddhavaṭadēvara-divya-śrī-pādārādhaka*. One of his inscriptions found at Rāyachōṭi,[1] Cuddapah District, is dated Śaka 1155, Nandana, Āshāḍha śu. 11 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1232, June 30, Wednesday) and states that one Paḍavala Bammayaṉ consecrated the image of Janārdana-Perumāḷ at Āṇḍapūr in Kīḻ-Mārāyapāḍi and that the chief Rāyadēva-Mahārāja granted to the deity the village of Rāyanārāyaṇapatteri as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*. The script and language of this record is Tamil like the present Māchupalle inscription. The second record of this chief is found at Jōti near Siddhavaṭṭam[2] and it is dated Śaka 1169, Plavaṅga, Jyēshṭha śu. 13, Vaḍḍavāra (*i.e.*, A. D. 1247, May 18, Saturday). Although the record starts with the *praśasti* of Rāyadēva-Mahārāja whose *birudas*, as found in the Rāyachōṭi inscription, are also detailed here, the date quoted is referred to the reign of Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa. The inscription says that one Chenti Rāmināyaka, the servant (*nija-bhṛitya*) of Rāyadēva-Mahārāja made a number of benefactions on the date specified during the reign of his overlord Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa. The wording of the record leaves it doubtful as to whether Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa is to be taken as identical with Rāyadēva-Mahārāja which seems very likely since the donor Rāmināyaka describes them both as his overlords. If, however, he is considered a different person nothing is known regarding the family to which he belonged.[3] Attention may here be drawn to the mention of Rakkasa-Gaṅga in a contemporary Telugu literary work, the *Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu* of Tikkana Sōmayājin from which we learn that Rakkasa-Gaṅga was defeated in

[1] No. 446 of 1911 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[2] No. 503 of 1915 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[3] A fragmentary record mentioning a certain 'Rakkasa-Gaṅga' as ruling the earth' is found at Sivāḍi, Punganur taluk, Chittoor Dt. (No. 235 of 1931-2 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) For want of sufficient data it is not possible to connect him with Rakkasa Gaṅga of Siddhavaṭṭam.

battle by the Telugu-Chōḍa chief of Nellūru, Manumasiddhi II who is stated to have sent his Kāyastha general Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi to collect tribute from him. More about this incident will be said in the sequel. At Tāḍpatri in the Anantapur District is a long inscription[1] of another chief of the family, *viz.*, Udayāditya who lived many years earlier than Rāyadēva-Mahārāja. This record which is dated Śaka 1120, Kālayukti, Māgha ba. 15, Thursday, solar eclipse (*i.e.*, A. D. 1199 January 28, Thursday, solar eclipse), gives the genealogy of Udayāditya as follows: in the lunar race there was Attirāja whose son was Āhavamalla, whose son was Gaṅga and Gaṅga's son was Sōmadēva who was the father of Udayāditya, the donor of the inscription. Udayāditya is given a string of *birudas*, commencing with the words, *Anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha-vijayalakshmī-samāliṅgita-viśāla-vakshasthala*, etc., and including among other epithets those like *Siddhanadēva-divya-śrī-pāda-padmārādhaka*, *Kalukaḍapuravarādhīśvara*, *Bhuvanapavitra*, *Kshatriyapavitra* and *Pratāpakumāra*. He is further stated to be ruling from his *rājadhāni* Tāṭipāḷapura, *i.e.*, Tāḍpatri. Āhavamalla mentioned as the great-grand-father of Udayāditya in the Tāḍpatri inscription seems identical with his namesake, two of whose records are found in the Rajampet taluk of the Cuddapah District. One of them from Nandalūr,[2] which is in Tamil, records a benefaction by him and refers to one Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya. The other inscription from Taṅgatūru,[3] which is in Kannaḍa, is dated Śaka 1073, Prajōtpatti, Māgha su. 15, Thursday (*i.e.*, A. D. 1152, January 24, Thursday) and refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Taila, *i.e.*, Tailapa III. It records the consecration of the temple of Mūlasthāna-Pāpavināśadēva by Āhavamalla in honour of his *guru Pāśupata* Tapōdhana Jīyar. A still earlier member of the family was Malla-Mahārāja who is described as ruling Āyaje 300 as a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) in an inscription at Alampūr, Raichur District, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 26, Kālayukti.[4] This chief, like Udayāditya of the Tāḍpatri record, has a *praśasti* commencing with the words, *Anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭanōpalabdha*, etc., and bears almost all his *birudas*. If he is identified with Āhavamalla of the Tāḍpatri record, which is not unlikely, he must be supposed to have had a long rule of over fifty years from Chālukya-Vikrama year 26, *i.e.*, A. D. 1101-2 to 1152 A. D. Two more chiefs of this stock are brought to light by an inscription at Chintalaputtūru, near Pushpagiri, Cuddapah District.[5] They are Murāri-Kēśavadēva-Mahārāja and Sōmidēva-Mahārāja. Their *praśasti* includes all the epithets held by Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of the present Māchupalle inscription and in addition that of 'lord of Kalukaḍapura'. The record states that these two chiefs made a joint donation of Veduḷḷacheruvu to god Indrēśvara of Pushpagiri on the occasion of their visit to the holy place in Vibhava, Āshāḍha su. 10, Monday. The corresponding Śaka date is not specified in the record. Since the year Vibhava corresponded to A. D. 1268 it is not unlikely that the record was set up in that year, although the other details noted in the record do not tally with any date in the month of Āshāḍha of this year.[6] If the date cited is A. D. 1268, this inscription being only 13 years later than the Māchupalle record of A. D. 1255, it is not improbable that Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of the Māchupalle inscription and his namesake of the Pushpagiri record are identical. It would follow from this identification that Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of our record was also a scion of the family of chiefs who were distinguished by the appellation, 'Lords of Kalukaḍapura'. The omission of this particular title in the Māchupalle inscription does indeed weaken

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 798.

[2] No. 577 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[3] *Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, Cd. 380; *Local Records*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

[4] *Telangana Inscriptions*, pp. 126-7. Ins. No. 26. The cyclic year quoted does not tally with the Ch. Vik. year 26; the latter would correspond to A. D. 1101-2. The Kālayukti year would correspond to A.D. 1078 and 1138 both of which do not seem to be the intended year.

[5] No. 319 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[6] The details, however, correspond to A. D. 1148, June 28 but this date would be too early for Kēśavadēva and Sōmidēva since these two princes were contemporaries of Ambadēva of A. D. 1272-1304.

the argument in favour of his identification as a scion of that family which seems, however, otherwise well established considering not only the occurrence of the other *birudas* which are common to most records of these chiefs but also the provenance of the present record of Sōmidēva near Siddhavaṭṭam, the god of which place was the family deity of some of the members of the family. Further, the language and script of the Māchupalle inscription is Tamil, a feature characterising some other inscriptions of the family, *viz.*, the Rāyachōṭi inscription of Rāyadēva-Mahārāja and the Nandalūr record of Āhavamalla. Thus the locality of his rule, his name and some of the titles held by him which are common to other members of the family of the Kalukaḍapura chiefs and finally his proximity in point of date to Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of that family figuring in the Pushpagiri inscription, would all render it tenable that our Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of the Māchupalle inscription was a scion of the Kalukaḍapura rulers and identical with Sōmidēva of the Pushpagiri record.

From the foregoing analysis of the epigraphs of the lords of Kalukaḍapura, it would appear that the earliest member of the stock so far known was Aṭṭirāja of the lunar race. He might have flourished about A.D. 1100 since he was the fourth ascendant from Udayāditya of A.D. 1199 figuring in the Tāḍpatri inscription cited above. The history of the family before Aṭṭirāja is not definitely ascertainable but some clues in this regard are however available from their *praśasti* and titles. For instance, the *praśasti* commencing with the words, *Aukka-nānoru*, etc., which the chiefs of Kalukaḍapura adopted was also the characteristic preamble of the Vaidumba family, who ruled over parts of Cuddapah and the adjacent territory from the 9th to the 11th century A. D. Then again the title *Bhuvanatrinētra* held by the chiefs of Kalukaḍapura was a well-known Vaidumba name and title. Further, it is not unlikely that the epithet *Andambarābharaṇa* of the Kalukaḍa chiefs is a corruption of *Vaidumbābharaṇa* which was assumed by the Vaidumba chief Bhīma-Mahārāja of the Pālagiri record[1] dated Śaka 978 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1056). This chief further claims a lunar origin like Aṭṭirāja, the earliest known ancestor of the Kalukaḍapura chiefs, as noticed above. Another significant datum which may be taken to establish that the lords of Kalukaḍapura were either lineally descended from the Vaidumba rulers of Rēnāḍu or were their political successors who appropriated their titles, dominions, etc., is traceable in the very title of 'Lord of Kalukaḍapura' itself. For, Kalukaḍapura is identical with the modern Kalkaḍa in the Vayalpad taluk of the Chittoor District and at this very place were found two inscriptions of the Vaidumbas referable to the 9-10th century A. D. indicating that the region of Kalkaḍa was their principality. One of them belongs to Gaṇḍatrinētra Vaidumba-Mahārāja[2] and the other was issued by Bhuvanatrinētra Iruṅgoya-Mahārāja on the occasion of his coronation.[3] The latest date for the Vaidumba chiefs so far known is Śaka 978 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1056) which is furnished by the Pālagiri record of Kaliga-trinētra Bhīma-Mahārāja, son of Ma[ḍu]ka-Mahārāja cited above. It has to be noted, however, that between this date (A. D. 1056) of the last known member of the earlier Vaidumba family and that of Aṭṭirāja (*c.* 1100) the earliest known progenitor of the later stock there is a gap of about 50 years during which the history of these rulers is unknown. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Vaidumbas must have continued to flourish in parts of Rēnāḍu side by side with the Telugu Chōḍas with whom it is well-known that they often came into conflict. It would appear that like the Telugu Chōḍas they came under the suzerainty of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. This event might have taken place in the time of Chāḷukya king Trailōkyamalla Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I since we find some of the titles like *Trailōkyamalla* and *Āhavamalla* being adopted by the Kalukaḍapura chiefs thus indicating their subordination to that Chāḷukya emperor.

[1] No. 325 of 1935-36 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. See *An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1935-36, pp. 66-7.
[2] No. 445 of 1940-41 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.
[3] No. 442 of 1940-41 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

Now, to return to the Māchupalle inscription. Another point of interest attaching to it is that Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, the Kāyastha chief ruling from Vallūru, figures in it as an associate of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja in the gift made, evidently in the capacity of a friend or a joint subordinate under a common suzerain. It was perhaps in the latter capacity that he figures in this inscription. For, Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi was a feudatory of the Kākatīyas and he is mentioned as such in several inscriptions of Kākatīya Gaṇapati issued in the same year in which the inscription from Māchupalle was issued, *i. e.*, A. D. 1255.[1] He was, besides, employed as a general of the Telugu Chōḍa chief Manumasiddhi II of Nellūru (A. D. 1239-1268) who was the friend and ally of Gaṇapati.[2] Literary evidence testifies to the fact that Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi was deputed by the Telugu Chōḍa ruler to collect tribute from Rakkasa-Gaṅga who is stated to have been defeated by Manumasiddhi, but whose territories were given back to him in exemplification of the Chōḍa ruler's character as an *āśritavatsala*.[3]

It has been surmised above that Rakkasa-Gaṅga was the same chief that was also known as Rāyadēva-Mahārāja, the Kalukaḍapura prince who was ruling over the region of Siddhavaṭṭam and its adjacent territory. Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, having been thus deputed, seems to have gone to Siddhavaṭṭam and on the occasion of his visit to the holy place might have made the grant registered in the Māchupalle record under study. Since the verse in the *Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu* cited above, explicitly states that the dominions conquered from Rakkasa-Gaṅga were duly restored to him, Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi being sent only to collect tribute, it is self-explanatory that in the Māchupalle record, Sōmidēva, the successor of Rakkasa-Gaṅga, should be described as the original donor from whom Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi obtained the gift village, for it was Sōmidēva-Mahārāja that was the actual ruler of the area in which the gift-village was situated. In this connection it is significant that except a few early inscriptions of the family, all the other records of the Kalukaḍapura chiefs which quote their *praśasti* are found issued without reference to any overlord. Even the Pushpagiri record of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of A. D. 1268 is found issued with the full preamble of the family and without any reference to an overlord. The Pushpagiri record further makes it apparent that the two chiefs figuring therein, Murāri-Kēśavadēva-Mahārāja and Sōmidēva-Mahārāja were left to enjoy their possessions in freedom till A. D. 1268 at least. Not long after this date, these princes seem to have offended the Kāyastha chiefs of Vallūru for it is learnt from the records of Ambadēva, the Kāyastha chief who assumed rulership sometime about A. D. 1272 and flourished till A. D. 1302, that he defeated Kēśavadēva and Sōmidēva along with Alu-Gaṅga. There can be no doubt that the first two princes were the chiefs of Kalukaḍa whose Pushpagiri inscription has been cited above. This defeat must have taken place sometime before A. D. 1290 as the earliest of Ambadēva's inscriptions mentioning this exploit is dated in this year.[4] We hear no more about the lords of Kalukaḍapura subsequent to this date.

It is not known what brought Vāsudēva Nāyaka of Mahimamaṇḍalam to Siddhavaṭṭam where he figures as the donor in the present record. His visit may have been just an act of pilgrimage to the holy place Siddhavaṭṭam on the occasion of which he made the pious gift recorded in the inscription. That the object of the gift made by him was in the first instance obtained from Sōmidēva-Mahārāja and in the second from Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇi, must be understood to bear some particular significance, the exact nature of which it is not possible to say. It is not unlikely that he was either some subordinate commander under Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇi, the generalissimo of the Telugu Chōḍas and the Kākatīyas or was just a learned man interested in Śaivism and its spread. This Nāyaka is otherwise unknown to us except from this inscription.

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[1] No. 21 of 1936 of the *Mad. Ep. Coll.*; *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 346.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 194.

[3] *Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu*, Canto 1, v. 41.

[4] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 274; *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 465.

Kāladi in Malaimandalam with which the name of Vāsudēva Nāyaka is associated may be identified with Kāladi now in the Travancore-Cochin Union, which was the birth-place of Śaṅkarāchārya, the *advaita* philosopher.[1] We cannot be sure if Vāsudēva Nāyaka's association with this place in Malabar which was either his ancestral seat or actual place of residence accounts for the present benefaction made by him to the *ēkadaṇḍi-saṁnyāsins* and some *Brāhmaṇas* who also hailed from Malabar and who were practising religious austerities in the *Malaiyāṇi-maṭha* attached to the temple of Siddhavaṭamuḍaiya-Nāyanār. It is no wonder that there should have existed a religious institution for the practice of *Pāśupata* tenets at Siddhavaṭṭam, for, the place, as stated in the record itself, was sanctified as the southern gateway of Śrīśailam,[2] the great centre of *Pāśupata* Śaivism. Further the ruler Sōmidēva-Mahārāja belonged to a family who were devotees of god Siddhavaṭanātha.[3] The benediction at the end of the present record to the effect that *Māhēśvaram* should develop and spread has a special bearing in this context since *Māhēśvaram* signifies some exclusive tenets of the Śaiva faith and practice[4] allied to or identical with the *Pāśupata* doctrines. Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇi's strong Śaivite persuasion is not only evidenced by this record but also by several more of his at Tripurāntakam, the eastern gateway of Śrīśailam. One of them[5] dated on the very same date as the Māchupalle inscription has a benedictory verse at the end commencing with the words, *Śivam=astu sarvva-jagatiḥ(tām) parahita-niratā bhavantu bhūta-gaṇāḥ*, etc.

The *ēkadaṇḍi-saṁnyāsins* referred to in the record under study and for whose maintenance Vāsudēva Nāyaka made provision, were evidently a class of mendicant monks residing in the *Malaiyāṇi-maṭha* at the village. They were following the Śaiva tenets as indicated by the benediction at the end of the record, the significance of which has been pointed out above. Reference to *ēkadaṇḍins* and to similar orders of monkhood like the *tridaṇḍins* and *ēkākis* are found in inscriptions all over South India. It is noticed that these classes lived in the precincts of both Śiva and Vishṇu temples.[6]

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[1] *An. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1940-1943, part II, p. 256.

[2] Tripurāntakam (Markapur taluk, Guntur District), Kāḷēśvaram (Nizam's Dominions) and Alampuram were similarly sanctified as the eastern, the northern and the western gateways of Śrīśailam.

[3] It may be recalled that another Kaḷukaḍapura chief, Āhavamalla, consecrated the temple of Mūlasthāna-Pāpavināśadēva in honour of his *Pāśupata guru*, Tapōdhana Jīyar at Taṅgaṭūru noticed above.

[4] R. G. Bhandarkar: *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems* (1913), pp. 119 ff.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 346.

[6] In the temple of Bhaktavatsala-Perumāḷ at Shermādēvi, Tirunelveli District, there flourished an institution called the *Vēda-Vyāsa-maṭha* in which lived the holy order of *ēkadaṇḍa-bhaṭṭāras* who recited and expounded the *Śāstras* (No. 344 of 1911 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). An inscription in the Vēdanārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ temple at Murappunāḍu *alias* Pōsaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the same district records a donation made by the assembly of the village to the deity Narasiṁha Paramasvāmin worshipped in the *maṭha* of *ēkadaṇḍi-paramahaṁsas* (No. 435 of 1906 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). In the *Madiśaṅkara-Perumāḷ-maṭha* attached to the temple of Appan (god Nārāyaṇa) at Shermādēvi, Tirunelveli District, a number of *tridaṇḍi-saṁnyāsins* and *paradēśi-Śrīvaishṇavas* are stated to have lived (Nos. 667 and 675 of 1916 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). The same order of *saṁnyāsins* and some *ēkāki-Śrīvaishṇavas* were maintained in the *Tirunoṇḍuḍaiyān-maṭha* attached to the famous Vishṇu temple at Alagarkoil near Madura (No. 277 of 1930 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). In the precincts of the Kōdīśvara temple at Beḷagāmi, Mysore State, there flourished the *Kōḍiya-maṭha* which afforded shelter to various orders of ascetics like *kāḷāmukha*, *ēkadaṇḍi*, *tridaṇḍi*, *haṁsa*, *paramahaṁsa* and other mendicants arriving from different countries (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Shikarpur 102). Madhuvarasa, a general of Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara is stated to have erected an *anushṭhāna-bhavana* (home of religious practice) at Nāgavāvi (Nagai, Nizam's Dominions) for the *ēkadaṇḍi*, *tridaṇḍi*, *sakala*, *haṁsa*, *paramahaṁsa*, and other spiritual aspirants (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1915, p. 47; *Hyd. Arch. Ser.* No. 8, pp. 24, 30, 35).

In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1912, para. 38, it has been suggested that '*ēkadaṇḍis* as distinguished from *tridaṇḍis* were evidently followers of a school of Vaishṇava *saṁnyāsins* who carried in their hands a single bamboo rod as an emblem of the order to which they belonged. The *tridaṇḍis*, on the other hand, carried three such rods tied together into one and belonged to the *Advaita* school of Śaṅkara.' The difference, however, seems to be based on the conception and practice of *saṁnyāsa* and on the level of asceticism attained by each order along the path of renunciation of the self and the realisation of *ātman*. Some Sanskṛit texts which mention these orders seem to emphasise only this aspect. For example we have in the *Manusmṛiti* the verses:

Vāg-daṇḍō=tha manō-daṇḍaḥ kāya-daṇḍas=tath=aiva cha |
Yasy=aitē nihitā buddhau tridaṇḍ=īti sa uchyatē |
Tridaṇḍam=ētan=nikshipya sarva-bhūtēshu mānavaḥ |
Kāma-krōdhau tu saṁyamya tataḥ siddhiṁ nigachchhati || (Canto XII, vv 10 and 11).

The *Nārada-parivrājaka-upanishad* (*Pañchamōpadēśaḥ*, v. 2 (*Īśādyashṭōttara-śat-ōpanishad*, Nirnayasagar ed. 1932, p. 263) says that a man who has *jñāna* as his staff is said to be *ēkadaṇḍi* (*jñāna-daṇḍō dhṛitō yēna ēkadaṇḍī sa uchyatē*). Monier Williams defines *ēkadaṇḍi* as the name of a class of monks and of a *Vēdānta* school. He refers to a work called *ēkadaṇḍi-saṁnyāsa-vidhi* which I am unable to trace. Apte says that *ēkadaṇḍis* are divided into four orders, viz., *kuṭīchaka*, *bahūdaka*, *haṁsa* and *paramahaṁsa*, the one following being of higher status (*uttamaḥ*) than the preceding one. Both the *Nārada-parivrājaka-upanishad* (p. 272) and the *Saṁnyāsōpanishad* (*Adhyāya* 2, p. 413) while speaking of *saṁnyāsa* say that they are of six orders, viz., *kuṭīchaka*, *bahūdaka*, *haṁsa*, *paramahaṁsa*, *turīyātīta* and *avadhūta*, the one following being a higher class of *saṁnyāsa*-hood than the preceding one. The characteristics, i.e., dress, mode of conduct and living, etc., of each order are then detailed.

I am not in a position to affirm whether a *tridaṇḍī* or an *ēkadaṇḍī* was of a superior order of *sannyāsins*. That actually a bamboo rod was carried, whether of one stick or of three tied together, is more than clear from the statements in the *Sannyāsa-upanishad*[1] to the effect that a bamboo rod (*vaiṇavam-daṇḍam*), free from notches and insects, straight and strong and obtained from a holy place should be carried and that none should go even a small distance without a *daṇḍa*.

Māsaruppaḷḷi, the gift-village, is represented by the present village of Māchupalle, Siddhavattam *tāluk*, Cuddapah District, situated five miles west of Siddhavaṭṭam, the findspot of the inscription here published. From the etymology of the name we learn that it has much philosophical meaning as it is composed of the words *māsa+aṟu+paḷḷi*, that is to say, a village (*paḷḷi*) where *dōsha* or sin (*māsu*) is removed (*aṟu*). True to its import the place had a religious establishment for the practice of austerities by which sins could be washed away. It is not certain whether by the suffix *-paḷḷi* we have to understand that the place was or had formerly been a Jaina or Buddhist centre for the term *paḷḷi* is usually associated with Jaina or Buddhist settlements.

Mutti-vaḷanāḍu, in which Vallūru is stated to have been situated, is apparently the engraver's mistake for Muḷki-vaḷanāḍu corresponding roughly to a portion of the Cuddapah District. Vallūru which retains its name to the present day is situated in Kamalapuram taluk of this District.

TEXT

First Side

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śakaraiy-āṇḍu
2 1178 āvad=āṇa Rākshada(sa) sa-
3 mvachcharattu Karkaṭaka-nāya-
4 ṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu Śevvā-
5 (y)kku(ki)ḻamaiyum Baurṇa(Paurṇa)māvā-
6 Syaiyum peṟṟa Tiruv[ō]-
7 ṇattu nā[ḷ] [|*] svasti sa[ma*]sta-pra-
8 śasti-sahitam śrīman-ma-
9 hāmaṇḍalēśvaran Trai-
10 lōkyamalla bhujabala(bal)-
11 la-vīranārāyaṇa nissa-
12 mka[pra]tāpa Sōmidēva Ma-
13 hārājar=kkuḍukka śrīmatu
14 gaṇḍaraṇḍā[ra*] [ma]ṇḍalika-bra-
15 [hma]rākshasan=āna Gadige-
16 ya-sa(sā)hasiyār Mutti (Muḷki)-va-
17 ḷanāḍ[u]il Vallūri-
18 l pṛiti(thi)virājyam paṇṇu[gi]ṟa i-
19 n-nāḷil grahaṇa-kālattil
20 Śrīparvvata-de(da)kshi[ṇ]a-dvāra sa-
21 mīpattu Māsa[ṟu]ppalliyai
22 Malamaṇḍalattu Bhārggava-
23 gōtrattu-kKālaḍi Vāsu-
24 dēva Nāyakkarku priti-dā-
25 nam-āga [tā(dhā)rā]-pūrvvam paṇṇi-
26 kku[du]kkaiyāl innāya-
27 kkarum [i]vvūril brahma-
28 puriy-āga Pitāmaha-gō-
29 trattu Sittamaraiar pi[ḷ]-
30 [ḷai] Perumāḷukku dhā-
31 rāpūrvvaka[m] paṇṇi-kku-
32 dutta [ni]la(m=ā)vadu [|*] 1 . . . .
33 . ti . . . . yum-ngava-
34-35 *damaged*

[1] [illegible]-*upanishad*, (Nirnaya Sagar Ed., 1932), p. 412.

B. Ch. Chhabra

Reg. No. 555 H E(C)' 51-489.

Scale:
One-Seventh

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

Second Side

1 ppaṅguga[l]il āru yi-
2 kkollaiyum ni[k]-
3 ki ninra kottadil
4 uḍaiyār Śittavaḍam-u-
5 ḍaiya Nāyanār[k*]ku-ttiru-
6 ppaḷḷi-eḻuchchi-ttiruv-a-
7 mudukku oru-paṅgum Ma-
8 laiyāṇi-maḍattil ē-
9 kadaṇḍi-sanyāsigaḷukku
10 bhikshaikkum anushṭā[na]-
11 m paṇṇi yirukku[m*] Malaiy[ā*]
12 ṇa-brāmmaṇarku jīvaṇat-
13 tukkum-āga mukkūṟum-[ā]
14 ga ippaḍi ivvūr nāṟp[ā]-
15 [l] ellaikkum-utpada ma-
16 [nai]-v(y)-ellām iṟrai nā-
17]il Sōmidēvaraśaru-
18 m Gaṅge Śāgaṇiyāru-
19 m enakku śandi[rādi*]tta-varai
20 eppēṟpaṭṭa [prāpti]-
21 gaḷum-utpaḍa-kkuḍuttu-
22 ttā(dhā)rā-pūrvvam paṇṇina-
23 paḍiyē nāṇum ivar-
24 gaḷukku-ttā(dhā)rā-pūrvva[m*] paṇ-
25 ṇi-kkuḍuttēṇ Kāla-
26 ḍi Vāsudēva Nāyaka-
27 nēṇ [|*] i-ttanmattuk-
28 ku ārēṇum aḻivu ninai-
29 ttār-aṇḍ-āgil Ga-
30 ṅgai Gōdāvi(va)ri na-
31 ḍu āyiraṅ-gō-biṟ[ā]-
32 maṇarai-kkonrā-
33 ṉ pakka lōkam
34 puguvāṉ [|*] Śrī mālō-
35 śvaram viḷaṅga [|*]
36 naṉṟ-āga [|*]

No. 22—DIVE AGAR MARATHI COPPER CHARTER ; SAKA 982.

(*1 Plate*)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, POONA

This single sheet of a copper plate was obtained by me in the village **Divē Agar,** in the Janjira area of the Bombay State, through the courtesy of Shri. S. N. Joshi-Patwardhan, a resident of the village, in May 1949. It is reported to have been found by a farmer while digging for earth in his *wāḍi*. The plate measures about 6½ inches broad and 3½ inches high, and has a small hole in the middle of the margin on its proper left, through which a copper ring is passed. The ring is quite plain and does not bear traces of a seal. It is possible that a blank sheet of copper, now missing, was strung on this ring which held them both together, though the inscription on the extant plate is complete in itself.

The inscription consists of 9 lines of writing in characters of the Nāgarī **alphabet,** current in the 11th century. Influence of the southern alphabet may be traced in the forms of a few letters, *e.g.*, *s* in l. 3. We may also note the southern forms of the numerals 9 and 7 in lines 1 and 6.

The **language** of the inscription is early Marāṭhī. As regards orthography there are several points which attract our attention. Though *sa* and *śa* are generally very well distinguished throughout the record, the occasional use of *sa* for *śa* is to be noted as in सव्वंरी in line 1 and सासनें in line 3. The *pṛishṭha-mātrā* is used to denote medial *ai* in several places ; but not so in medial *ē*, except in line 9 where it is used thrice. The abbreviations are indicated by a small circle and a

visarga in line 6 where सु० गा: stands for सुवर्ण गद्याणका: ; and it is interesting to see that the word preceding the *visarga* is lengthened as गा. In line 6 सुर्व्व: appears to be the abbreviated form of सुवर्ण. The doubling of consonants is seen in the words सर्व्वरी (line 1), मार्ग्गसिर (line 2), and सुवर्ण्ण: (lines 5 and 9).

From the linguistic point of view the following peculiarities may be noticed. There is a distinct tendency towards *nasalisation* in certain words as in स्थितिपुरिचीं in line 2, सासनें in line 3, ठवियलीं in line 5 and ठवियलें in line 6. The *anusvāra* is used to denote the plural in the case of सासनें in line 3 ; but in the words प्रमुखें स्थानें it indicates the subject in the instrumental case. The use of redundant *visarga* is noted twice, पासें: in line 5 and दावोदर: in line 6. Certain nouns have *u* endings as in संवतु in line 1, योगक्षेमु in line 7 and देवलु in line 9. These and other peculiarities characterise this early record in the Marāṭhi language.

The date of the inscription is given as Śaka Saṁvat 982, Śārvarī, Paurṇṇamāsī of Mārgaśirsha, Friday. This date[1] regularly corresponds to Friday, 10th November, A. D. 1060.

A short one-line inscription[2] carved at the base of the colossal statue of Gōmaṭēśvara at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, in the Mysore State, is supposed to be the earliest record in the Marāṭhī language discovered so far. Though not precisely dated, this inscription is attributed to about A. D. 983 from the mention of Chāvuṇḍarāya, a minister of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla, found in this inscription. Comparatively very few records in Marāṭhi have been handed down to us till about the Śilāhāra-Yādava period, whose language is a mixture of Sanskrit and early Marāṭhi. After about A. D. 1200 inscriptions in Marāṭhi become a regular feature in Mahārāshṭra, but great difficulty is experienced in deciphering them because of the bad preservation of the stone on which they are generally found incised. Only a few amongst these have been critically edited,[3] though their readings are not free from doubt. For want of accurate data the development of the Marāṭhi language through its successive stages therefore still remains a desideratum and our knowledge of early Marāṭhī records before the 12th century does not extend beyond about six or seven inscriptions published so far. In view of this the present charter in Marāṭhi which is fairly lengthy and sufficiently well preserved will be found to be much useful.

The inscription records a private deed. It states that on the aforementioned day, two *śāsanas* (charters) regarding (the village) Sthitipurī were kept with one Māvala-bhaṭṭa by the village assembly (*sthāna*)[4] headed by Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭa, Vāyā Shaḍaṅgavi, Risiyappa Ghaisāsa and Sidhū Shaḍaṅgavi. Further, one hundred and twenty seven *suvarṇas* (=Gadyāṇaka coins) were kept with Dāvōdara ; (which was the expense) for the maintenance ((*yōga-kshēmu*) of the assembly. This (deed) was known to Risiya-pai, Paṁmva-dēva Shaḍaṅgavi, Tikai Shaḍaṅgavi, Jivaṇai, Nāgaruāra-bhaṭṭa, Madhuvai Shaḍaṅgavi and Madhuvaya Dēvalu, of Dīvā. The inscription ends with a sentence stating that whatever *suvarṇa* (i.e., the amount in gold) was specified, it was along with a *kāṭha*. The exact meaning of the last word cannot be construed satisfactorily.

Though the inscription does not furnish any information of historical interest, it throws valuable light on the administration of the local village assemblies ; and how certain important transactions were recorded in the period. It will be seen from it that two important charters

[1] Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 123.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, No. 179 ; above, Vol. VII, p. 108.

[3] The Marāṭhi text of these inscriptions consists of a few words or sentences in that language ; the major portion is mainly Sanskrit.

[4] [See below, p. 123, n. 5.—Ed.]

belonging to a village were kept with a private person with the consent of the assembly and that the sum for the maintenance of the assembly was handed over to another person apparently in trust, the names of several witnesses to this deed also being cited.[1] The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the inscription seem to be very learned persons as several of them have the appellation *Shaḍaṅgavi*, a corrupt form of Sanskrit *Shaḍaṅgavid*, meaning well versed in the six *Aṅgas* of the *Vēda*. The Marāṭhi forms of these names are also interesting. Thus the name Dāvōdara would correspond to Sanskrit Dāmōdara ; Risiyappa to Ṛishiappa ; Sidhū to Siddha ; Pavmāvadēva with Padmadēva. The record mentions two surnames, Ghaisāsa and Dēvalu, which again are interesting. Early use of the word Ghaisāsa in the form Gahiyasāhasa is met with in the Radhanpur Plates[2] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda, dated Śaka 730, where the *gōtra* of the Brāhmaṇa is stated to be Bhāradvāja. In the Sañjan copper plates[3] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha, Śaka 793, the variant Gahiyasahāsa (or-sāhāsa) is found and the Brāhmaṇas belong to the Vaddamukha and Vatsa *gōtras*. The word occurs in several inscriptions subsequent to this period, *e.g.*, in the Chikka-Bāgewāḍi Plates[4] of Yādava Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 1171, there are several Brāhmaṇas with the appellation Ghaisāsa whose *gōtras* are variously described as Ātrēya, Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinya, Kauśika, Gōtama, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, Bhāradvāja, Mūka, Rathitara, Vasishṭha, Viśvāmitra, Śāṇḍilya, Śaunaka and Śrivatsa. From these various *gōtras* there is reason to believe that the term Ghaisāsa denotes only a position or rank and is not restricted to any particular section of Brāhmaṇas. In the present day however the surname is found among the Dēsastha, Chitpāvana and Karhāḍā Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāshṭra. Regarding the appellation Dēvalu, it corresponds to the modern surname Dēvala, found among the Chitpāvana Brāhmaṇas. It is perhaps a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Dēvalaka meaning the worshipper in a shrine or a temple.

The word *sthāna* in the sense of a village assembly is met with in several inscriptions[5] and does not need any comment.

There are only two **geographical places** mentioned in the record, *viz.*, Sthitipuri (line 2) and Divē (line 7). Of these the first cannot be identified precisely for want of specific details, but it may probably refer to a small village called Sthita, about three miles to the north of Divē Āgar, where the plates were found. Divē is obviously modern Divē Āgar, whose name has been Sanskritised into Dipaka-grāma in a 13th century record[6] found in the same village.

I am thankful to Shri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the Government Epigraphist's Office, Ootacamund, for his kind help rendered in recasting this article and making it suitable for publication in this journal.

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[1] [See below, n. 5.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. VI, p. 245.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 256.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 305-06. The Bendigeri plates of the same ruler, Śaka 1171, also contain the names of several Brāhmaṇas with the appellation Ghaisāsa ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 70-72. Ghaisa, Ghaiisa and Ghaiśāsa are other variants of the expression occurring in these inscriptions.

[5] [Mr. P. B. Desai, M.A., of my office observes as follows : The term *sthāna* is never met with in the inscriptions in the sense of a village assembly. *Sthāna*, in general, connotes a post or an office and its earliest use may be traced in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. In such designations as the *Sthānika*, *Sthānapati*, *Sthānāchārya*, etc., commonly occurring in inscriptions, *sthāna* means, 'holy place, religious establishment', etc. Secondarily *sthāna* also seems to have acquired the sense of 'trusteeship'. In the present inscription (lines 4 and 7) it appears to have been used to denote 'trustees'. For a detailed discussion on the topic see, B. A. Saletore, 'The Sthānikas and their Historical Importance' ; *Journal of Bomb. University*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 1-65.—Ed.]

[6] Dikshit : *Selected Inscriptions from Mahārāshṭra* (Poona 1947) ; pp. 85-88 (in Marāṭhi).

TEXT.[1]

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति शक संवतु ६८२ सर्व्वरी[3] संवत्सरे मा-

2 र्गसिर पौर्णमास्यां शुक्रे ॥ श्रीस्थितिपुरिची दो-

3 नि सासनें[4] वासुदेवभट्ट वांये[5] षडंगवि रिसिय[प्प][6]

4 षैसास सीधू[7] षडंगवि एतत्प्रमुखें स्थानें मावलभ-

5 ट्टपासेः[8] ठवियली ॥ तथा सातावीसें शत सुवर्णाः[8] दाः-

6 मोदरः पासि[9] ठवियलें । सु० गाः[10] १२७ सुर्व्वः योगक्षे-

7 मु स्थानहृचा[11] । दीवेचे रिसियपं[12] पौवदेव[13] षडं[ग*]वि-
तिकं

8 षडंगवि जोवर्ण नागरुद्रभट्ट मधुवें षडंगवि मधुव-

9 य देवसु हे जाणति । जें सुवर्णं लिहलें तें कांठेम्रः[14]
समेतः ॥

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[1] From the original plate.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read शार्व्वरी.

[4] Read शासनें.

[5] If भट्टवांये is read together, it would stand for Sanskrit भट्टपाद in which case वासुदेव भट्टवाय would be the name of one person, and not two, as indicated in the introduction.

[6] A short vertical stroke is visible below प which may stand for प्प.

[7] The *u* ending is common for proper names in Mahārāshṭra even now, e.g., राम is often changed to रामु.

[8] The *visarga* is unnecessary.

[9] Read दामोदरापासि.

[10] Abbreviation of सुवर्णगद्याणका:. It would have been difficult to recognise this if the same numerical figure were not expressed in words in the previous line.

[11] For स्थानाचा.

[12] This may be ऋषियप्प or ऋषि पै. Pai is a well known surname among the Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas. For other instances of the use of this appellation, see Bhandup plates of Silāhāra Chhittarāja, above, Vol. XII, p. 263, Berlin Museum plates of Chhittarāja, *Z. D. M. G.*, 90, p. 265 and other Silāhāra inscriptions.

[13] Sanskrit पद्मदेव ; पद्मदेव—पउमदेव—पौवदेव—पौवदेव.

[14] I am unable to explain the word कांठेम्र:. Its connection with सुवर्ण is certain. Taking the *mātrā* of कां as the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* for the following *akshara* ठे and restoring the word as कंठेम्र:, it is possible to suggest that the gold coins were perhaps strung in a necklace or कंठा. But it is clear from the context that the coins were intended for use and not for ornamental purpose. Another suggestion would be that कांठ was a kind of vessel in which the coins were kept. I am however not certain about either of these interpretations.

DIVE AGAR MARATHI COPPER CHARTER; SAKA 982

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 549 H. E. (C)' 51-479

Scale:
Enlarged to one and half size.

Survey of India, Dehra Dun.

No. 23—PESHAWAR POTSHERDS WITH KHAROSHTHI WRITINGS

(*1 Plate*)

B. Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund

In September 1945, Mr. Md. Waliullah Khan, at that time one of the Sub-Overseers attached to the then office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, Lahore,[1] under the direction of this latter officer, sent me twentyfour potsherds from Peshawar. They bear the Register Numbers 1249/1 to 1249/17, 1249/19 to 1249/24, and 1249/26. Their exact findspot is not known, but most probably they were found in the vicinity of Peshawar itself.

These potsherds are of various dimensions. No. I is the smallest of the lot, its extreme length being 1½", extreme breadth 1⅓", and thickness ⅓". No. XXIII is the biggest, its extreme length being 7½", extreme breadth 4", and thickness varying from ½" to $\frac{3}{16}$". They vary in texture also. Besides, no two pieces can be dovetailed. Judging from their curvatures, all except two are fragments of biggish pots or pitchers. The two exceptions are Nos. XVIII and XXIV. Both of them exhibit a superior finish. The former is evidently a fragment of a thin platter, painted red both inside and outside. The latter is likewise a piece of a deep cup or beaker.

No. XXIV is exceptional in another respect, too. The writing on it, consisting of five clear letters, is ' incised ', whereas on all the other pieces it is ' painted '. The ' incision' was done obviously with a stylus or some other sharp instrument while the object was still wet after it had been turned out from the potter's wheel, whereas the ' painting ' was done on the baked and finished products.

As is to be expected, the inscription on No. XXIV is very distinct, while the painted writings have very much faded. The faint traces of the latter could be deciphered with great difficulty. In order to make out the contour of individual letters, I had to moisten repeatedly the 'painted' surface of each piece with a wet sponge. The same method was followed by the draftsman, Mr. S. N. A. Subrahmanya Mudaliar, the Photographer of my office, who is responsible for the drawings reproduced here. It may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproductions of some of the pieces that the traces of the painted writings are, except in a few cases, mostly indiscernible.

Their fragmentary nature does not allow us to draw any far-reaching conclusions. It is, however, clear from some of them, especially from Nos. IX, X, XII, XX, and XXIII, that the pots containing these inscriptions belonged to a Buddhist establishment. The name *Budhamitra*, occurring on No. XXIV, is also quite consistent with that. The name actually must be *Buddhamitra*, the form *budha* being due to Prakrit influence.

Below I offer my readings of these fragmentary inscriptions and comments on them.

I

This shard contains faint traces of two almost complete letters that can be read as :

sa dha

There is just a very small remnant of another letter after the second letter, but it is too small to be recognized as a part of a particular letter. The first letter seems to have a slanting stroke over its right side, but it is comparatively thin and may not be a part of the writing.

The reading *sa dha* recalls to mind the name of an individual *Saḍhala*, that occurs in one of the minor Kharōshṭhī inscriptions from Taxila (see *C. I. I.*, II, 100, Inscribed gold ring, pl. XX-1).

[1] Mr. Md. Waliullah Khan is now the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Pakistan Circle, Lahore.

II

This piece has three letters the first of which is slightly destroyed at the top. They read :

a da na

The form of *na* shows a later development. It may be referred to the Kushāṇa period, *i.e.*, about 2nd century A. D.

No sense can be made of the extant portion of the record. The last two letters, however, suggest that they are the first two letters of the word *danamukhe* 'gift' which so frequently occur in donative Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. One of the three earthen jars with similar painted inscriptions discovered at Pālātū Dherī mound, now in the Peshawar Museum, has this expression (see *C. I. I.*, II, 121, Pl. XXIII-1*a*). On the analogy of this we may surmise that the present sherd is a piece of a pot which was a religious gift by an individual whose name is lost.

III

But for a small irregular spot of black paint about the centre showing that this piece also had some writing on it, it has now no writing left on it. The whole writing seems to have been washed clean.

IV

This piece contains remnants of three letters. The upper portion of the first letter is gone, but what remains of it suggests that it might have been a *sa* with its loop filled up. The second letter is mostly blurred. It may be a *da* or a *dha*, but in either case the form would be unusual. The third letter is almost entirely gone.

V

This potsherd has the upper portion of one letter, which is to be read as :

khe

It is very faint, but can be read when moisture is applied to the piece. There is a small trace of another letter below the left limb of *khe*, but it cannot be recognized. The reading *khe* is suggestive of *danamukhe* ' gift '. And possibly the pot was a gift by an individual. This may be compared with No. 2 above.

VI

This piece contains very small upper portion of six letters, none of which can be read with any certainty. The loop of the second suggests it to be an *a*. The last one is most probably an *a*, too. Almost completely gone.

VII

This potsherd has five letters. Bottoms of the first three have been destroyed. The fourth is complete and the fifth is only partly preserved. They read :

a ra ga to[cha]

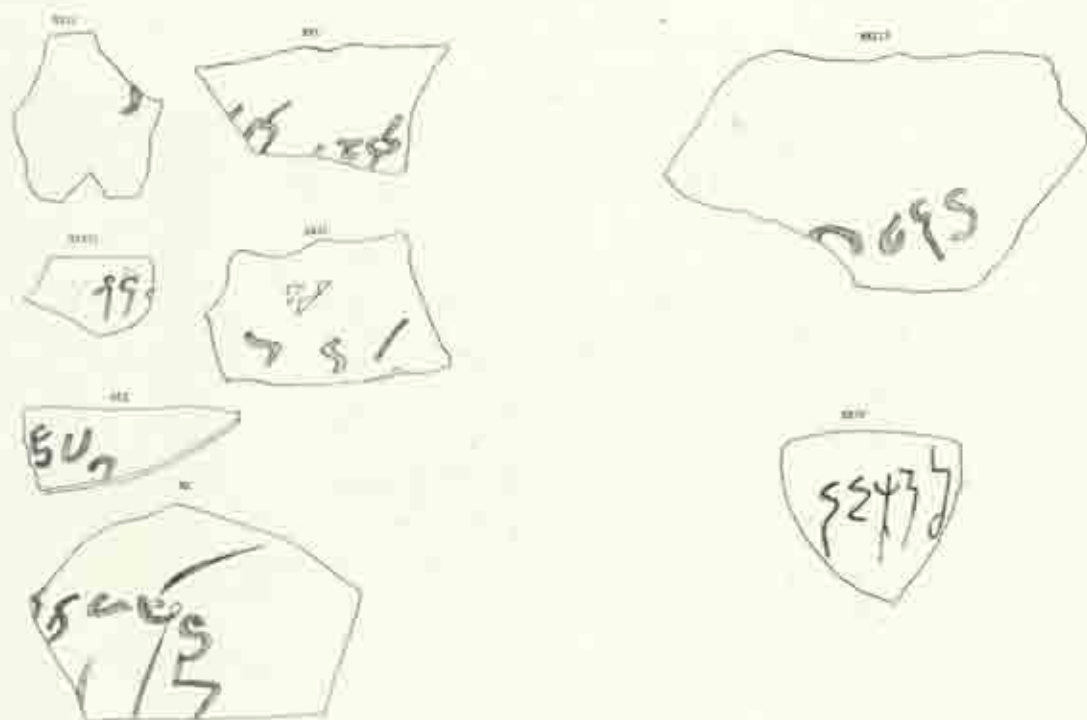
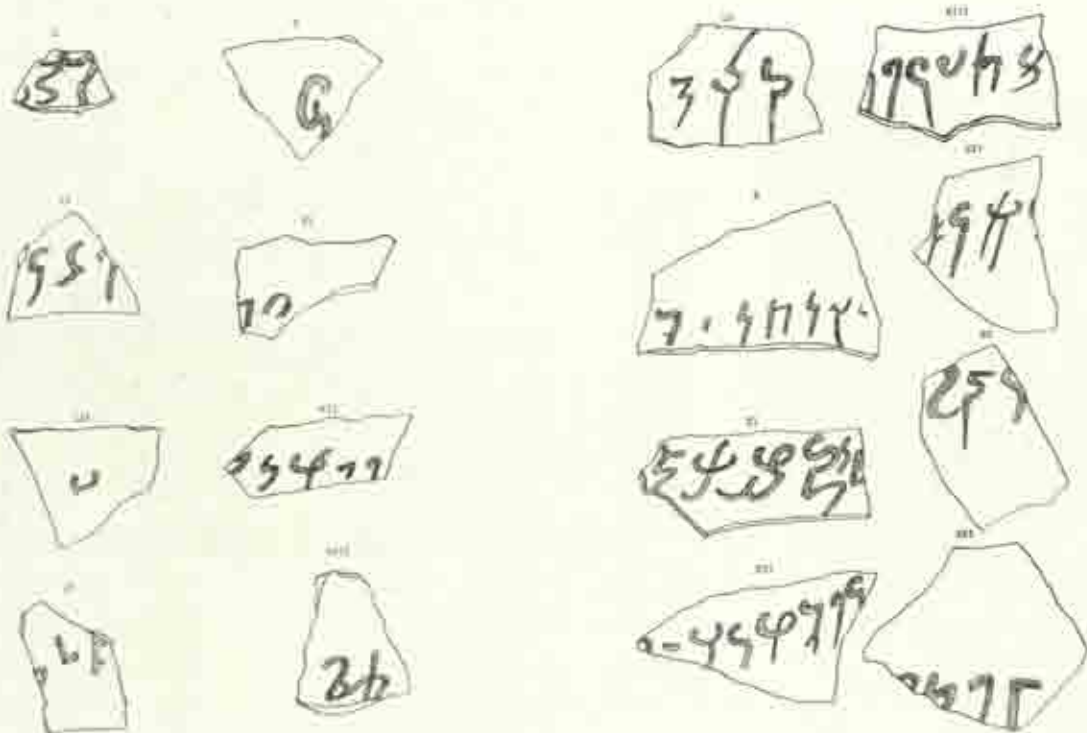
The third letter shows a stroke on the top to its right, but a careful examination showed that it is not joined with the letter *ga* and is not meant to be a part of this syllable. Again, applying moisture shows the inscription more distinctly.

No interpretation of the extant portion of the record can be suggested at this stage. Compare, however, No. XII below.

Peshawar Potsherds with Kharoshthi Writings.

B. Ch. Chhabra.
Reg. No. 5977 E'36—490'51.

Scale: Three-Tenths.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

XI and XII

XIII

XXIV

(From Photographs)

VIII

This piece contains only two letters, both clear enough. They read :

pha u

The letter *pha* is distinct, only its arm on the left is a little longer than usual. The two letters may be a name of a person, derived from *Phalgu* (→*Phagu* >*Phaü*).

IX

This sherd has three letters. They read :

sa ghe cha

The second letter looks more like *ge*, but it is taken for granted that it had a hook attached to its right to the lower end of the vertical which is now mostly effaced.

The preserved portion is almost identical with the beginning of another potsherd inscription (No. 444 of the Peshawar Museum, *C. I. I.*, II, 63, Pl. XII-3 ; *cf.* also *ibid.* 121, Pl. XXIII-1a) which is likewise fragmentary but which has at least seven letters preserved, reading :

saṁghe chatudiśe Ka

In the light of this, the present inscription may also be translated as :

'in the Saṁgha (of the four quarters)'.

X

This piece contains six complete letters and a very small remnant, in the beginning, of another.[1] They are very faint, but can be read by applying moisture to the surface. The last two are decidedly *gra ha*. The preceding one looks like *ra* but it is possibly *ri*, the upper end of the medial *i* stroke having been effaced. And what precedes it is *pa* . Thus this is a complete word *parigraha*. The first two letters are *ṇa na*, evidently the plural genitive of a word ending in *ṇa*, such as *gaṇa*. The reading is thus :

. . . . *ṇa na parig(r)aha* 'is the acceptance of. . . . '.

This may be compared with the final expression of the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51 (*C.I.I.*, II, 170, Pl. XXXIII) : *Mahasaṁghigaṇa parigraha*.

The present inscription may also be taken to end with the word *parigraha* itself, though what preceded cannot be restored now.

XI

This potsherd has six signs. The first is only partially preserved. It cannot be read with certainty, but judging from the extant remnant, it might have been *kha*. The second letter is comparatively very small and faint. It looks like a *dha*. The third is decidedly a *saṁ*, though a portion of the subscript *ṁ* is gone. The fourth syllable, though perfect, is rather unusual. Its upper part is that of *g* and the subscript is either a *y* or a *ṁ*, or possibly the whole combination is meant to denote some other sound. The fifth letter is *mi*, with the stroke of the medial *i* abnormally long and its lower end bending towards the left—rather uncommon features. The last letter is obviously a *cha*, though its lower half is gone. The whole may thus read :

[*kha* ?] *dha*(?) *saṁ gya* (or *gaṁ*) *mi cha*

It is not possible to make out any sense of this, though presumably we have a reference here to a *saṁgha* ' Buddhist congregation '. Or is it perhaps a personal name *Saṁghamicha* (Saṁghamitra) ?

[1] Owing to the faint nature of the writing, the draftsman has missed several strokes with the result that his drawing has not come out perfect.

XII

This fragment contains eight signs, the last two of which are only partly preserved and the first has its lower portion broken off. They read:

n[*e*] *arogadakshi*[*i*][*ṇae*]

Since the extant portion contains a well known formula, that frequently occurs in certain dedicatory Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, the missing portions of the letters can easily be supplied. Thus the first letter must have been a *no*, showing a word in the genitive singular. The sign of the medial *i* in *kshi* has evidently been rubbed off and what follows must be read as *ṇae* to complete the expression. It means 'for the bestowal of health upon'. Compare *C.I.I.*, II, 77, text lines 3 and 5.

XIII

This potsherd has five complete letters and the vertical stroke of another at the end, which is not recognizable. They read:

di pa ma na a [*ra* ?]

It is not possible to explain this inscription at present.

XIV

This piece has two complete letters, and traces of two letters one in the beginning and one at the end. They can be read:

[*da*] *kshi na* [*e*]

Most probably here again we had the same formula as occurs in No. XII above, namely *aroga dakshiṇae*.

XV

This piece contains faint traces of three letters the first and the last of which are partly destroyed. They seem to read:

[*da*] *sa* [*ārā*]

No sense can be made out.

XVI

The inscription on this piece is also too fragmentary to yield any sense. It has traces of five letters, only the middle three have greater portions preserved and can be read as:

....*pa a sa*....

XVII

The inscription of this potsherd is completely gone; only a part of the stroke of some letters is now visible to show that the piece contained some writing.

XVIII

This sherd has very faint traces of some letters, two of which can be read as:

sa la

These are preceded by remnants of another letter now no longer legible. What follows these two letters is almost completely obliterated.

XIX

This has three letters, the first of which is mostly destroyed but may have been an *a*. The inscription reads:

[*a*]*ma di*

The arms of *ma* are abnormally long.

XX

This piece has the beginning of an epigraph—the blank space on the right shows that no writing has been lost in the beginning. The extant portion has four almost complete letters and remnants of a fifth. They read :

Saṁghe sado...

The *e*-stroke in *ghe* is ornamentally treated. The next letter is partly effaced, but it is most probably a *sa*. The first word means ' in the *saṁgha* or congregation ', while it is difficult to say what follows it.

XXI

This fragment has remnants of about six letters only three of which (first, second and fifth) can be read with some confidence.

shye cha....*śe*....

No sense can be made out.

XXII

The inscription on this piece is almost completely obliterated. Two of the letters towards the end can be read as :

ma sa

This piece has a sign consisting of three triangles embossed near the neck of the pot, which may be an Armenian character.

XXIII

This piece has also the so-called Armenian character near the neck of the pot.

The Kharōshṭhī painted inscription is mostly damaged, but it ends in :

danamu[*khe*]

Only the upper part of the last syllable is preserved. While the form of *mu* is peculiar, it is met with in certain known Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. The word *danamukhe* means ' the gift '.

XXIV

While the inscriptions on the other fragments are all painted, the one on this piece is engraved. It has the concluding part of an inscription ; or perhaps the extant part is the complete inscription itself. The space left blank after the last letter shows that in any case nothing has been lost at the end. It clearly reads :

Budhamitram

It can be translated as ' [This cup is] of Budhamitra '.

No. 24—SANGSI MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. Desai, Ootacamund

Sāngsi is a village about five miles from Gagan Bāvḍā in the Kolhapur District of the Bombay State. It is not known when, but it must be several decades ago, at least, that a slab of stone

bearing sculptures in relief and an inscription, was unearthed in a field near the village. As the sculptures depict the funeral scene of a woman, it was readily believed that it constituted a *satī* memorial. Later on, the slab appears to have been removed to the spot where it now stands, about two miles east from Gagan Bāvḍā and 35 miles west from Kolhāpur, and a crude temple constructed over it. A tradition grew around in course of time attributing it to the memory of a woman who committed *satī* long ago.

At the instance of Mr. N. G. Pandit Rao, the then Public Relations Officer of the Kolhapur State, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. M. G. Dikshit, both of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, visited the site in 1946 and copied the inscription. These two scholars, who will hereafter be referred to as SD for the sake of brevity, have published a note on the preliminary findings of their discovery in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1947 (pp. 213-15), and a fuller study of the inscription, as also of the sculptures, in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, December 1948.[1] Subsequently Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, visited Sāngal in December 1949, and took a photograph of the tablet and estampages of the inscription.[2]

On account of the erroneous notion created by the local tradition apparently supported by the sculptural representation and owing to imperfections in the decipherment of the epigraph, SD were led to believe that the stele commemorated the performance of the rite of *satī* by a lady after the demise of her husband, and consequently their observations are vitiated by this prepossession. But the facts, as we shall presently see, are different.[3] In view of these considerations and the importance of the inscription for securing glimpses of the political and social conditions of the locality in ancient times, it was thought necessary to edit it in the pages of this journal. So I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who generously furnished me with the necessary facilities.[4]

The slab measures approximately 6 feet in height and 4 feet in breadth. It is broader and angular at the base and somewhat curved towards the top. As a result of the serious damage, the sculptures and the inscription have been obliterated in several parts. In the lower portion and about the middle of the stone is the portrait of a lady, in relief, lying down at full length on a funeral pyre surrounded by flames and some attendants. Immediately above this group and across the slab runs the inscription. Higher up in the top portion are a few more carvings.

The inscription consists of two lines. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabet and evince 'box-head' features, the 'boxes' being solid. Close resemblance may be traced between them and those of the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription[5] of Kākusthavarman of the early Kadamba family. Two letters, however, have certain peculiarities deserving notice here. The *t* of the Tāḷagunda inscription is made up by a curve joined to the vertical stroke and the two arms of the curve can be distinguished, the left one being more pronounced. But in the present record the upright stroke stretches right up to the bottom and the angular curve stands affixed all towards the left. Similar is the case with *n*. Whereas the *n* of the former epigraph is constituted of a looped curve emerging from the bottom of a straight line, that of the latter has its curve with more developed loop attached exclusively to the lower left side of the vertical stroke. The final *t* occur-

[1]Pages 181-186, with a good photograph of the entire stele and separate facsimile of the inscription.

[2]The inscription is numbered 269 of the *A.R.E.* for the year 1949-50.

[3]The record expressly states that the memorial was erected by a king in honour of his deceased wife. This correct position was noticed for the first time by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao : *Archaeology in India* (1950), p. 101. Mr. S. K. Dikshit has also pointed it out independently ; *Ann. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 291-92. After this article was prepared it was found that the late Dr. Fleet had noticed this inscription before : *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 286, n. 1.

[4] I am also indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for his kind suggestions in the study.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff. and Plate.

ring once in line 1 is represented by the lower part of the letter without the top knot, engraved in miniature size in the lower space.

In regard to **orthography** the following peculiarities, though not unusual in the present record, may be noted. The consonant following *r* is doubled, *e.g.*, in *°tēr=yyā* and *bhāryyā*, line 1. In *-ārtthaṁ*, line 2, the reduplicated aspirate has been changed to its corresponding surd, as required by the grammatical rules. The *anusvāra*, even at the end of a word, has occasionally been involved into *sandhi* and changed to the class nasal of the following letter of the next word ; *e.g.*, in *puṇyā-nām=pari-*, *ajasraṁ=tasy-* and *svayaṁ=śri-*, line 2. The entity of *anusvāra* has been retained in the following instances ; *divaṁ prityā* and *-sthāpitam chaitya-*, line 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record comprises one single verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first two *pādas* of the verse are accommodated in the first line and the next two in the second. Some space indicating the end of a *pāda* is left after the first and the third *pādas* which end in the middle of the line. The **poetry** is of the ornate classical order with a melodious ring about it.

The inscription commences with an auspicious spiral-like symbol which seems to stand for *Ōṁ*. Next comes, what I am inclined to assume it to be, the name proper of the king ; because the latter part of the expression is clearly *lāñchhana* which means 'a name' also. This name is constituted of four *aksharas* beginning with *Pu*. As suggested in a foot-note later, the name can be restored as Pushpāyudha. But since it is not advisable to venture a surmise, I would prefer to refer to the king hereafter by the initial letter Pu. . .only. Next we are introduced to the king's wife by name Hālidēvī.[1] The second *pāda* whose latter part is lost, seems to state that the lady had captured the heart of her husband by her virtuous conduct. The third *pāda* **refers to her death when she was still young**. Here the poet, indulging in a fancy, describes that she went to heaven to guard, as it were, the treasure of her accumulated merits.[2] The last *pāda* informs that the memorial tablet of stone was set up with due ceremony[3] by the king himself out of affection for her.

The epigraph is not dated and so in order to ascertain its probable **date** we have to fall back on the evidence of palaeography which is our only guide in the present instance. As observed above, the characters of this record show a remarkable similarity with those of the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription. From the reference to Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman in the latter record, it has to be assumed that it was drafted and engraved during the former's reign. Now Śāntivarman's reign has been assigned to the middle of the 5th century A. D.[4] Hence we might place our epigraph **about A.D. 500.**

Thus it becomes clear that the inscription under study constitutes an epitaph perpetuating the name of a distinguished lady who pre-deceased her royal husband and the installation of the memorial in her honour by the latter ; and no grounds whatsoever exist for the assumption that the stele comprises a *satī* memorial. This fact, though true, is rather unique. We are familiar in the areas of the Deccan and Karnāṭak with such sculptured memorials as speak of heroes who laid their lives for a sacred cause and of men and women who courted death after the demise of

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[1] This name is peculiar and rarely met with. It reminds me of another similar name Hāla, of a Sātavāhana king. I am not sure if this can be connected with Sanskrit *hala* meaning 'a plough'.

[2] In order to guard the treasure it is necessary that one should be strong and young in spirits. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the lady repaired to heaven in her youth.

[3] The expression *saṁ-sthāpitam* in the text literally means 'was installed in the proper manner'. This phrase is significant and I am inclined to believe that the memorial tablet must have been originally installed and preserved in a well-constructed shrine by the king himself. The shrine might have fallen to ruin in course of time, thus exposing the stele which came to be buried under the earth wherefrom it was rescued.

[4] George M. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 72 ; N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi, *Karnāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, p. 15 ; *A New History of Indian People*, p. 238, etc.

their masters and lords or under a religious vow. These generally date from the period of the 7-8th century onwards. But here is a singular instance, perhaps the first and the only one of its kind, known so far, that stands out as a welcome departure from the usual convention. Further, its early age lends importance to its unique nature.

After reviewing the contents of the epigraph, we may revert for a while to the **sculptures** on stone which are inseparably associated with it. The art of moulding images in plastic material was known to the civilization of the Indus Valley[1] and the history of Indian sculpture may be traced from that early age. The early creations seem to have been religious in origin and design and they generally formed part of a monument in stone or were scooped out in rocks of hills. Portrait sculpture as a secular art does not seem to have been cultivated independently by Indian artists and the few available instances of portraits[2] depicting royal devotees or distinguished personalities, associated with religious constructions, may be taken to prove the truth of the above statement. Under these circumstances, the present piece of sculpture on a detached slab deserves a noteworthy place in the account of Indian sculpture, particularly that of the Deccan region.

The **funeral scene** is well laid amidst consuming fire and a few devout followers of the lady. In their refined execution, clarity of expression, wealth of details and general impressiveness, the figures of the lady and attendants compare favourably with the early sculptures of Bharhut and Amarāvatī on one side and later ones of Ajantā and Bādāmi on the other.[3] The realistic nature of the scene may be judged from the fact that out of three followers, one is seen seated firmly facing the ordeal of fire and another is shown fleeing away unable to stand its blaze. The figures above the inscription, which are largely obliterated, represented, in all probability, the heavenly scene, as is usually noticed on the memorial slabs of *satīs* and heroes of later period.

No details regarding the place or family of king Pu... are mentioned in the epigraph. But it would be, perhaps, too much to expect them in an epitaph of the kind. During the period represented by the inscription, the rulers of the early Kadamba house were still powerful and their sway extended as far as the area of the Belgaum District[4] in the north. We are not sure if the Kolhāpur region also was included in their territory. At this time the area of the Sātārā District and the tract further north were under the administration of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes of Mānapura.[5] There is no indication to assume whether king Pu... was a subordinate ruler under either of these. Or as is more plausible, he was maintaining a semi-independent status, his chiefdom being situated in a corner on the border of and in between the two above-named kingdoms. The headquarters of this chiefdom lay, most probably, not far away from the provenance of the memorial tablet.

TEXT[6]

1 Ōṁ[7][| *] Śr[ī-Pu][8] – ⏑ ⏑[lā]ñchhanasya nṛipatēr=yyā Hāl[9]dēv=īty=abhūt bhāryyā sach-charitēna bha[r]tri [10]⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

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[1] St. Kramrisch : *Indian Sculpture*, Plate I.

[2] T. G. Aravamuthan : *Portrait Sculpture in South India*. Also compare, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5 where references to *dēvakula* in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* and *yava-āyatana* in the Mathurā pillar inscription are discussed.

[3] *Indian Sculpture* (op. cit.), Plates iv, xii, xxiv, xxv, etc.

[4] Halsi in this district was an important seat of the early Kadamba power and inscriptions of the early Kadamba rulers issued from this place indicate the extent of their authority over this region ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 23-24, 28 and 30 ; etc.

[5] *Ann. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-42.

[6] From the impressions.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] The subscript of the second *akshara* of this expression which appears to be a personal name, might be *p*. So the name may be restored either as Pushpāyudha or Pushpadhvaja to suit the metre. Of these the former is preferable as it appears to be familiar.

[9] The metre requires that the second syllable of this name be *li*.

[10] This *akshara* might be *hri* some traces of which are seen. If so, the word may possibly be restored as *Aridayam*.

(From a Photograph)

R. Ch. Chhabra

Survey of India, Dehra Dun
Reg. No. 554 H. E. (C) 51-499

2 puṇyā[nā[1]]m-parirakshaṇ-ārttham-aja[2]ran=tasyā gatāyā[3] [di][4]vaṁ prītyā śa[5]ilam=idaṁ svayaṁ(ya)n=nṛipati[nā][6] saṁ[6]sthāpitam ch[aityakaṁ[7]] [||[*]]

TRANSLATION

Hail! This funereal memorial in stone has been installed by the king himself—the king bearing the illustrious appellation[8] Pu.... out of affection for his *(beloved)* queen Hālldēvī who *(having won the heart of)* her lord by her noble character, repaired to heaven before the advent of old age, to guard *(assiduously, as it were,)* the *(accumulated treasure of her)* religious merits.

No. 25—AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SALIHUNDAM

(4 Plates and 1 text figure)

T. N. Ramachandran, Calcutta

The latest accessions to our knowledge of the schools of Buddhist art, architecture and iconography in general and of South Indian epigraphy in particular have been contributed by the discovery in Āndhra-dēśa, of a number of Buddhist sculptures, *stūpas* or *mahāchaityas*, *chaityas* or prayer-cells or halls and *vihāras* or monasteries, dug up at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur District, Kāpavaram and Āduṟṟu in the East Godavari District, and Sālihuṇḍām,[9] Śaṅkarām and Rāmatīrtham in the Vizagapatam District.[10] On the hill at **Sālihuṇḍām**, overlooking the river Vaṁśadhārā and the Bay of Bengal, 3 miles further down, was discovered a curious but very interesting monastic orientation (plates I and II) with a high apsidal *chaitya* on the summit of the hill crowning the hill, as it were (plate I-c), a circular or wheel-like *mahāchaitya* behind it with bricks laid flat on its entire surface instead of the usual, spokes and hub arrangement that one meets with in the Āndhra *stūpas* (plates I-a, b, plate III-a), and with the regular monastery and smaller *chaityas*, two of them *Buddha-chaityas* and votive *stūpas* scattered on the sides and slopes of the hill (plate II). As at Maināmatī (Madanāvatī) and Lālmāī in East Bengal, where the author of this article had to save a large and rich site[11] from Military depredation and spoliation, the discoveries here are the results of a hurried survey and excavation by the author necessitated by

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[1] This *akshara* is lost; but it must be without doubt *nā*.

[2] The *akshara ja* is not properly engraved.

[3] There are dots, one above the letter *ga* and another towards left above *yā*. If these are construed as misplaced *anusvāras* of *syā* and *yā*, the reading would be *tasyāṁ gatāyāṁ*. This can be taken as a clause in *sati saptamī* and will yield quite a good sense. But it is better to take these dots as only flaws in the stone, for the *anusvāras* proper are bigger and circular; cf., *'m=idaṁ* and *svayaṁ* in the same line.

[4] The letter *di* is damaged and not sufficiently clear. But it can be restored with confidence.

[5] The letter *śa* is lost; but it can be confidently restored.

[6] The *anusvāra* of *saṁ* appears to have been wrongly placed above the next *akshara sthā*.

[7] The second *akshara* of this word is partly preserved and the last one is restored suitably.

[8] It is not unlikely that the name of the king was simply Kāmadēva and the composer elaborately paraphrased it as Pushpāyudha to make it more poetic and for the convenience of metre.

[9] A brief reference to the finds at Sālihuṇḍām was made by the writer in his Presidential address to the Archaeology Section of the 13th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, October 1946, p. 14 and in his address at the Silver Jubilee Session of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, April 1948, p. 31. [Mr. A. H. Longhurst has described the Buddhist ruins of Sālihuṇḍām in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras*, for the year 1919-20, pp. 34-38. The site has already yielded some inscriptions of about the 7th or 8th century A.C. (Nos. 338-342 of the Madras Epigraphical collection of 1919). The caskets, etc., described in the present article are, however, subsequent discoveries.—Ed.]

[10] Sālihuṇḍām is now included in the Śrīkākuḷam (Chicacole) Taluk of the district of the same name.

[11] *B. C. Law Volume*, part II, Poona, 1946, pp. 213-231.

large-scale spoliation of the hill for bricks, building material and road material in which, strange to say, the P. W. D. took a leading part. The survey was commenced in 1943-44 and continued in 1946-47 and it may not be out of place here if such of the structures as were saved and antiquities as were salvaged are very briefly described in this article. It is of great interest that crystal reliquaries shaped like *stūpas*, with gold relics in them in the shape of flowers (*svarṇapushpas*), were found in the *mahāchaitya* behind the apsidal *chaitya* on the crown of the Sālihuṇḍām hill (plate III-b, c).

The chaitya : (plate I-c)—Though the *chaitya* on the top of the hill is actually in ruins, one can judge from its remains that it stood to a considerable height, and being juxtaposed on the topmost and narrowest point of the hill should have been clearly visible from the sea-port of Kaliṅgapaṭṇam which is only three miles away from the hill (plate II-a, c). Evidently, Buddhist pilgrims and merchants came here to offer their tributes from the sea-side along the Vaṁśadhārā river. The *chaitya*, which is apsidal, still bears its old lime plaster (plate I-c) which glistens in the sun as though it was just finished off. Right in the centre was a votive *stūpa* of lime-stone, the basement of which alone now remains, the rest having been pilfered, as I was told, by treasure-hunters and house-builders.

The mahāchaitya : (plate I-a, b, d ; III-a)—Behind the apsidal *chaitya* lay the *stūpa* or the *mahāchaitya*, of complete brick-work, in the form of a wheel and with bricks laid flat on its surface as one can judge from the existing height of its ruins (plate I-b ; III-a). A few pieces of a curvilinear moulding are all that remain to-day of a lower plinth that faced the *mahāchaitya* at its lowest part or base. Such pieces compare well in their architectural function with what, in the Amarāvatī inscriptions, are called ' abatamālā ', a name applied to the lowermost and slightly projecting mouldings of the rail of the Amarāvatī *stūpa*. This *stūpa* appears to have been the most important one on the Sālihuṇḍām hill, or shall we say in this part of the Kaliṅga, for, it not only departs from the general hub-and-spokes arrangement of the brick frame-work of the Āndhra *stūpa*, though retaining its wheel-like outer shape, but also yielded 3 stone caskets and 3 crystal reliquaries. The 3 crystal reliquaries are shaped like *stūpas* and each was found in a stone *karaṇḍa* or casket (plate I-d, III-a). In the arrangement of the stone *karaṇḍas*, which in shape recall the three stone caskets found in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *stūpa*, in Repalli Taluk of the Guntur District, there is a remarkable deviation from the Āndhra *stūpa*. While at Bhaṭṭiprolu their juxtaposition was vertical and the three were found right in the centre at convenient inter-space, here at Sālihuṇḍām they were arranged at equal distance from each other, in a horizontal row along the diameter of the *mahāchaitya* which, as we have already remarked was shaped like a wheel (plate III-a). The stone caskets were in two parts each, a receptacle and the lid (plate I-d). Two of them are rectangular in shape while the third is circular and bigger and was found right in the centre of the *mahāchaitya* (plate III-a). Its receptacle-part was shaped like the drum of a *stūpa*, while its lid resembled the *aṇḍa* (dome) and *harmikā* (pavilion) parts of the *stūpa*. The central casket or *karaṇḍa* seems to suggest by its form that it was meant to resemble the *mahāchaitya* itself.

The contents of the caskets are of untold importance to the Buddhist world. While they are crystal reliquaries like those of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *stūpa*—three in number, one in each stone casket—they recall by their shape three different forms of the *stūpa* that were known to the ancient architects of India. And for this reason they are described here briefly. The first crystal reliquary, which was found in one of the rectangular *karaṇḍas* (plate III-b, c) recalls the simple type of the *stūpa*. It is spiroidal (not a hemispherical dome though that was what was meant) and consists of two parts, a big and all-assuming part and a small circular part or base which slips underneath the former so completely as to create the impression that the two are of one indivisible unit. But when these two parts thus united, are scanned from above, they reveal a slot of space in the body of the crystal in which rests a gold flower (*svarṇa-pushpa*) glittering like burnished gold, which

An Inscribed Pot and other Buddhist Remains in Salihundam

(I)

a. SALIHUNDAM.—A SMALL STUPA AND STUPA-CHAITYA ON THE NORTHERN SLOPE OF THE HILL.

c. SALIHUNDAM.—A SMALL STUPA ON THE EASTERN ELEVATION OF THE HILL.

b. SALIHUNDAM.—BRICK BUDDHA-CHAITYA

d. SALIHUNDAM.—BRICK BUDDHA-CHAITYA SHOWING STUCCO BUDDHA

is due to the small slot being rendered free from atmospheric action as in a hermetically sealed chamber (plate III-c).

The second crystal reliquary found in the second rectangular casket (plate I-d) consists of two parts, a broad and circular receptacle with its ridge raised in the centre so as to form a cavity, within which were found five complete gold flowers and a sixth flower in three bits, and a lid in the shape of a dome with a square pavilion (*harmikā*) and the shaft of the *chhatra* superimposed (plate III-c).

The third crystal reliquary is the most interesting as it is a perfect representation in miniature of the extant form of *stūpa* construction such as Amarāvatī, Gōli and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have revealed to us. It consists of 4 parts—a broad and circular base (*vēdikā*) or receptacle with a cavity of high ridge within which were found two gold flowers in five pieces, a dome (*aṇḍa*), a cubical pavilion (*harmikā*) with four circular holes for each side resembling a rail with cross-bars, upright pillars and coping complete, and a cylindrical part surmounting the *harmikā* which resembles the shaft of an umbrella. Though similar gold flowers found elsewhere are described as "star-shaped", it will be correct to describe them as "flower-shaped" as they are indeed *svarṇa-pushpas*. To most Indians the ritual in daily *ārādhanā* (*pūjāvidhi*) relating to *svarṇa-pushpa-samarpaṇa* is well-known. In the absence of gold, the *yajamāna* offers to the priest equivalent or token money.

Buddha-chaityas : (plate II-b and d)—Two *Buddha-chaityas*, apsidal, were found on the slope of the hill as we walk up to the hill-top where the *mahāchaitya* and the high *chaitya* (with bright plaster) are located. One of them, now in utter ruins (plate II-d), preserves a seated figure of the Buddha. What remains shows only the lower part of the Buddha's *torso* below the chest, his waist, thighs and folded or crossed legs. The figure shows brick frame-work with a good and thick stucco finish. Stucco, though common in Taxila, occurs very rarely in South India. Stucco-occurrence at Sālihuṇḍāṃ again marks the place as of singular importance.

The second one (plate II-b) preserves at its apsidal end a huge pedestal of entire brick-work on which a seated Buddha figure (also of brick and perhaps also of stucco-finish) was once installed. We can make out now only the folded legs of the Buddha figure. The pedestal presents five sunk panels, in two of which lion-heads (also of brick-work) can be made out, suggesting that the pedestal was a *siṁhāsana* and the Master who sat on it was no other than Śākyasiṁha. Similar arrangement is also found at Nālandā and Taxila. This *Buddha-chaitya* is very important, for in it and in front of the pedestal, almost touching it, were dug out a few specimens of pottery of brightly polished red ware of which the three figured in this article (plate IV-b) are very interesting. One is the finial of the *chaitya* that adorned its roof and should have got itself lodged where we found it when the roof and superstructure fell. The other two are drinking vessels for monastic use (*kuṇḍikās*). One is in a good state of preservation with its glazed surface and neck complete; the other is similar to the one just described except that its neck is broken off and missing. This latter is of utmost importance inasmuch as it has an **inscription** engraved on its body near the base of the neck (plate IV-a). The incision of the inscription is very light and its execution has been so neat and artistic that the circular or concentric form of the pot is maintained : the mouth, the inscription and the outer edge of the pot are all in circles. The **language** of the inscription is Prākrit and the **script** Brāhmī of the second century A. C., if not of an earlier period. The *lipi* is similar to that of the Mathurā inscription of the Kushāṇa emperor Huvishka of date 106 A.C., to the *Saka-śāsana-lipi* and the *Sātavāhana-śāsana-lipi*, all of the early part of the second century A.C. **Below I give my reading and interpretation of the inscription.**

TEXT

Haṁkuḍa(or *ḍe*)*yika-rāṭṭapaālaka-vochhigāna*[*ṁ*]-*Kaṭṭahārāma*

TRANSLATION

(*This pot belongs to*) the Kaṭṭahārāma (or Kaṭṭahāra ārāma) of (=endowed by) the sons (offspring) of the Rāshṭrapālaka (*by name*) Haṁkudeyika.

Note

It may be inferred that the *Kaṭṭahāra ārāma* was the donation of the sons of the Rāshṭrapālaka of the place or village Haṁkudeyi or Haṁkudayi, who hailed from the village that bore such a name. Haṁkudeyika or Haṁkudayika may even stand for Saṁkudeyika, as *ha* and *sa* interchange. The name Haṁkudayi, Haṁkudeyi or Saṁkudayi, sounds like Kaludayi, a Buddhist name, and for that reason may be taken to be the name of the Rāshṭrapālaka referred to in the inscription. *Kaṭṭaha* reminds us of *Kaṭāha* in Palembang and the overseas colonisation from the Kaliṅga country and the Tamil name Kaḍāram near Nāgapaṭṭam (*cf.* Kaḍāraṁ-Koṇḍān) and the Tamil Kāḷagaṁ (Kāḷagattākkamum). The term also reminds us of the *Kaṭṭahārasutta*[1] of the Buddha which was associated with Kōsala. If the term *Kaṭṭahārāma* is taken as a contraction for *Kaṭṭahāra* + *ārāma*, then we get *Kaṭṭahārārāma* which by the law of *sakṛidavasthāna* or haplology becomes *Kaṭṭahārāma* just as we have it in the inscription (*cf.* Krishṇa + nagar=Krishnagar). It is refreshing indeed to note that a Buddhist Monastery (*ārāma*) is named after the *Kaṭṭahārasutta* which the Buddha, from out of his kindness, propounded to a group of *Kaṭṭahārakas* or faggot-carriers who lived in Kōsala. It is said that the Buddha travelled to Kōsala to give the Kaṭṭahārakas of Kōsala a sermon, which from thence onwards came to be called *Kaṭṭahārasutta*. Kōsala is but the country adjoining the Kaliṅga, and the river Vaṁśadhārā, on which the *Kaṭṭahāra ārāma* was situated, flows through Kōsala before it comes into the Kaliṅga (see Text Fig. 1 below).

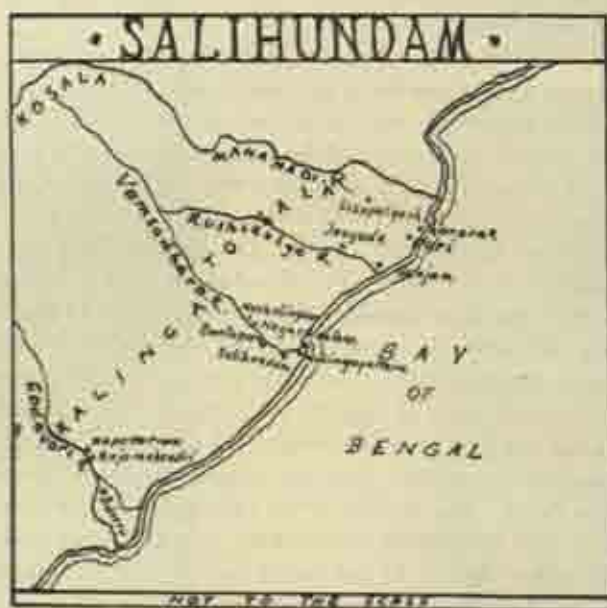
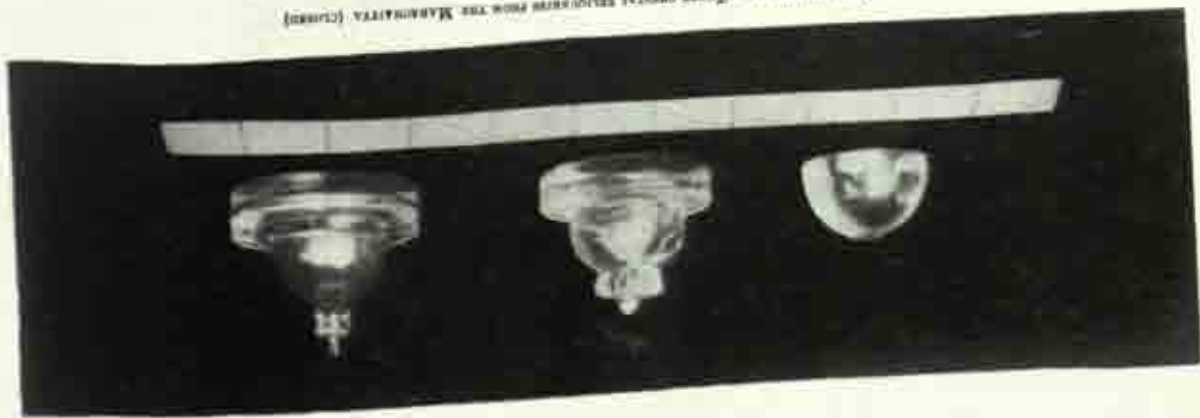



Fig. 1.

The name of the monastery to which the drinking vessel belonged is given as *Kaṭṭahārāma*. In all probability the *chaitya* in which the pot was found was included in the *Kaṭṭahārāma*

[1] [See also the *Kaṭṭhahāri-jātaka*, No. 7 of the *Jātaka*, ed. by V. Fausbol, Vol. I, pp. 133-6, translation by Robert Chalmers, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 27-29.—Ed.]

An Inscribed Pot and other Buddhist Remains in Salihundam

(III)

b. Salihundam.—Three crystal reliquaries from the Mahachaitya (closed)

c. Salihundam.—Crystal reliquaries from the Mahachaitya (opened)

a. Salihundam.—The Mahachaitya with the stone caskets as they were found.

(From Photographs)

B. Ch. Chhabra

Regd. No. 3977 E'35-499'52

Survey of India, Calcutta

a. Salihundam:—Inscribed pot from a Buddha-chaitya

b. Salihundam:—Pottery from a Buddha-chaitya

monastery wherein were also located the other *chaityas* on the slope of the Sālihuṇḍām hill, and the *mahāchaitya* and the apsidal *chaitya* on top of the hill. The Chinese Pilgrim Yuan Chwang who came to India in the first half of the 7th century A. D. and passed through Kaliṅga, has the following interesting observations to make :—

"The country produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech ; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from "Mid India". There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 Brethren "Students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira School system". There were more than 100 Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Nirgranthas. * * * *

Near the south wall of the city (*i.e.*, the capital apparently) was an Asoka tope beside which were a sitting-place and exercise-ground of the Four Past Buddhas. On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 feet high, where a Pratyeka Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the present *kalpa* when men's lives extended over countless years."[1]

Fergusson was right in placing the capital city of Kaliṅga near modern Kalingapatam on the sea-shore or that it was not very far from Kalingapatam. This identification has been accepted by R. D. Banerji[2] and other recent writers. For us this is very interesting as Sālihuṇḍām on the Vaṁśadhārā river, is only 3 miles away from the sea-port of Kalingapatam (Fig. 1). The Buddhist monastery called in the inscription "Kaṭṭahārāma" is on a hill, while the apsidal *chaitya* which still maintains its lime-plaster (as old as the 2nd century A. C.) and the *mahāchaitya* behind it which yielded 3 crystal reliquaries, are both located on the topmost part of the hill, "above 100 feet high" as Yuan Chwang describes, and are easily visible from the sea-shore. The river Vaṁśadhārā lashes its water against the side of the Sālihuṇḍām hill. On the northern slope of the hill, just 100 yards below the *mahāchaitya*, were also exposed (plate II-a) another apsidal *chaitya* with a votive *stūpa* in the centre, and a *stūpa* of the usual kind (wheel-hub-and-spokes arrangement). Despoiled as they were for bricks from a long time nothing of importance was recovered from them during my recent survey (1944-47).

No. 26—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM VALGUDAR

(*1 Plate*)

Dines Chandra Sircar, Ootacamund

An epigraphic survey of a large number of villages in Bihar was conducted by Sir Alexander Cunningham about three quarters of a century ago and its results are recorded in his celebrated *Archaeological Survey Reports*. Many of the inscriptions noticed by Cunningham were found on

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[1] *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, ed. T. Watters, Vol. II, p. 198.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, page 245—"Kaliṅga-nagara" has been identified by some with Mukhalingam and *Nagara-Kataka* and by others with Kalingapatnam.

B. V. Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa*, pp. 612-3.

"There is controversy and difference of opinion about the identification of Kalinganagara. Dr. Fleet identifies Kalinganagara with Kalingapatnam, and this view is shared by Mr. Bhattacharya. Prof. G. V. Ramamurti, on the contrary, identifies Kalinganagara with Mukhaliṅgam cum Nagarakataka, two adjacent ancient villages lying on the northern bank of the Vaṁśadhārā. And with this identification I entirely agree. Some of the inscriptions of the temple of Madhukeśvara at Mukhalingam speak of the shrine as situated in Kaliṅga-nagara itself. The city would seem to have been founded in the early part of the sixth century and perhaps by Hastivarman."

images, some of which unfortunately cannot be traced now. This is because, as is well known, a large number of images have since been occasionally removed from the villages by interested parties. But most of the old villages in some Districts of Bihar, such as Monghyr, Patna and Gaya, still abound in broken images usually of the Pāla age, both inscribed and uninscribed. Some at least are coming out every year at the stroke of the cultivator's ploughshare and the workman's spade to increase the number of accumulated images, although the process of the removal of better preserved images is also still going on. In January 1950, I conducted a search for old inscriptions amongst the images accumulated in certain villages about the western fringe of the Monghyr District and this led to the discovery of some very interesting records. The images are mostly mutilated and many of them bear no inscriptions at all. The writing on the largest number of the inscribed images again either gives only the Buddhist formula *yē dharmā hētu-prabhavā*, etc., or especially when the image is not a Buddhistic one, merely says that a particular image was the gift (*dēya-dharma* or *dēya-dharma*[1]) of a certain private individual, sometimes styled *dāna-pati*[2]. Only in a few cases they prove important owing to the mention of the regnal year of the king during whose rule an image was installed, or rarely to some other interesting information such as about the locality where the image was installed or where the man responsible for the installation lived. In connection with this survey, I visited the localities called Rājaunā, Chanki, Valgūdar, Raghugarh, Pātner, Saṁsārpōkhri, Kāwāyā, Gōḍi, Rāmpur, Amarpur and Urēn. The villages lie in the vicinity of the Luckeesarai, Kiul and Kajra railway stations on the East Indian Railway. Of all the inscriptions examined by me in the above localities, the three discovered at **Valgūdar** were found to be the most interesting, as they not only helped me in locating the ancient city of Kṛimilā, headquarters of a *vishaya* of that name within the Pāla empire, but also as one of the three records offered an exceptionally important date in the chronology of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

On the 9th of January 1950, I visited Valgūdar (lat. 25° 10′ 30″ N.; long. 86° 5′ E.) which is a small village lying by the side of the railway line between the Luckeesarai and Mankatha railway stations. I was fortunate enough to find there no less than three small inscriptions. The earliest of them was found on a pedestal (image now lost) which is lying in the compound of the house of Babu Kesav Sinha and is being used now by the people as a platform for washing their feet. It contains two lines covering a space 17·5″ in length and 2·4″ in height. The *aksharas* are about ·5″ in height, although the conjuncts with vowel marks are sometimes double that height. The second inscription was found on a mutilated image lying in the verandah of the Kutchery of Babu Dilip Narayan Sinha, who, I was told, is a zamindar staying at Bhagalpur. I was further told that the image had been discovered sometime previously while digging the earth for the foundation of a house. It is an image of a seated goddess with a child on her lap. It may be mentioned here that such images of the Dēvī with child were noticed by me in many places in South Bihar. She must have enjoyed great popularity amongst the people of the region in the early medieval period. There is a similar image of the goddess at the neighbouring village of Rājaunā which, as the inscription on it shows, was styled Puṇḍēśvarī and was installed during the reign of Nayapāla (*circa* 1038-55 A. C.). A mutilated image of the same deity is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta. The inscription on it shows that it was installed during the reign of Rāmapāla. This image also seems to have been originally found somewhere in South Bihar, although goddesses of similar types were fairly popular in Bengal as well. The Dēvī's

[1] Cf. Pali *dēyya-dhamma*, a gift, an offering.

[2] In old Bengali, this word is used in the sense of a person who had promised to dedicate an object on the fulfilment of a particular desire and later kept the vow. See J. M. Das, *Bāṅgālā Bhāshār Abhidhān*, s. v. In the votive inscriptions of the type referred to above, the word *dāna-pati* seems to be used in this technical sense. *Dēyadharma* thus seems to refer to an image installed according to a previous promise called *mānasika*.

vāhana is usually found to be the lion. A similar image now lodged in the compound of a temple on the bank of the tank called Samsārpōkhri at Lurkeecurai has a snake canopy above the deity's head. The deity seems to have been the primitive Mother-goddess worshipped under different local names in various parts of East India, though she may have been associated with the Buddhist deity Hāriti as well as the Brahmanical goddess Pārvatī with Skanda on her lap. An image of a four-armed goddess, holding in the upper hands a fish and a pot and by the lower ones a child, was found in the village of Paikpara in the Dacca District (East Bengal) and is now preserved in the Dacca Museum. N. K. Bhattasali[1] identifies the deity tentatively with the Buddhist goddess Hāriti, although it is pointed out that Hāriti's representations have usually two arms only. This image has, however, neither the usual lion pedestal nor the occasional snake canopy. Images of the Dēvī, with two or four arms and a snake canopy but with or without a child on her lap, found in Bengal, have been identified with the Snake goddess called Manasā.[2] The name of Manasā (supposed to be derived from that of the South Indian Mañchamma) is, however, not found in the literature of a date earlier than the latter part of the mediaeval period, and an image of the same deity, with the snake canopy but without the child, found at Marail in the Dinajpur District, is known from the inscription (in characters of the tenth or eleventh century) it bears to have been called *Bhaṭṭinī* Mattavā.[3] Images of Manasā are usually without the child; but out of the four late *ākhyānas* of this goddess, quoted by Bhattasali,[4] at least the one quoted from Kāśīrāma Vāchaspati's commentary on Raghunandana's *Tithyāditattva* represents the goddess as *Āstika-mātā* and *śiśu-sutā*, the latter pointing to her representation with a child on her lap. It seems that the same primitive mother-goddess with a child on her lap, sometimes represented with a lion pedestal and sometimes with a snake canopy, was worshipped under different names in different parts of East India, the snake-canopied form being later endowed with the name Manasā in Bengal. The Jain Ambikā seems to be an adaptation of the same diety.[5] The inscription on the Valgūdar image of the Dēvī with a child on her lap is written in two lines, covering a space about 4·2" in length and 1" in height. The *aksharas* are about ·4" in height. The third inscription discovered by me at Valgūdar was found on the pedestal (image now lost) lying near a well in the locality called Saṅgat owing to its being the area under a Sikh religious establishment in the village. It is written in three lines covering an area about 7·4" in length and 1·2" in height. The letters are small in size and measure about ·3" in height.

The **characters** employed in all the three inscriptions are the same as found in the records of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, although the first and second epigraphs are considerably earlier than the third one. While Nos. 1 and 2 have to be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the eighth or ninth century, No. 3 should be assigned to the twelfth century. All the three inscriptions are written in **Sanskrit** prose, though there are some mistakes and signs of Prakrit influence. As regards orthography, they closely resemble the epigraphic records of the Pālas and hardly anything in them calls for special mention. Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 are not dated; but the former

[1] *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 63 ff.; Plate XXV.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 40-61; Plate LXVI, No. 159.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 460. The occurrence of *Manasā-dēvī* as an illustration of the *sūtra*, *manasā nāmni*, for the *a-luk samāsa*, in the old commentary of Dharmadāsa on the *Chāndra Vyākaraṇa* (see S. Sen, *Bāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Vol. I, second edition, p. 109; cf. *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 297 and notes) is unjustifiable and is probably a late interpolation. Manasā is mentioned in such mediaeval works as the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (14th-15th century; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 6, note 3) and the lexicons of Jaṭādhara and Kēśava. For the snake-goddess Mane Mañchi or Mane Mañchamma (cf. Telugu *mañchipāmu*, "a cobra") of Mysore, see H. Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, pp. 82-83. The Sēnas of Karṇāṭa may have introduced this name of the goddess in Bengal. The name *Puṇḍēśvarī* reminds us of the Pundras, an ancient non-Aryan people of Eastern India.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219, 223, 227.

[5] *History of Bengal*, p. 465; Plate LXIV, No. 153.

refers to the reign of the Pāla king Daharmapāla whose rule is now assigned to *circa* 769-815 A.C.[1] or 770-810 A. C.[2] As suggested above, inscription No. 2 has to be ascribed on palaeographic grounds to the days of Dharmapāla or to those of his immediate successors. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the Śaka year 1083 (1161 A. C.) as well as in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla whose reign is assigned now to *circa* 1130-50 A. C.[3] or 1140-55 A. C.[4], although, as will be shown below, all previous suggestions about the date of this king are now proved to be wrong by the discovery of the present inscription.

Inscription No. 1, as it reads, seems to imply that a god named Madhuśrēṇika was installed at the *adhishṭhāna* or city of Kṛimilā during the reign of king Dharmapāla by the lady Ajhuka who was the wedded wife of a person named Sālō. If, however, the *visarga* in *madhuśrēṇikaḥ* is ignored, that expression may be taken as an adjective of the personal name Sālō, although in either case its real import remains doubtful. In case the second alternative is preferred, it has to be assumed that, as in numerous other cases, the name of the deity installed by Sālō's wife is not mentioned in the record. That is, however, not an important matter. Nor has the reference to Dharmapāla's reign any special value to the students of history as the inclusion of the region, where the inscription has been found, in the dominions of the Pāla king is definitely known from other records. The chief interest of the inscription lies in the mention of the city of **Krimilā** where the image is said to have been installed. It is very interesting to note that the same city is also mentioned, under the spellings *Kṛimilā* and *Krimilā*,[5] in inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 to be discussed below. It is further mentioned in an inscription on a Dvādaśāditya slab which was installed in the 5th regnal year of Śūrapāla (possibly the first ruler of this name who flourished about the middle of the ninth century) and is now lying at Rājaunā, a village abutting on Valgūdar[6]. It is very probable that the slab had been originally discovered at Valgūdar but was later carried to Rājaunā. It is thus clear that the small village of Valgūdar in the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar stands on the site of the city of Kṛimilā famous in the days of the Pālas. There is again no doubt that this city was the head quarters of the *vishaya* or district of the same name that formed a part of the Pāla dominions. The Monghyr copper-plate of Dēvapāla, who was the son and successor of Dharmapāla and reigned in *circa* 815-54 A. C. or 810-50 A. C. according to recent writers on the Pālas,[7] was issued by the Pāla king from Mudgagiri (modern Monghyr) and records the grant of a village situated in the Krimilā *vishaya* forming a part of the Śrīnagara *bhukti*. The *bhukti* or province called Śrīnagara (literally 'the illustrious city') was no doubt named after Pāṭaliputra which was apparently the administrative headquarters of the province in question. That Pāṭaliputra, of which the modern representative is Pāṭnā (from Sanskrit *pattana* meaning a town, *i.e.*, the town *par excellence*) was regarded as the city *par excellence* is known from the *Jayamangalā* commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*,[8] explaining words like *nāgarakāḥ*, *nāgarikāḥ* and *nāgarikyaḥ* (*i.e.*, men and women of the *nagara*) as *pāṭaliputrakāḥ*, *pāṭaliputrikāḥ* and *pāṭaliputrikyaḥ* (*i.e.*, men and women of Pāṭaliputra). The Śrīnagara *bhukti* was often called Nagara-*bhukti*[9] and possibly also Magadha-*bhukti*.[10] The exact location of the Krimilā

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[1] Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 384.
[2] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 177.
[3] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 385.
[4] *History of Bengal*, *loc. cit.*
[5] The name is derived from a Sanskrit word which is spelt both as *krimi* and *krimi*.
[6] The Rājaunā Puṇḍēśvarī image inscription of the time of Nayapāla, referred to above, also mentions Krimilā as the place of installation and appears to have been originally found at Valgūdar.
[7] Cf. Ray, *loc. cit.*; *History of Bengal*, *loc. cit.*
[8] VI, 3, 30 ; 9, 24.
[9] Cf. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material* (Memoirs of the A. S. I., No. 66), pp. 33, 52, 53, 84.
[10] Cf. *ibid*, pp. 33, 51, 52.

vishaya in the above *bhukti* was hitherto impossible; but now it can safely be said that it was the area round the present village of Valgūdar in the western part of the Monghyr District. It is possible further to suggest that the Kṛimilā *vishaya* was bounded in the east by a *vishaya* with its headquarters at Mudgagiri (*i.e.*, Monghyr) and in the west by another with its headquarters at Nagara or Pāṭaliputra (near Pāṭnā).[1]

The second of the three inscriptions records that the image of the Dēvī, on which it is incised, was the *dēya-dharma* of a person whose name appears to be Nṛikaṭṭa. The first line of the record shows that the image was installed at the *adhishṭhāna* (city) of Krimilā. Three letters appearing to read *gausavā* (or *gausēvā*?) follow the reference to the city, although it is difficult to say whether some other *aksharas* after these three had been originally engraved but were later broken away. As it stands, the inscription may suggest that the name of the Dēvī was Gausavā or Gausēvā. Of course, no goddess of such a name is known to us; but, as has been suggested above, this popular deity was apparently worshipped in different localities under various local names. It may, however, also be suggested that these three letters form the first part of the name read at the beginning of the next line or that they, together with some following *aksharas* now lost, formed an adjective qualifying the person named Nṛikaṭṭa.

Inscription No. 3 says that, on the eleventh day of the month of Jyaishṭha in the 18th regnal year of king Madanapāla, corresponding to Śaka 1083, an image of the god Nārāyaṇa was installed at Krimilā by two *Paramavaishṇava* brothers who appear to have been named Abhi and Inda (Indra?). They were the brothers of *Bhaṭṭa-śrī*-Suki(kṛi)trima and sons of *Bhaṭṭa-Paṇḍita-śrī*-Vyāya (Vyāsa?). Now the chief interest of this inscription lies in its **dating** both in the Śaka era and in the regnal reckoning of the Pāla king. It is well known that, of the numerous epigraphic records of the time of the Pāla emperors, only two were so long known to have been dated according to any era, while all others are only dated in the regnal years of particular kings. Thus there is absolutely no unanimity among scholars in regard to the dates of accession of the kings in question. The first of the two Pāla records dated according to any era is the Sārnāth inscription[2] of the time of Mahīpāla I dated in Vikrama Saṁvat 1083 (1026 A. C.), but the record is not simultaneously dated in the king's regnal reckoning and does not therefore offer any help in determining the initial year of the reign of Mahīpāla I. The second of the two records, referred to above, is the Gayā inscription[3] of Gōvindapāla, whose relationship with the known monarchs of the Pāla family could not be determined. This epigraph is dated in the Vikrama year 1232 (1175 A. C.), styled Vikārin according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter, as well as in the 14th year of the *gata-rājya* of Gōvindapāla. The reference is, however, not to the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* (*i.e.*, the increasingly victorious reign) of the king as is expected in such cases, but to his *gata-rājya*, *i.e.*, his sovereignty that was on the date in question a thing of the past. Although it appears quite clear from the date of this inscription that Gōvindapāla ascended the throne in Vikrama Saṁvat

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[1] The Krimilā *vishaya* is also mentioned in the legend on several Nālandā seals. See *ibid.*, pp. 34, 54. The village of Kavāla, known from the seals to have belonged to the said *vishaya*, may possibly be identical, as suggested to me by Mr. A. Ghosh, with the present Kawālī, 14 miles south-west of Valgūdar. The spurious Nālandā plate of Samudragupta (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 262-64) records the grant of two villages one of which was situated in the Krimilā *vishaya*. Even if this spurious record, forged a few centuries after the middle of the fourth century when Samudragupta ruled, may not prove the existence of the *vishaya* in the Gupta age, it no doubt shows that the *vishaya* and therefore the city which gave the *vishaya* its name existed before the rise of the Pālas. The Naulāgarh image inscription (*Ganesh Dutta College Bulletin, No. 1*, by R.K. Choudhary, pp. 1-16) of the 24th regnal year of Vigrahapāla II or III mentions a *vishaya* of Krimilā.

[2] Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 114.

[3] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 370. The date is given as *Saṁvat 1232 Vikāri-saṁvatsarē śrī-Gōvindapāladēva-gata-rājyē chaturdaśa-saṁvatsarē*. The date corresponds to the 22nd September, 1175 A.C.

1219 (1162-63 A. C.)[1] but that he lost his sovereignty before the 14th year counted from that date, most writers on Pāla history believe that the reckoning started from the time when he lost his throne. Thus the actual reign period of Gōvindapāla is usually placed before a date in Vikrama Saṁvat 1219 (1162-63 A. C.)[2]. There are no less than seven Buddhist manuscripts copied at Gayā and Nālandā referring to king Gōvindapāla in the colophon.[3] Only one of these refers to the 4th year of his *vijaya-rājya* indicating no doubt that Gōvindapāla reigned at least up to the fourth year after his coronation, *i.e.*, from Vikrama Saṁvat 1219 (1162-63 A.C.) to 1222 (1165-66 A.C.). In four cases, the colophons associate the dates (years 24, 37, 38 and 39) simply with Gōvindapāla without referring either to his *vijaya-rājya* or to his *gata-rājya*; but, in two other cases, the colophons remarkably agree with the phraseology of the Gayā inscription in referring respectively to the 18th *atīta* year of Gōvindapāla and to the 38th year of his *vinashṭa-rājya* (*i.e.*, destroyed sovereignty). It is therefore clear that Gōvindapāla lost his sovereignty between the fourth (V. S. 1222=1165-66 A.C.) and the fourteenth year (V.S. 1232=1174-75 A.C.) after his coronation, although some people of South Bihar, especially the Buddhists, continued to refer to the rule of this Buddhist king in dating their records in preference to the non-Buddhist rule that possibly followed Gōvinda-pāla's overthrow from that region. The above dates of Gōvindapāla's accession and of the loss of his sovereignty are corroborated by the inscription under discussion.

We have seen that the Valgūdar inscription of Madanapāla, who is the last known member of the Pāla royal house, is dated in Śaka 1083 which was the 18th regnal year of the said Pāla king. The actual date quoted is the eleventh day of Jyaishṭha, corresponding to the 4th May 1161 A. C. This shows beyond doubt that Madanapāla began to rule in Śaka 1066=Vikrama Saṁvat 1201=1144-45 A. C. and continued to reign at least up to Śaka 1083=Vikrama Saṁvat 1218=1161-62 A.C. The first regnal year of Gōvindapāla, as we have already seen, corresponds to Vikrama Saṁvat 1219=Śaka 1084=1162-63 A.C. This shows that there was hardly any interval between the end of Madanapāla's reign and the accession of Gōvindapāla. It thus appears almost certain that Gōvindapāla was the immediate successor, if not actually the son, of Madanapāla. The date of the Jaynagar image inscription of the time of Madanapāla was originally read as the regnal year 19 which is, however, a wrong reading for 14[4]. Thus the duration of Madanapāla's reign, previously known to have been only about 14 years, is now definitely established to have been at least about 18 years.

The Pāla emperors are known to have ruled over Bengal and Bihar, although about the time of Madanapāla and Gōvindapāla practically the whole of Bengal appears to have been lost to the Sēnas who hailed from Karṇāṭa or the Kannaḍa area of South India. The reign of Vijayasēna, the first imperial ruler of the Sēna dynasty, is now assigned to the period *circa* 1095-1158 or *circa* 1125-58 A. C. while his son and successor Vallālasēna is supposed to have reigned in *circa* 1158-79 A. C.[5] Like the Sēnas of Bengal, another Karṇāṭa dynasty was established in North Bihar by Nānyadēva in 1097 A. C. The independent rule of this family is known to have continued

[1] The regnal years appear to have been counted as corresponding to the calendar years so that the last regnal year of one and the first of his successor usually corresponded to the same calendar year. Cf. the same procedure followed in counting the *Aṅka* years of the later rulers of Orissa (*J.A.S.B.*, 1903, p. 100).

[2] See *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 171, note.

[3] R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal* (Memoirs of the A. S. B., Vol. V), pp. 110-12. The dates are given as (1) *Śrīmad-Gōvindapālasya vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē 4*; (2) *Śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvasy=ātīta-saṁvatsarē 18 Kārttika-dinē 15*; (3) *Śrī-Gōvindapālīya-Samvat 24 Chaitra-śudi 8*; (4) *Gōvindapāladēvānāṁ Saṁ 37 Śrāvaṇa-dinē 11*; (5) *Śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvānāṁ vinashṭa-rājyē ashṭatriṁśat-saṁvatsarē=bhilikhyamānē Jyaishṭha-kṛishṇa-[illegible] [illegible] tithau | yatra Saṁ 38 Jyaishṭha-dinē 8*; (6) "the 38th year of Gōvindapāla"; (7) *Śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvānāṁ Saṁ 39 Bhādra-dinē 14*. The fifth quotation points to the month being regarded as lunar and *pūrṇimānta*.

[4] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

for a long time.[1] It therefore seems that Gōvindapāla succeeded Madanapāla only over some districts of South Bihar, though even there the later Pālas were struggling for their existence with the Gāhaḍavālas of the U. P. The Manar plates[2] of 1124 A. C. show that the Gāhaḍavālas had already advanced as far as the Patna District where the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra (*circa* 1114-55 A. C.) granted in that year a piece of land not far from Patna. The Lar plates[3] of 1146 A. C. show that the same Gāhaḍavāla king was during that year staying at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. These records suggest that the later Pālas, who were Buddhists, were ousted from the Patna and Monghyr Districts by the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas. But the Valgūdar inscription of 1161 A. C., referring to the Kṛimilā *vishaya*, situated between Patna and Monghyr, as a part of Madanapāla's dominions, no doubt points to the success of this king against the Gāhaḍavāla rulers[4]. Whether, however, Madanapāla's successor Gōvindapāla was ruling only over the Gayā District and the adjoining area or whether his dominions also included the whole of the Patna and Monghyr Districts cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The Bōdhgayā inscription[5] of Gāhaḍavāla Jayachchandra (*circa* 1170-93 A. C.), however, shows that it was the Gāhaḍavālas who overthrew the Pālas even from the Gayā District. The date of the Bōdhgayā inscription falls between Vikrama Saṁvat 1240 (1183-84 A. C.) and 1249 (1192-93 A. C.), but probably towards the earlier part of this period. The Sihvar plates[6] bearing an earlier date (1175 A. C.) appear to refer to a grant of land made by king Jayachchandra in the Patna District.

As already noticed above, the Pālas dated their charters according to their regnal reckoning. This is also the case with the private records of their time. The use of the Vikrama Saṁvat in the Gayā inscription of Gōvindapāla, which is not an official record of the king, may be explained by the fact that this era, which was quite popular in the U. P.,[7] may have infiltrated itself in South Bihar especially when the Gāhaḍavālas succeeded Gōvindapāla. The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, discovered in Bihar, are dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat and the Gayā inscription referring to Gōvindapāla's lost sovereignty belongs apparently to this period of Gāhaḍavāla occupation of South Bihar. Of course, the Buddhists of Banaras may also have been partially responsible for carrying the use of the Vikrama era to the Buddhist sites of Bihar. But even if thus the use of the era of Vikrama in Gōvindapāla's Gayā inscription can be rather easily explained, it seems difficult to explain the dating of the Valgūdar inscription of Madanapāla in the Śaka era. This era was adopted by the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa about the end of the tenth century probably from their southern neighbours, the Eastern Chālukyas of the Āndhra country. With the expansion of the Gaṅga power about the beginning of the twelfth century towards the north-east up to the Bhāgīrathī or the present Hooghly river, the use of the Śaka era must have been known in the south-western fringe of Bengal. But the popularity of this era in Bengal seems to have been actually due to the establishment of the power of the Sēnas who hailed from a country where the era was popular. The fact that the Sēnas followed their predecessors, the Pālas, in dating their

[1] See *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 519 ff.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 81.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 98.

[4] There is another image inscription, dated in the 3rd year of Madanapāla's reign, corresponding to 1146-47 A. C., which was found at Bihar in the Patna District. The Jaynagar image inscription, referred to above, is dated in his 14th regnal year, corresponding to 1157-58 A.C. The village of Jaynagar is known to be near Luckeesarai (in the Monghyr District), but is placed in the Gayā District, (see Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. III, p. 25) apparently through mistake.

[5] Bhandarkar, List, No. 401.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129; Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 537-38.

[7] The popularity of the Vikrama Saṁvat in the U. P. was due especially to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperors, although it was used in an earlier age by the Maukharis and the Malayakētus (Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 10, 34). The dating of the Sārnāth inscription of the time of Mahīpāla I was due to this local influence.

charters according to regnal reckoning in preference to the Śaka era, exhibits the influence of local practice. The same conservatism in regard to the method of dating is also noticed in similar other cases. Records referring to the rule of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla found in Bihar and North Bengal, temporarily occupied by the king after having defeated the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (*circa* 854-908 A.C.), are dated according to his regnal reckoning and not according to the Vikrama era as is the case with the official Gurjara-Pratīhāra charters as well as other records of their time found in other parts of their empire. Inspite of the fact, however, that the Sēnas did not use the Śaka era in their official records, its growing popularity in Bengal during the Sēna age is proved by the use of this era in epigraphic and literary records of the period such as Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda's work, *Ṭīkāsarvasva* (composed in Śaka 1081=1159-60 A.C.),[1] the *Adbhutasāgara* (commenced in Śaka 1089=1167 A.C. or Śaka 1090=1168 A.C.) and *Dānasāgara* (composed in Śaka 1091=1169 A.C.), both ascribed to king Vallālasēna,[2] the Sundarban plate of Ḍōmmaṇapāla (Śaka 1118=1196 A.C.),[3] the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (composed in Śaka 1127=1205-06 A.C.) by Śrīdharadāsa,[4] the Tipperah plate[5] (Śaka 1141=1219 A.C.) of Harikāladēva Raṇavaṅkamalla and the Chittagong plate[6] (Śaka 1165=1243 A.C.) of Dāmōdara. Its introduction in Sylhet and Assam during the same age is indicated by such records as Vallabhadēva's inscription[7] of Śaka 1107 (1185 A.C.) and the Kanaibarsi rock inscription[8] of Śaka 1127 (1206 A.C.). The introduction of the era in North Bihar[9] may have been due to the establishment of the rule of the Karṇāṭa dynasty in that country referred to above. Yet these facts do not quite clearly explain the use of the Śaka era in the Valgūdar inscription of the time of Madanapāla discovered in a village in the western part of the Monghyr District, not only because the cause of its infiltration in that area is unknown, but also because here we have one of the earliest amongst the epigraphic and literary documents dated in the Śaka era so far found in East India.[10] It has possibly to be suggested that the Brāhmaṇa brothers who were responsible for the inscription in question were not original inhabitants of the city of Kṛimilā, but had hailed from a territory where the use of the Śaka era had become or was becoming popular.[11]

The only place name mentioned in the three inscriptions is that of the city of Kṛimilā, the identification of which has already been discussed above.

Inscription No. 1

TEXT[12]

1 Siddham[13] [||*] śrī-Dharmmapāladēva-rājyē Kṛimil-ādhishṭhānē Madhusrōṇika[ḥ]

2 Sālē-dharmmapatnī-Ajhūkēna dēva-dharmmō=yaṁ kāritaḥ ||

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[1] *Kalpadrukōśa* (G.O.S.), p. xxiii.

[2] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 230 ff.; 353 ff.

[3] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 321 ff.; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 679 ff.

[4] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 352; *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

[5] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1112.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 1114. The Mehar plate of this king has the date Śaka 1156.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 1107.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 1109.

[9] Cf. *ibid.*, No. 1126.

[10] Theories tracing the use of the Śaka era in Eastern India in earlier centuries (cf. *J.G.J.R.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.) are unwarranted.

[11] The form *nṛipātā* for *nṛipatē* in our inscription may suggest Orissa. *Sēnāpti* for *sēnāpati* is fairly common in medieval Orissan records. See *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, p. 152, line 5; *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, Vol. XVII.

[12] From impressions.

[13] Expressed by a symbol.

MGIPC—S1—7 DGA—30-12-52—450.

No. 1

Scale: Three-tenths

No. 2

Actual Size

No. 3

Scale: Three-quarters

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 525 HE/(C)'51 499

SURVEY OF INDIA, DEHRA DUN

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! (*The god*) Madhusrēṇika[1] (*is installed*) at the city of Kṛimilā during the reign of the illustrious Dharmmapāladēva ; this meritorious gift (*i.e.*, the image) is caused to be made by Ajhuka[2] who is the wife of Sālō.

Inscription No. 2

TEXT[3]

1 Siddham[4] [||*] Krimi[l-ā]dhishṭhān[ē] Gausa(sē?)vā

2 [Nṛi]kaṭṭasya [dē]dharmmō[5]=yaṁ(yam ||)

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! (*The goddess*) Gausavā (or Gausēvā)[6] (*is installed*) at the city of Krimilā ; this is the meritorious gift of Nṛikaṭṭa.

Inscription No. 3

TEXT[7]

1 Siddham[8][||*] śrīman-Madanapā[la]-rājyā(jya)-saṁ 18 Jyaish[ṭha]-dinē 11 śrī-Kra(Kri)m-[i]lāyāṁ bha-

2 [ṭṭa]-paṇḍita-śrī-V[yā]ya(sa?)-sutayōḥ bhaṭṭa-śrī-Suki[9](kṛi)[tri]ma-bhrātṛi-bhaṭṭa-śrī-Abhi-[10]

3 [nda]yōḥ parama-vaishṇavayōḥ śrī-[Nā]rāyaṇa-pratim=ēya[ṁ](yam) || Śaka-nṛiptō(patē)ḥ 1083 [||*]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! On the eleventh day of Jyaishṭha in the year 18 of the reign of the illustrious Madanapāla ; at Krimilā ; this image of the illustrious (*god*) Nārāyaṇa belongs to the illustrious *Bhaṭṭas* Abhi and Inda (Indra), who are devout worshippers of Vishṇu, who are the brothers of the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa* Sukṛitrima and who are the sons of the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa paṇḍita* Vyāya (Vyāsa?). (*The year*) 1083 of the Śaka king.

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[1] For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 140.

[2] [If this is taken as the name of Sālō's wife, the masculine ending (*Ajhākāna*) remains unexplained.—Ed.]

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read *dēva-dharmmō*°.

[6] For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 141.

[7] From impressions.

[8] Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

[9] [These two syllables seem to read *Sukhi*.—Ed.]

[10] Correctly *śrī-Abhi-Inda(ndra)yōḥ*. The first name may either be *Abhi* or the *ābhi-dhā* of a name like *Abhimanyu*.

No. 27—DAIKONI PLATES OF PRITHVIDEVA II: YEAR 890

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

This is a set of two thick oblong copper plates[1] discovered at the village of **Daikoni**, near Akaltārā, District Bilaspur, Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh). The copper plates were in the possession of the *Mālguzār* of Daikonī and the information about the existence of the charter was conveyed to the Government Epigraphist in 1944 by Pt. L. P. Pandeya. With the help of the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur District, the originals were secured by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Government Epigraphist for India, with whose kind permission I edit the record here.

The plates have slightly raised rims to protect the writing. Each of them measures about 11·8 inches in length and 7 inches in height. They are strung together by a circular ring passing through a hole about ·6 inch in diameter, which is bored in the middle of the length side of the plates at the top. The ring is about 1·5 inches in diameter. To this is soldered a circular seal of about 2·5 inches in diameter. The **seal** contains at the top the emblem of the *Gajalakshmī* which covers about half its space. Below this is engraved the legend, *1 Rāja-śrīmat-Pṛithvīdē- 2 vaḥ* engraved in two lines and in the Nāgarī script of about the 12th century A. C. Both the plates are engraved on the inner side only, the first plate containing 13 lines and the second 14 lines of writing. The set weighs 257 *tolas*, the ring alone weighing 33 *tolas*.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and are well engraved. There have been practically no mistakes in engraving and no erasures. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words which contain the salutation to Brahman and the last words recording the date, the whole inscription is in verse. There are in all eighteen verses, including the imprecatory verses, and they are all numbered. The *daṇḍas* are marked for the halves as well as at the ends of the verses. As regards **orthography**, the writing shows the same peculiarities that are found in almost all the records of the period, *i.e.*, 12th century A. C. They are the following; (i) use of *v* for *b* except in two cases: *babhūvur*, line 8 and *babhūva*, line 14; (ii) use of dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (iii) the duplication of the consonant after *r*. The *avagraha* sign is employed wherever necessary. The form of *b* may be noted as it has little difference from *p* except that its box is absolutely square and hence angular at the left bottom instead of being rounded off as for *p*.

The **object** of the charter is to record a gift made by king **Pṛithvīdēva II**, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur, whose genealogy is traced from the sun, from whom was first born king Manu, the *ādirāja*. From Manu was descended Kārttavīrya, in whose family were born a number of kings called the Haihayas. Among them was Kōkkala, who obtained fame as a noble and philanthropic king. He had eighteen sons of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*.[2] In the progeny of one of these younger brothers was born Kaliṅgarāja. His son was Kamalarāja to whom was born Ratnarāja (I). From Ratnarāja (I) was born through Nōnallā[3] a son called Pṛithvīdēva (I). Pṛithvīdēva (I)'s son by Rājalladēvī was Jājalladēva. His son was Ratnadēva (II) who secured the wealth (*i.e.*, was the lord) of the entire Kōsala country. Pṛithvīdēva II, the donor of the present charter, was his son. He is stated to have granted the

[1] C. P. No. 2 of *A. R. S. I. E.*, for 1944-45.

[2] The text of the record at this place reads *pārevi(śoś) cha maṇḍala-patis=sa chakre va(ba)ndhūn*. In the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (above, Vol. I, p. 34, text line 6) the corresponding passage reads *bhrātṛīn cha maṇḍala-patīn=sa chakre va(ba)ndhūn*.

[3] In the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I (above, Vol. XIX, p. 79, text line 16) her name is given as Nōnnalā.

village of **Vuḍukunī** in Madhya-dēśa with all its incomes to one Vishṇu, a Brahman of the Vatsa *gōtra* and of the *pañcha-pravara*. The donee is described as the foremost of the *trivēdin* scholars, as possessing a fine character developed out of his knowledge of all *śāstras* and *āgamas* and as comparable to Vishṇu. He was the dutiful son of Śivadāsa who was likewise an obedient son of Sōttama. The occasion for the gift made by the king is stated to be a lunar eclipse which occurred on Kārttika 15. The **date** of the charter is given as *Saṁvat* 890, *Mārgga va di* 11, *Ravau*. As in the case of the other records of the family, and especially of those of Pṛithvīdēva II, in some of which the year is stated to be the Kalachuri *saṁvat*,[1] the year quoted in the present inscription must also be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era. In the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I,[2] and the **Kharod** inscription of Ratnadēva III,[3] the year is specifically stated as the *Chēdīśasya saṁvat*. Thus, referring the year quoted in the Daikonī plates to this era which began in 247-8 A. C., it is found that the date and its details given correspond to **1138 A. C., October 30, Sunday**, *t.d.t.* -45, in accordance with the *pūrṇimānta* calculation of the lunar months. The lunar eclipse on Kārttika 15 referred to in the inscription must have been the one which occurred just eleven days earlier, on October 19 of the same year which was the day of Kārttika 15. Prof. Mirashi has shown that the Kalachuri year began on the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika[4] and it is found that the date of our record follows the same calculation.[5] It will also be clear that it was the expired Kalachuri year 890 that is quoted in our inscription since the details of the *tithi* and week-day given in it do not correspond to any date in the Mārgaśiras month of 1137 A. C. but only of 1138 A. C. Further, the lunar eclipse mentioned in the record as the occasion for the gift occurred not in 1137 A. C. but only in 1138 A. C. on Wednesday, October 19, which was the day of *Kārttika-pūrṇimā*.

Most of the verses describing the genealogy of Pṛithvīdēva II in the present charter are identical with those found in other charters of the family, *viz.*, the four sets of the Amodā plates of which one belongs to Pṛithvīdēva I,[6] two to Pṛithvīdēva II,[7] his grandson, and the fourth to Jājalladēva II,[8] the son of Pṛithvīdēva II. Verses 1 to 11 of the present plates which take the genealogy up to Ratnadēva II are again identical with the first eleven verses of the Sarkhō plates of the same king, Ratnadēva II. It would therefore appear that the text of this genealogy was at first composed in the time of Pṛithvīdēva I, the grandfather of Ratnadēva II and was employed by his successors without much alteration except what was added with reference to the successive donor-kings. The later members of the family, *viz.*, Jājalladēva II[9] and Pratāpamalla[10], have, in their records, also utilised this text, but only partly, amending it considerably in some places.

There is practically nothing new of historical importance in the present charter, since it contains only a conventional description of the princes of the family whose genealogy is well known and even

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[1] Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāla, K. 896 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 139); Ratanpur inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II (K. 910). (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1239).

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 81 and plate.

[3] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. and plate.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 278.

[5] The date quoted in the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I, *viz.*, Chēdi year 831, Phālguna va di 7, Sunday, corresponding, as it does, to 1079 A. C., January 27, Sunday, follows the same *pūrṇimānta* calculation and the year quoted is the expired one.

[6] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 ff. and plate.

[7] *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 405 ff. and plate.

[8] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff. and plate.

[9] Amodā Plates, above Vol XIX, p. 209.

[10] Pēṇḍrābandh plates, above, Vol. XXIII p. 1.

in regard to the donor himself, Pṛithvīdēva II, nothing is recorded as to his conquests or other achievements. The only fact of importance pertaining to the record is that it contains the **earliest date** for this king, *viz.*, K. 890. His other records, both on stone and on copper so far discovered range in date from K. 893 to K. 915. Hence it is learnt from the present inscription that he ruled from K. 890, *i.e.*, 1138 A. C. That he ruled at least up to K. 915 or 1163 A. C. is known from his record at Ratanpur bearing that date.[1] The earliest date known for his son and successor Jājalladēva II is K. 919 or 1167-8 A. C. supplied by his Mallār stone inscription.[2] Hence the period of rule of Pṛithvīdēva II can be placed between 1138 A. C. to 1165 A. C. or roughly from c. 1135 to 1165 A. C.

It may be observed that of the inscriptions of the Kalachuri princes of the Ratanpur line, the largest number, nearing about a dozen, belong to the reign of Pṛithvīdēva II, the donor of the present charter. It is curious that no record of his early ancestors up to the time of Pṛithvīdēva I have so far been discovered. The Amodā plates[3] of this king dated Chēdi year 831 is the earliest record of the family. Of his son and successor Jājalladēva I we have only one inscription so far discovered, *viz.*, the Ratanpur stone inscription dated year 866.[4] His son Ratnadēva II, the father of Pṛithvīdēva II of our inscription, has left two records, *viz.*, the Seorinarayan plates[5] and the Sarkhō plates[6] bearing dates 878 and 880 respectively. Besides these kings who were predecessors of Pṛithvīdēva II, other princes of the line who came after him have also left a few records. Of Jājalladēva II, the son and successor of Pṛithvīdēva II, two inscriptions have been secured, *viz.*, the Mallār stone inscription[7] dated year 919 and the Amodā plates issued in the same year.[8] The next prince of the family for whose reign an inscription is available is Ratnadēva III, son of Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalladēva II. His Kharod inscription dated Chēdi *samvat* 933 has been edited in this journal.[9] The son and successor of Ratnadēva III was Pratāpamalla, the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris, whose Pēṇḍrābandh plates were issued in the year 965.[10]

Reviewing the dynasty as a whole, it will be seen from the records of the family so far available and from the dates quoted in them, which, as has been pointed out above, have all to be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, that every one of these kings must have had sufficiently long reigns averaging from twenty to twenty-five years. This fact would be apparent from the interval that can be noticed between the dates of the records of the successive kings. Thus between the dated records of Pṛithvīdēva I and his successor Jājalladēva I there is an interval of about 35 years which must have been partly covered by their respective reigns. Similar intervals are found between the other members of the family. On a broad calculation, the duration of the rule of each king can be indicated. I give below a tentative scheme of the chronology of such of the rulers of this line of the Ratanpur Kalachuris for whom a continuous genealogy is available.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 255.

[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 75.

[4] Above, Vol. I, p. 32.

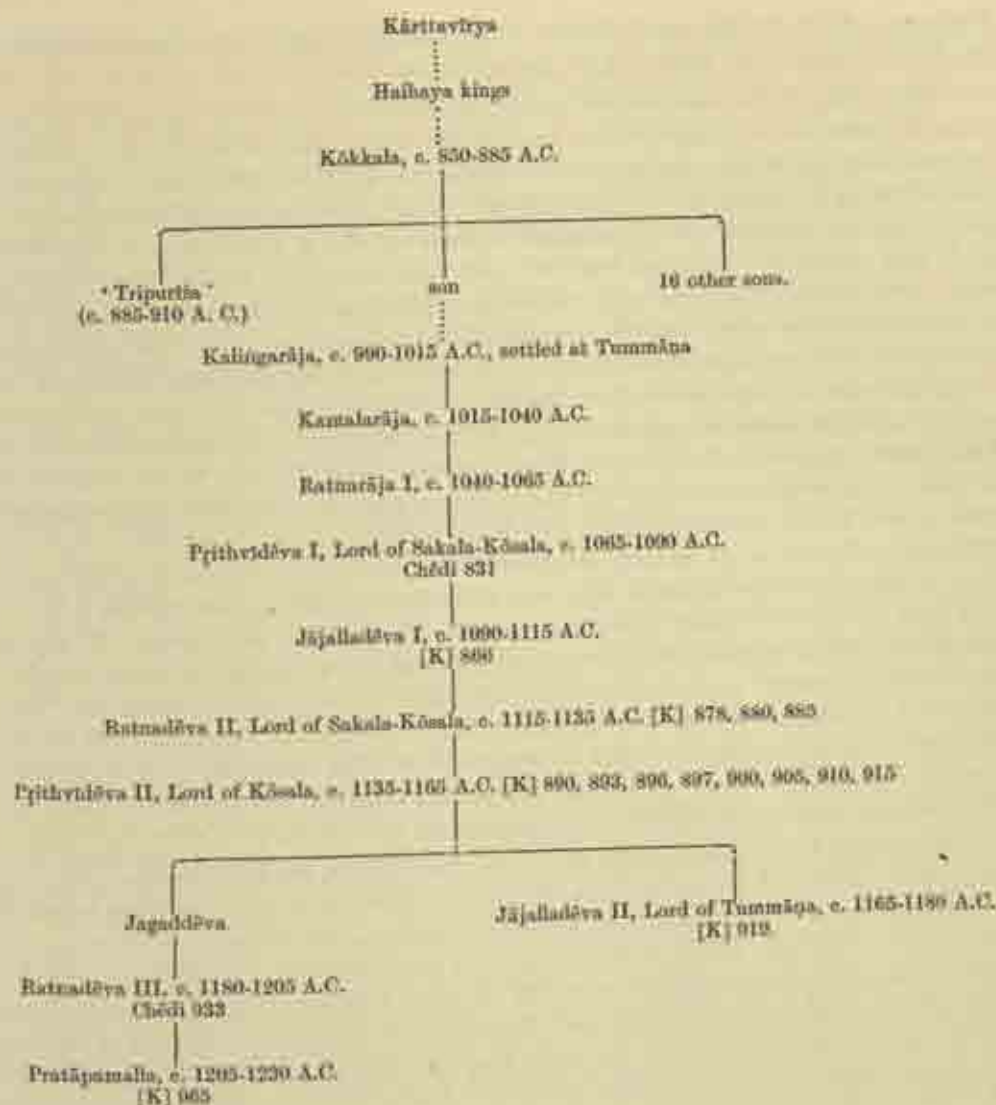
[5] *Ind. Hist. Qtrt.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

[6] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 159. The Paragaon plates of Ratnadēva II, dated K. 885, recently discovered constitute the third known record of this king. Along with this charter was found another grant of Pṛithvīdēva II dated K. 897.

[7] Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

[8] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff. and plates. Prof. Mirashi is probably correct in reading the date of this record as 919 and not as 912 as was read by Hiralal (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 257 and n. 1).

[9] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. and plate.

[10] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.

It is rather difficult to fix the dates for the predecessors of Kaliṅgarāja, *viz.*, the prince called lord of Tripurī and his father Kōkkala. For, none of the records of this line gives any clue as to the probable duration of the interval between Kaliṅgarāja and his predecessor, the lord of Tripurī.[1] Divergent views have been expressed regarding the probable identity of Kōkkala, whether he is to be identified with the first or the second king of that name in the main Kalachuri line of Tripurī.[2] It seems quite certain that he cannot be Kōkkala II, since this king who was the father of Gāṅgēyadēva Vikramāditya (c. 1030-1040 A. C.)[3] lived much later than the probable date that can be assigned to Kōkkala, the ancestor of Kaliṅgarāja (c. 990-1015 A. C.) of the Ratanpur

[1] Alone of all the inscriptions of the dynasty, the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III: Chēdi 933, states that Kaliṅganṛipati was one of the 18 sons [born of Kōkkala?]. This is evidently a fabrication (above, Vol. XXI, p. 161 and text lines 4-5).

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 161; Vol. XXII, p. 160 and n. 2.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 104.

Haihayas. Evidently he must be identical with Kōkkala I, who according to the chronology of the Haihaya kings of the main Tripurī line lived about 850-885 A. C.[1]

Since Kōkkala, the predecessor of Kaliṅgarāja of the Ratanpur line, is described in the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I as having taken the treasures of those born of the Turushka families, it has been held that the reference may not be to Kōkkala I of the Tripurī family who belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India.[2] Granting that the exploit is true to facts, there is nothing improbable or anachronistic in assuming that it was Kōkkala I of the 9th century A. C. that should be credited with it. For, although the regular Muhammadan invasions came much later, yet even in the period of the Bādāmi Chālukyas there have been invasions of Gujarāt by the Muslims proceeding from the direction of Sind. It is known that Pulakēśi-Avanijanāśraya of Gujarāt encountered an invasion of the Tājikas whom he repulsed sometime about 735 A. C. during the reign of Vikramāditya II.[3] The Tājikas were none other than the Arab Muhammadans of Sind, and Muhammadan historians like Al Biladuri refer to the expeditions which the Arabs of Sind directed against the kingdoms of Barus (Broach), Uzain (Ujjain), Māliba (Mālwā) and Jurz (Gujarāt).[4] It is well known that the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire was referred to by the Muslim chroniclers as the 'kingdom of the Balhara' and that it included among its subjects a fair number of Muslims.[5] Hence it is not unlikely, as shown above, that Kōkkala, the father of the prince called lord of Tripuri, of the Ratanpur line, was Kōkkala I who lived about 850-885 A. C. We can now have an idea of the interval between the lord of Tripurī and Kaliṅgarāja. It appears that it is covered by three generations of kings and hence of a total duration of about 75 years. This gap in the genealogy is not entirely un-accountable: it was precisely during this interval (c. 910-990 A. C.) that the ancestors of Kaliṅgarāja lost the country of Tummāṇa. It was Kaliṅgarāja who seems to have re-established his sway over it. The statement in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (1114 A. C.) that Kaliṅgarāja selected Tummāṇa as his capital, since the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors[6] supports this surmise.

Pṛithvīdēva II is not described in the present charter with any high sounding titles or achievements to his credit. The record dated, as it is, in K. 890 which is the earliest date known for him so far, seems to have been issued early in his reign before he had made any conquests of his own. That he was a powerful king and that in his reign some conquests were made is learnt from the Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāla of K. 896[7] in which Jagapāla is stated to have conquered the forts of Sarapparāgaḍha (Sāraṅgarh) and Mayūkāsihavā and the country of Bhramaravadra during the reign of Pṛithvīdēva II. Again the Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 915,[8] the latest inscription of his reign, describes him as the lord of Kōsala and states that his feudatory, Brahmadēva of the Talahāri *maṇḍala*, obtained a victory over Jaṭēśvara, who is evidently identical with the homonymous son of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga. The same victory over Jaṭēśvara is attributed to Pṛithvīdēva himself in the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III of Chēdi year 933.[9] Another subordinate of his, Vallabharāja, overran Laḍāha and reduced the Gauḍa king as stated in a stone inscription from Akaltārā[10] not far from Daikonī, the findspot of the present charter. Yet

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 258 and n. 6. H. C. Ray (*Dynastic History of North India*, Vol. II, p. 754) adduces reasons for giving Kōkkala I the dates 875-925 A.C.

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 161.

[3] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 27.

[4] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 125-6.

[5] Ibid, p. 27.

[6] Above, Vol. I, p. 34, text l. 7; Vol. XXII, p. 160, n. 2.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 140, text ll. 10-11.

[8] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 261, text l. 20.

[9] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163, text l. 8.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84; *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (1931) p. 121, Ins. No. 202.

another general of his, Purushōttama is credited with a number of exploits like the conquest of the Khimmiṇḍi *maṇḍala*, the Talahāri *maṇḍala*, Daṇḍapura, Khijjiṅga, the killing of Haravāhu and the threatening of the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti.[1] Since Vallabharāja and Purushōttama were also the generals of Pṛithvīdēva's father Ratnadēva II, it is doubtful if the conquests attributed to them were all effected during the reign of Pṛithvīdēva II or earlier. Among the conquests that can definitely be assigned to his reign, the most important are his capture of the Bhramaravadra *dēśa* and the defeat inflicted on Jaṭēśvara, the Eastern Gaṅga prince.

The identification of many of the territories and princes conquered by Pṛithvīdēva II and his father Ratnadēva II and those by his grandfather Jājalladēva I has been satisfactorily made with a few exceptions to which I may draw attention here. To begin with, the Bhramaravadra *dēśa* may not be Bāmrā, east of Sārangarh, as Kielhorn thought, but is evidently the Bhramarakōṭya *maṇḍala*, the name by which Chakrakōṭya or the modern Bastar State was known.[2] During the period in which Pṛithvīdēva II ruled in Kōsala, Bastar was under the rule of the Nāgavaṁśī kings, of whom Kanharadēva, son of Sōmēśvara[3] was perhaps his contemporary. Khijjiṅga, reduced by Purushōttama, is the modern Khiching in the Mayūrbhanj State, now merged in Orissa.[4] It is referred to as Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa in the inscriptions of the Ādi Bhañja kings of the 9-10th century A. C. It is not known who the ruler of Khijjiṅga was when Purushōttama conquered it. Of the adversaries of Jājalladēva I, Sōmeśvara whose army was captured, and Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura who was defeated, have not satisfactorily been identified. It has been suggested by Hiralal that Sōmēśvara was the homonymous ruler of the Chakrakōṭya *maṇḍala* or Bastar.[5] Recently Mr. G. Ramadas has adduced reasons for identifying him with Sōmēśvara II, a Chōḷa prince who was ruling at Suvarṇapura, *i.e.*, Sonepur on the Mahānadī in Orissa.[6] I am more inclined to agree with Mr. Ramadas in this identification, though the arguments adduced by Hiralal in support of the former identification are none the less strong. Sōmēśvara of Bastar, who claims to have conquered a number of countries, including Ratnapura, the very capital of Jājalladēva I, and also to have taken 6 lakhs and 96 villages of the Kōsala country, was indeed too powerful a king to have been captured by the Ratanpur ruler. Secondly, the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III states that Jājalladēva I defeated Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura.[7] The mention of Suvarṇapura as the capital of Bhujabala renders it very likely that this chief must have been one of the contemporary Chōḷa rulers of the lineage of Chandrāditya who were ruling at Suvarṇapura in this period.[8] Evidently Sōmēśvara mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I is identical with Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura mentioned in the Kharod record, since neither of the two inscriptions mentions any other prince by name as Jājalladēva's adversary.[9] One more argument in support of Mr. Ramadas's identification, which, however, cannot be pressed far, is that Ratnadēva II, the son and successor of Jājalladēva I, assumes the title of *Mahārāṇaka*,[10] which he did perhaps in imitation of Sōmēśvara II of Suvarṇapura, who donned the title of *Rāṇaka*.[11] Further, the princes of both the families are found to assume the high sounding epithet of *Sakala-Kōsal-ādhīśvara*, thus indicating that there existed rivalry between them for the lordship of Kōsala.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 279. Dr. D. C. Sircar would read Haravāhu as Haravāha.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 179. *Ācāryapuṣpāñjali* (D. R. Bhandarkar Presentation Volume 1940), p. 272.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 312.

[4] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 153.

[5] Above, Vol. X, p. 26.

[6] *Journal of the Kalinga Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 223.

[7] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163, text l. 6.

[8] See the article on *Mahada plates of Sōmēśvaradēva* (III) further on in this Volume.

[9] Dr. D. C. Sircar adducing the same argument identifies Sōmēśvara with *Kumāra* Sōmēśvara of the Kelgi plates. (*I. H. Q.* Vol. XXII, p. 304 ; above, Vol. XII, pp. 239 ff.)

[10] Seorinarayan plates : *Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. IV, p. 32.

[11] Patna Museum plates : above, Vol. XIX, p. 99, text l. 13.

Gōkarṇa who was the other chief, besides Chōḍagaṅga, stated to have been defeated by Ratnadēva II has not satisfactorily been identified either. Prof. Mirashi considered it likely that Gōkarṇa was another name of Jaṭēśvara, the son of Chōḍagaṅga.[1] I may, in this connection, draw attention to a Gōkarṇa, a Telugu Chōḍa prince of Vardhamānapura (Hyderabad), of whose reign there is a record at Ēlēśvaram in the Nizam's dominions, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 33 (wrong), Plava, *i.e.*, 1126-7 A. C.[2] A few other members of his family are also known from inscriptions to have been ruling parts of Hyderabad territory.[3] Gōkarṇa of the Ēlēśvaram record cited above is evidently the same as the homonymous person mentioned in the Anmakoṇḍa inscription of Kākatīya Rudra (1162 A. C.)[4] and of whom it is stated in that record that he was murdered by his own brother Bhīma. Since his date, *i.e.*, 1127 A. C. would make him a contemporary of Ratnadēva II, the father of Pṛithvīdēva II of our record, it is not unlikely that he was the Gōkarṇa whom Ratnadēva II is stated to have defeated. Whether Gōkarṇa was defeated along with Chōḍa-Gaṅga in the same campaign or in a different encounter cannot be stated definitely.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in these plates, **Vuḍukunī** in the **Madhyadēśa** has to be looked for in the vicinity of the Lāphā Zamindāri of the Bilaspur District. For, the Madhya *dēśa* is apparently identical with the Madhya *maṇḍala*, mentioned in both the sets of the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdēva II as the division in which were situated Āvulā and Buḍubuḍu, two villages which are at present represented by Aurā Bhāṭā and Burbur, both in the Lāphā Zamindāri.[5] The Madhya *maṇḍala* or Madhya *dēśa* is here indicative, not of the Madhya *dēśa* of classical references[6] which is now modern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), but of the central portion of the dominion of the Ratanpur chiefs. Hence Vuḍukunī is to be located in the vicinity of Ratanpur itself. I would identify it with **Daikon** itself, the findspot of these plates, which is a few miles south-east of Ratanpur, near Akaltārā.

TEXT[7]

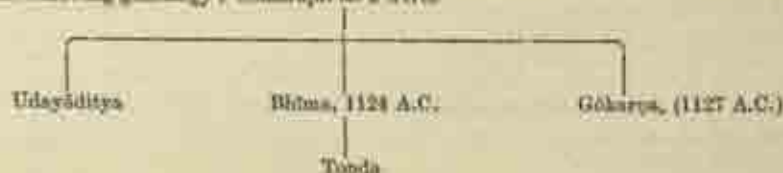
[Metres : Vv. 1, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17 and 18 *Anushṭubh* ; 2, 6 and 11 *Upajāti* ; 3 *Sragdharā* ; 4 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 5, 7 and 8 *Vasantatilakā* ; 14 *Āryā* ; 16 *Mandākrāntā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[8] [||*] Ōṁ namō Vra(Bra)hmaṇē || Nirggunaṁ vyāpakaṁ nityaṁ Śivaṁ parama-kāraṇam | bhāva-grāhyaṁ paraṁjyōtis=tasmai sad-vra(d-bra)hmaṇē namaḥ || 1 ||

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 162 and n. 1.

[2] *Bhārati*, Vol. V, part 1, pp. 143 ff. and plate.

[3] *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. I, (Hyderabad, 1935), Chālukya Inscriptions, No. 23. Misc. Inss., Nos. 2, 3 and 18. These furnish the following genealogy : Sōmarāja. m. 2 wives

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 9 ff. and plate ; above, Vol. IX pp. 260-1.

[5] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 47-8. Evidently the Madhya *dēśa* mentioned in the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 163-4) as the country from which the donee of that charter hailed is the Madhya *dēśa* of our record and not the Madhya *dēśa* of classical references.

[6] Nundolal Dey : *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 116.

[7] From impressions.

[8] Expressed by a symbol.

DAIKONI PLATES OF PRITHVIDEVA II : YEAR 890

i.

ii.

SCALE : ONE-HALF

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

B. CH. CHHABRA

REG. No. 3977 E'36 —499'51.

Seal

(From a Photograph: Enlarged)

2 Yad=ētad=agrēsaram=aṁva(m=amba)rasya jyōtiḥ sa pūshā purushaḥ purāṇaḥ | ath=āsya putrō Manur=ādi-rājas=tad-anvayē='bhūd=bhuvi Kā-

3 rttavīryaḥ || 2 || Dēvaḥ śrī-**Kārttavīryaḥ** kshiti-patir=abhavad=bhūshaṇam bhūta-dhātryā hēl-ōtkshipt-ādri-vi(bi)bhyat-tuhina-

4 giri-sut-āślēsha-santōshit-ēśam | dōr-ddaṁḍ-ākāṁḍa-sētu-pratigamita-mahāvāri-Rēvā-pravāha-vyādhūta-Trya-

5 ksha-pūjā-guru-janita-rushaṁ Rāvaṇaṁ yō vavaṁdha(babandha) || 3 || Tad-vaṁśa-prabhavā narēṁdra-patayaḥ khyātāḥ kshitau **Haiha-**

6 **yās**-tēshām=anvaya-bhūshaṇaṁ ripu-manō-vinyasta-tāp-ānalaḥ | dharmma-dhyāna-dhan-ānusaṁchita-yaśāḥ sasva(śaśva)t=satāṁ saukhya-

7 kṛit-prēyān=sarvva-guṇ-ānvitaḥ samabhavach=chhrīmān=asau **Kōkkalaḥ** || 4 || Ashṭādaś=āri-kari-kuṁbha-vibhaṁga-siṁ-

8 hāḥ putrā [ba]bhūvur=ati-sau(śau)rya-parāś=cha tasya | tatr-āgrajō nṛipa-varas=**Tripur-īśa** āsīt-pārsvē(rśvē) cha maṁḍala-patīn=sa

9 chakāra vaṁdhū(bandhū)n || 5 || Tēshām=anūjasya **Kaliṅgarājaḥ** pratāpa-vahni-kshapit-āri-rājaḥ | jātō='nvayē dvishṭa-ri-

10 pu-pravīra-priy-ānan-āmbhōruha-pārvvaṇ-ēnduḥ || 6 || Tasmād=api pratata-nirmala-kīrtti-kāntō jātaḥ sutaḥ **Kamalarā-**

11 **ja** iti prasiddhaḥ | yasya pratāpa-taraṇāv=uditē rajanyāṁ jātāni paṁkaja-vanāni vikāsa-bhāṁji || 7 || Tēn=ā-

12 tha chaṁdra-vadanō='jani **Ratnarājō** visv-ō(viśv-ō)pakāra-karuṇ-ārjjita-puṇya-bhāraḥ | yēna sva-vā(bā)hu-yuga-ni-

13 rmmita-vikramēṇa nītaṁ yaśas=tribhuvanē vinihatya sa(śa)trūn || 8 || **Nōnall-ākhyā** priyā tasya śūrasy=ā-

Second plate

14 va hi śūratā | tayōḥ sutō nṛipa-śrēshṭhaḥ **Pṛithvīdēvō** babhūva ha || 9 || Pṛithvīdēva-samudbhavaḥ samabhavad=**Rājalladē-**

15 **vī**-sa(su)taḥ śūraḥ sajjana-vāṁchchhi(vāñchhi)t-ārtha-phaladaḥ kalpadrumaḥ śrī-phalaḥ | sarvvēshām=uchitō='rchchanē sumanasāṁ

16 tīkshṇa-dvishat-kaṁṭakaḥ pasyā(śchā)t=kāṁtatar-āṅgan-āṅga-madanō **Jājalladēvō** nṛipaḥ || 10 || Tasy=ātmajaḥ sakala-**Kōsala**-maṁ-

17 ḍala-śrīḥ śrīmān=samāhṛta-samasta-nar-ādhipa-śrīḥ [|*] sarvva-kshitīśvara-śi(śi)rō-vihit-āṁhri(ghri)-sēvaḥ sa(sō)vābhṛitāṁ nidhir=asau bhu-

18 vi **Ratnadēvaḥ** || 11 || Tasy=aisha tanayō dhātrīṁ praśā(śā)sti naya-saṁpadā | **Pṛithvīdēvō** mahīpālō viśā(śā)l-ō-

19 jva(jjva)la-paurushaḥ || 12 || **Vatsasya** gōtrē='ti-pavitra-mūrttir=dvijō=tra paṁcha-pravarō babhūva | samasta-sā(śā)str-ā-

20 gama-vēda-vēttā Vra(Bra)hm-ōpamaḥ **Srō(Śrō)ttama**-nāmadhēyaḥ || 13 || Anukurvvan=nija-pitaraṁ sakala-guṇ-aughair=ana-

21 rgha-guṇa-rāsi(śi)ḥ | **Śivadāsa**-nāmadhēyas=tasya namasyaḥ sutō bhūtaḥ || 14 || Ādyas=trivēdī vidushām=asē(śē)-

22 sha-sā(śā)str-āgama-jñāna-manōjña-sī(śī)laḥ | Vishṇ-ūpamō **Vishṇur**=iti prasiddhas=tataḥ sutaḥ prādurabhūt-prasa(śa)syaḥ ||

23 || 15 || Rāhu-grastha(stē) rajani-tilakē Kārttikē paṁchadasyāṁ(śyāṁ) kṛitvā hast-ōdakam=iha mahā-śraddhayā Madhya-dēsa(śē) [|*] sarvv-ā-

24 dāyaiḥ saha **Vuḍukunī**-grāmam=atyaṁta-ramyaṁ **Prithvīdēvō** narapatir=adād=Vishṇavē='smai dvijāya || 16 || Saṁ(Śaṁ)khaṁ bhadrā-

25 sanaṁ chchha(chha)traṁ | gaj-āsva(śva)-vara-vāhanam | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalaṁ svarggaḥ Puraṁdara || 17 || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattā[ṁ*] vā

26 yō harēta vasuṁdharām | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || 18 || **Saṁvat 890 Mārgga va di**

27 11 **Ravau** ||

No. 28.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMPANA FROM MADAM

(1 Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, MADRAS

The two subjoined inscriptions A[1] and B[2] are engraved, one on either side of the entrance to the Southern *gōpura* in the second *prākāra* of the Taṭākapurīśvara temple at Madam in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot District in the Madras State. Both the records are in a good state of preservation and are engraved in Tamil. One is in **prose** and the other in **verse**, but both refer to the same event.

Record A in prose, is dated in Śaka **1285, Śōbhakṛit** (A. D. **1362-63**) in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler **Kampana Uḍaiyar.** It states that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māraya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya-Daṇṇāyaka, captured Veṇṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya and Rājagambhiraṇmalai and that he celebrated the victory by constructing the *gōpura* called 'Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Mārayanāyakkan-tirukkōpuram' in the second *prākāra* of the temple of Tiruvagnīśvaramuḍaiya-Mahādēva[3] at Kuḷattūr. The figure of a fine **bull** facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stand in front, is carved at the left hand corner of the record. Record **B** without date, narrates in verse the same facts given in **A** with some poetical embellishments. The figure of a caparisoned **bull** with a dagger in front, pointing downwards, is engraved to the right of this record. The importance of these epigraphs lies in the historical information that they contain, *viz.*, that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māraya-Nāyaka overcame the resistance put up by the Śambuvarāyas against the expansion of the Vijayanagara sovereignty by capturing Veṇṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya and his stronghold, the fortress of Rājagambhiraṇmalai.

Before proceeding to discuss the contents of these inscriptions it will be of interest to study how the political situation in the Tamil country was favourable for the rise to power of the Śambuvarāya family to which this Veṇṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya, the contemporary of Kampaṇa II belonged.

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[1] No. 267 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] No. 268 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] The god is now known as Taṭākapurīśvara. [In the two inscriptions edited below the god is called Kuḷattūr-Āḷuḍaiyār and Kuḷandai-veḷampadīśvara, both equivalent to Taṭākapurīśvara. Kuḷandai may be taken to be the poetic form for Kuḷattūr; *cf.* Kaḷandai for Kaḷakkuḍi. (Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 283, n. 5).—Ed.]

During the last quarter of the 12th century A. D. the Chōḷa country stood restored to its original greatness in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III (A. D. 1178-1216), who proclaimed his conquests by assuming the titles 'Conqueror of Madura, Īḻam (Ceylon), Karuvūr, Koṅgu *alias* Vīra-śōḷa-maṇḍalam,[1] Kāñchī and Vañji.[2] Such wide conquests indicate the enemies that the Chōḷa sovereign had to encounter in order to rebuild the empire which at this period was nearly co-extensive with the present Tamil districts, including portions of the Cuddapah and Nellore Districts of the Madras State. This vast territory, for purposes of administration, was divided into a number of chiefships, each owing allegiance to the central power. Towards the close of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa's reign, we find that his kingdom, especially the northern portion, was ruled pre-eminently through the following chiefs :—

1 the Telugu Chōḍas of the Nellore District,
2 the Yādavas with their capital at Kāḷahasti in the Chittoor District,
3 the Śambuvarāyas in the North Arcot District,
4 the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs of Kiḷiyūr in the region around Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot District,
5 the Kāḍavas who were coming into power in portions of the North and South Arcot Districts,
6 the Bāṇas who had settled on the banks of the southern Peṇṇār and carved out a new province called Vāṇagoppāḍi,
7 the Adigaimāṉs of Tagaḍūr, *i.e.*, Dharmapuri in the Salem District, and
8 the Gaṅgas of Kōlār in the Mysore State with their jurisdiction extending to the present North Arcot District.

To keep these disintegrating forces under control was a great task, but the chiefs, when opportunities offered themselves, seem to have consolidated their position, independent of the central power, by entering into pacts or alliances with one another. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa himself we find several such pacts[3] entered into by some of them. Since we are chiefly concerned with the Śambuvarāyas, we shall see what part they played in strengthening their position in the country when events were slowly drifting towards the collapse of the central power culminating in the imprisonment of the Chōḷa monarch Rājarāja III (A. D. 1216-1248) by one of his own subordinates, the Kāḍava chief Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I.

The Śambuvarāya[4] chiefs whose records are found in portions of the Chingleput, North and South Arcot Districts are said to have belonged to the Seṅgēṇi[5] family which was also otherwise known as Śambhukula.[6] The earliest member hails from Muññūrgruppaḷḷi in Ōymā-nāḍu.[7] These chiefs figure as vassals in Chōḷa records from the time of Vikrama-Chōḷa (A. D. 1118) onwards, while some later members, to judge from their surnames, such as Kulaśēkhara Śambuvarāya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya Śambuvarāya, should have changed their allegiance to the Pāṇḍyas, evidently due to political exigencies. Most of these chiefs have surnames like *Nālāyiravaṉ*,

[1] No. 227 of 1917.

[2] *Pudukkōttai Inscriptions*, No. 164.

[3] Nos. 516 of 1902, 107 and 115 of 1900 ; 223 of 1904 ; 483 of 1908 ; 453 of 1913 ; 254 of 1919 ; 56 of 1922 ; 73 of 1945-46.

[4] The Śambuvariyas belong to the Vanniya sect which is found in portions of Tanjore and South Arcot Districts. Some members of this sect at Conjeeveram even now have the title Vīra Śambhu (*Varṇasūryapurāṇam* by Minisami Nayakar, pp. 225 and 235).

[5] Seṅgēṇi seems to be a village from the title Seṅgēṇimaṅgala-mittaṉ (who issued Seṅgēṇimaṅgalam) assumed by a Śambuvarāya chief (No. 180 of 1918).

[6] A village called Śambukulaperumāḷ-agaram was evidently founded by a member of the Śambuvarāya family (*S. I. I.*, Vol I, pp. 102 and 105). In Sanskrit the form Champa is found for Śambhu.

[7] No. 422 of 1922.

Ammaiyappan, *Attimallan*,[1] or *Attiyāṇḍān*. The epithet 'Nālāyiravan' *i. e.*, '(the Commander) of the Four thousand' seems to indicate the original connection these chiefs had with a body of soldiers consisting of 4,000 members. One such was known as 'Mīnavaṉai-veṉ-kaṇḍāṉ Vikramasōḻandāya-Vēḷaikkārar', which name suggests his active part in a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas.[2] The Śambuvarāyas worked their way up by service to their overlords in the latter's military campaigns. Their exploits are revealed by the several titles assumed by them such as *Pāṇḍi-nāḍu-koṇḍa* (who took the Pāṇḍya country), *Taṉiniṉṟāṉ* (who conquered single), *Seṉṟadiśai-veṉṟāṉ* (who conquered in every direction he went), *Śeyyāṟṟil-veṉṟāṉ* (who conquered at Śeyyāṟu), *Palavāyuda-vallavan*[3] (adept in wielding various weapons), *Tan-vaśi kāṭṭuvāṉ* (who shows his sword)[4] and *Veṉṟumaṅkoṇḍa* (who took the earth by conquest).[5] They also endeared themselves to the people by charitable acts like founding villages, constructing tanks and building temples.[6] It is worthy of note that some of these chiefs called themselves **Pallavas**. They also shared the titles of Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga such as Āḷappiṟandāṉ,[7] Aḻagiya-Śiyaṉ[8] and Aḻagiya Pallavaṉ,[9] or Pallavāṇḍāṉ. These common titles suggest an affinity between the Śambuvarāyas and Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, but whether the relationship was only political and not matrimonial[10] has yet to be established. From the figure of a **bull** engraved by the side of each of the two inscriptions under review, it is evident that the Śambuvarāyas adopted the bull as their insignia. As noted before, these chiefs allied themselves with other chieftains like the Bāṇas, the Adigaimāns and the Kāḍavas, and even against some rival members of their own family for securing territorial rights and for offensive and defensive action. They gradually assumed such importance that Edirilišōḻa-Śambuvarāya, a member of this family, was so perturbed by the presence of a foreign army in the land that he sought supernatural intercession to avert the disaster threatened by the Singhalese invasion in the time of Rājādhirāja II.[11] Later members of this family seem to have thrown in their weight against the Muhammadan expansion in the south,[12] which was perhaps the occasion[13] for their assuming independence with the titles *Sakalalōkachakravarti* and *Veṉṟumaṅkoṇḍāṉ*, and later we find them issuing records in their own

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[1] It is not clear whether the title *Attimallan* is to be traced to the village Attiyūr, i.e., Little Conjeeveram (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 849) or Atti in the North Arcot district. This title was also borne by the Malaiyamān chiefs of Kiḻiyūr (*S. I. I.*, Vol., VII, No. 1022; Nos. 411 of 1909, 311 and 322 of 1921).

[2] *Mīnavaṉai-veṉ-kaṇḍāṉ* means 'he who saw the back of the Mīnavaṉ i. e., Pāṇḍya' (No. 289 of 1922). Rājarāja-Śambuvarāya's grand-father claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country (No. 222 of 1904).

[3] Nos. 181 and 184 of 1939-40.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. 1, pp. 87-88.

[5] A record of Rājanārāyaṇa (No. 59 of 1933-34—A. D. 1340) mentions a chief named 'Sōnāḍu-koṇḍa Śambuvarāya. It has been suggested in the *An. Rep.* on *Epy.* for 1934, p. 37 that this title was probably assumed by some earlier chieftain in commemoration of his having won independence from the Chōḻas.

[6] No. 422 of 1922.

[7] No. 353 of 1923.

[8] Nos. 106 of 1912 and 487 of 1921.

[9] Nos. 52 of 1919 and 428 of 1922; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 123.

[10] No. 435 of 1913 styles Kāḍava as 'brother-in-law', without specifying the person to whom he was so related. An inscription from Vaḻuvūr (No. 58 of 1908) mentions Vīrarākkada who styles himself a Pallava, though he uses the Śeṅgēṇi and Śambuvarāya titles. The Śambuvarāya chief Aḻagiya Śiyaṉ Śambuvarāya makes a gift to an image set up in the temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in the name of the mother of Aḻagiya Pallavaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I (*S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 170).

[11] No. 20 of 1899.

[12] *An. Rep.* on *Epy.* for 1904, para, 27.

[13] No. 434 of 1903 from Tiruvāmāttur in the South Arcot District dated in the 14th year of Veṉṟumaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya, corresponding to A. D. 1335-36 refers to an invasion of the *Turukkar*, i. e., Muhammadans which took place in previous days and to the ruin in the country, brought about by the invasion. The relevant portion of the inscription reads: 'muṉṉāḷ Turukkar vandu tiruvāsalgaḷum niraiyal kulaindu dēśamum aḻindu kiḍakkaiyil, etc.

names, quoting their own regnal years. Prominent among them were Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa-Śambuvarāya and his son Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya. These were apparently the latest members of this family with any real independent power.

For purposes of reference and study the names of the several members of this family so far known are given in an appendix at the end of this article, though no regular sequence or actual relationship among the different members can at present be established.

Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya and his son Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya are known to have ruled from A. D. 1322[1] to 1339[2] and from A. D. 1337[3] to 1362-63[4] respectively. The records of the former who is also called Ēkāmbaranātha, are found in the Chingleput, North and South Arcot Districts. The latest regnal year known for him is 18.[5] He died by the 3rd year of his son Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya, corresponding to A. D. 1340.[6] The present inscription is dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛit (A. D. 1363-64). Since Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya was long since dead, the victory claimed over Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa[7] in our inscription must evidently refer to a victory over his son Rājanārāyaṇa, whose rule, as noted above, extended to A. D. 1362-63. According to the Sanskrit poem *Madhurāvijayam* or *Kamparāya-charitam* composed by Gaṅgādēvī, the queen of Kampaṇa, it is stated that after besieging and reducing the citadel of Rājagambhīra, Śambuvarāya was captured and *killed*. This fact receives corroboration in the main from other literary works, such as the Telugu poem *Jaimini-Bhāratam* of Pillalamaṛṛi Pinavīrabhadra and the Sanskrit poems, *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* of Rājanātha-Diṇḍima and *Rāmābhyudayam* of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.[8]

It must be noted that Gaṅgādēvī[9] does not allude to the restoration of Śambuvarāya, but *Jaimini-Bhāratam* refers to his establishment in the kingdom by Sāḷuva Maṅgu, the general of Kampaṇa.[10] Since after his overthrow in 1362-63 A.D.[11] Śambuvarāya's inscriptions are not found,

[1] No. 29 of 1933-34 giving Śaka 1260 with 17th regnal year. His accession is placed between May 11, A. D. 1322 and May 10, A. D. 1323 (above, Vol. XI, p. 231).

[2] No. 48 of 1921 dated in the 18th regnal year (No. 45 of 1900 and 49 of 1921).

[3] No. 30 of 1890 and No. 42 of 1900 giving Śaka 1268, Vyaya with 9th regnal year. His accession is placed between July 31, A. D. 1337 and March 24, A. D. 1338.

[4] No. 162 of 1940 giving [2] 6th year with Śaka 1284, Śubhakṛit.

[5] His inscriptions with regnal years begin only from his 14th (A. D. 1335-36) and run up to 18th year (A. D. 1339-40). In the earlier part of his reign, he seems to have had very little power, consequent on the Mohammadan occupation of the country.

[6] His ashes were thrown into the Ganges and arrangements were made for the funeral rites to be performed at Gayā (Nos. 32, 33 of 1933-34).

[7] A *maṇḍapa* in the Śiva temple at Vaḷaiyāttūr (North Arcot Dist.) is known as Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍān-maṇḍapa, evidently after the name of this chief (*An. Rep.* on *Epy.* for 1933-34, p. 30).

[8] *An. Rep.* on *Epy.* for 1928, page 23; *Sources of Vij. History*, p. 50.

[9] According to the *Madhurāvijayam*, 'Kampana set out from Vijayanagara with an army through Muḷbāgal and reached Viriñchipuram on the Pālār, which he made the basis of his operations. He entered the Śambuvarāya country, defeated its king in a battle and having proceeded to his capital, captured it. He then pursued Śambuvarāya to the fort of Rājagambhīra where he had taken refuge. He invested the fort, put the Śambuvarāya to death in a duel and captured it. On the death of their king, the subjects of Śambuvarāya submitted to Kampaṇa who having made Kāñchi his capital, according to the behest of his father, began to rule from the erstwhile Śambuvarāya country' (*Jl. of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 61f).

[10] The *Jaimini-Bhāratam* states that Sāḷuva Maṅgu defeated the Sulṭān of the South and thereafter gave his territory to Śambuvarāya, *establishing* him on the throne (*Sources of Vij. His.* p. 29). But *Rāmābhyudayam* mentions that Sāḷuva Maṅgu, *after defeating* Champarāya, proceeded against the Southern Sulṭān who had his headquarters at Madura. There, a hard battle was fought in which the Sulṭān lost his life (*ibid.*, p. 22). But *Madhurāvijayam* is clear on the point. Gaṅgādēvī here states that Kumāra Kampaṇa first overthrew the authority of Śambuvarāya and occupied his territory before he proceeded against the Sulṭān of Madura.

[11] In the very year Śōbhakṛit, the date of our record, the written order of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya in connection with worship in the temple at Taiyūr (Chingleput Dist.) was issued by Sōmaya-Daṇṇāyaka, the *sakalapradhāni* of Kampaṇa, evidently for being carried out, thus indicating the end of the rule of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya (A. R. No. 226 of 1916).

the restoration of this chief, if it really took place, must refer to a prior event. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* explicitly states that Sāḷuva Maṅgu first subjugated the Śambuvarāya and then restored him to his kingdom. The inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya dated from his 14th to 26th regnal years (A. D. 1351 to 1362) are found all over the Chingleput and the North and South Arcot Districts along with a few of those of Bukka, Kampaṇa and Śāyaṇa-Uḍaiyar, in this region. At Āvūr in the North Arcot District, there are inscriptions of Kampaṇa with dates corresponding to A. D. 1352 and 1358 and of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya dated in his 23rd regnal year (A. D. 1360), showing Kampaṇa's authority, perhaps in a nebulous state in the region even during the regime of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya.[1] The existence of these inscriptions presupposes good relationship between Śambuvarāya and the Vijayanagara rulers, for which Sāḷuva Maṅgu must have been responsible, considering the title 'Śambuvarāya-sthāpanāchārya' assumed by him. Whether Rājanārāyaṇa was a subordinate of Kampaṇa is not clear ; but inscriptional evidence points to his rule as an independent chief either with or without the cognizance of Kampaṇa.

The capture of Madura from the Muhammadans and the establishment of a viceroyalty there under Kampaṇa, son of Bukka, may be said to mark the foundation of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil country. The first opposition to the expansion of this rule probably came from the

[1] In the Tamil country Kampaṇa's inscriptions are found in the following places prior to Ś. 1285, the date of our record, in some of which, Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya's inscriptions are also found :

Place.	Kampaṇa's date.	Reference.	R. Śambuvarāya's regnal year.	Reference.
1 Āvūr	Ś. 1274, Nandana = A. D. 1352.	No. 297 of 1919 .	23rd =A. D. 1360 . 24th =A. D. 1361 .	Nos. 306 and 307 of 1919.
2 Ditto	Viḷambi =A. D. 1358-59.	Nos. 304 and 305 of 1919.	....	..
3 Arakaṇḍanallūr . .	Vikārin =A. D. 1359-60.	No. 193 of 1935 .	19th =A. D. 1356 .	No. 131 of 1935.
4 Achcharapākkam .	Ś. 1283, Plava =A. D. 1361.	No. 250 of 1901 .	18th =A. D. 1355 .	No. 260 of 1901.
5 Śērkāḍ . . .	Ś. 1283 =A. D. 1361	No. 203 of 1921 .	....	..
6 Tirukkōyilūr . .	Ś. 1284 Śubhakṛit = A.D.1362-63.	No. 351 of 1921 .	....	..
7 Mēlpāḍi . . .	Plava =A. D. 1361-62	No. 89 of 1889 .	....	..
8 Tiruvāmāttūr . .	Śubhakṛit =A. D. 1362-63.	No. 40 of 1922 .	19th =A. D. 1356 .	No. 64 of 1922.

It is noteworthy that in portions of the present South Arcot District, immediately after the disappearance of Śambuvarāya, no chief is recognised, as some of the records do not mention the king. No king is mentioned in the following records :

Village.	Date.	Reference.
a Elavānāśūr	Śaka 1284, Śubhakṛit . .	No. 480 of 1938.
b Tirumarunkonrai	Śaka 1283, Do. . . .	Nos. 303 and 304 of 1939-40.
c Varañjaram	Śaka 1287	No. 181 of 1940-41.
d Nallūr	Śaka 1287	No. 183 of 1940-41.

Sambuvarāyas who were in power in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region comprising the present Chingleput, and North and South Arcot Districts. Our present inscriptions state how this was overcome by capturing the Śambuvarāya *alive*. After the subjugation of this chief Kampaṇa felt himself so secure in the Tamil country that in an inscription dated in Śaka 1287 from Tiruppukkuḻi in the Chingleput District, he is stated to be ruling from his 'permanent throne' after taking possession of Rājagambhīra-rājya.[1] His inscriptions in the Tamil country are generally found from Śaka 1280[2] to Śaka 1296.[3] Kampaṇa is chiefly remembered in history for his services in checking the expansion of the Muhammadan rule in the south and for liquidating its power in the Tamil country.[4] An inscription from Tirkkaḷākkuḍi[5] in the Ramnad District thus narrates his exploits : 'the times were *Tulukkaṉ* (Muhammadan) times. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar destroyed the *Tulukkaṉ*, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (*nāyakkaṉmār*) for inspection and supervision in order that worship in all temples might be conducted regularly as of old.' In this move to eliminate the threat to Hindu religion, Kampaṇa must have received full local support which indirectly paved the way for the expansion of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil land without any serious opposition except that offered by the Śambuvarāya chief. The causes for the invasion[6] and defeat of this chief are nowhere stated. Probably he wanted to free himself from the Vijayanagara power. The Śambuvarāyas ceased to count as a power after their subjugation by Kampaṇa and even individual members of this family are not heard of thereafter as holding any important position in the state under the Vijayanagara rulers.

Of the persons mentioned in the present records, Sōmaya-Daṇṇāyaka was the chief minister (*Mahā-pradhāni*) of Kampaṇa. He figures as *pradhāni* from about Śaka 1274[7] and continued to serve under Harihara[8] and Viruppaṇa.[9] He was so devoted to Kampaṇa that he is said to have made provisions for worship in the temple at Śēṟkāḍu in the North Arcot District, for the continuity of the rule of this prince.[10] Judging from the title *Saṅgita-sāhityārṇava* and *Gūna-parama-māhē-*

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 454.

[2] No. 304 of 1919, dated in Viḷambi (= Śaka 1280). There are, however, a few records dated Śaka 1274, Nandana at Āvūr (No. 297 of 1919) and at Ulapāḍu (No. 172 of 1933-34).

[3] Kampaṇa seems to have died in Śaka 1296, since a record of this year makes provision for the recitation of the Vēda daily in the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai as *Śrāddhabhoga* for the merit of (the deceased) Kampaṇa (No. 573 of 1902; *vide* also No. 572 of 1902). Strangely enough there are two records of Kampaṇa, dated beyond Śaka 1296 : one from Brahmadēśam, dated in Raudri corresponding to Śaka 1302 (No. 207 of 1921), and the other from Āragalūr, dated in Śaka 1297 (No. 431 of 1913).

[4] An inscription from Śrīraṅgam (No. 55 of 1892) states that the images of god Raṅganātha and of his two consorts Śrīdēvī and Bhūdēvī were recovered from the *Tulukkas* (Muhammadans) during the reign of Kampaṇa and restored to the temple at Śrīraṅgam by Goppaṇārya, an officer of the king in Śaka 1293. The temple of Pōsalīśvara-uḍaiyaṉār at Kaṇṇanūr (Trichinopoly District) which had been converted into a mosque by the *Tulukkar* was reconsecrated by Kampaṇa in the course of his victorious campaign (No. 162 of 1936-37). The period of anarchy under Muhammadan rule in South India is stated as 40 years in a stone record from Iṉṉambūr in the Tanjore district (No. 322 of 1927). Whatever might have been the exact period of this rule, people were anxious to get rid of it, because it was characterised by cruelty, loot and massacre. The devastation and ruin caused in the country by the Muhammadan invasion is also referred to in inscriptions from Tiruvāmāttūr (South Arcot Dist.) No. 434 of 1903, Tirukkaḷār (Tanjore Dist.) No. 642 of 1902, Tirupputtūr (Madura Dist.) Nos. 119 and 129 of 1908 and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Chingleput Dist.) No. 203 of 1912.

[5] No. 64 of 1916.

[6] In the expedition against Śambuvarāya, minister Gōpaṇārya and Sāḷuva-Maṅgu, the ancestor of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha took part (*Sources of Vij. History*, p. 29). It has been noticed above that Sāḷuva-Maṅgu assumed the title 'Śambuvarāya-sthāpanāchārya' and an inscription from Villiyanūr gives him also the title 'Gaṇḍaragūḷi' (No. 191 of 1936-37). The title 'Śambuvarāya-sthāpanāchārya' was assumed by later members of the Sāḷuva family, namely Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1379, Prajāpati (wrong) (No. 448 of 1922) and Sāḷuva Saṅgamadēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1403 and 1408 (Nos. 593 and 594 of 1902), even though the Śambuvarāyas had ceased to exist as a ruling power by this time.

[7] No. 297 of 1919.

[8] No. 51 of 1913 dated in Śaka 1306.

[9] No. 221 of 1931-32.

[10] No. 203 of 1921.

śvara given to him,[1] he seems to have been proficient in music. His name was perpetuated by the institution of a service named after him in the temple of Aḻagiya-Nāyaṉār at Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot District,[2] and by the village Śāttampāḍi in the same district being known after him as Sōmappa-Daṇṇāyaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[3]

His son Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māraya-Nāyaka, according to our inscription, was directly responsible for the defeat and capture of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya, for which he received Aṇṇamaṅgalap-paṟṟu as *kāṇi* from the king. He is given the title 'Aḻiyā-araṇ-aḻitta' *i.e.*, destroyer of indestructible fortress,[4] evidently for taking the impregnable fortress of Rājagambhīraṇmalai. He made gifts in the name of his father at Śāttampāḍi[5] and Peruvaḷūr,[6] both in the South Arcot District. He also figures as donor in an inscription from Sattravēḍu in the Chittoor District.[7] The title 'Gaṇḍaragūḷi' assumed by him was also borne by a Śambuvarāya chief.[8] There seems to have been a *maṭha* in existence at Maḍam itself named after Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māraya-Nāyakkar.[9] His brother was Dharaṇi-Appar figuring in a record from Peruvaḷūr.[10]

The territorial division Aṇṇamaṅgalap-paṟṟu was situated in the district of Palkuṉṟa-kōṭṭam,[11] in the sub-division **Śiṅgapura-vaḷanāḍu** included in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam.[12] It included the modern villages of Dēvaṉūr[13] and Gaṅgāpuram[14] in the Ginji taluk of the South Arcot District and may be taken as roughly comprising a portion of this taluk.

Rājagambhīraṇmalai has been identified with Paḍaiviḍu in the North Arcot District.[15] Atti[16] in the Cheyyar taluk and Dēvikāpuram[17] in the Arni division were situated close to it and Vaḍa-Mahādēvamaṅgalam[18] in the Polur taluk was situated within its jurisdiction.

The *gōpura* in the second *prākāra* of the Taṭākapurīśvara temple at Maḍam is said in our inscriptions to have been built by Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māraya-Nāyaka in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛit; but in an inscription[19] dated in the next year Krōdhi, corresponding to Śaka 1286, the walls of this *prākāra* are stated to have been raised by Tirumalḷikiḻāṉ Nallakambaṉ Teṉṉavarāyaṉ of Ilaṅgāḍu. A record without date in the same *gōpura* mentions that this structure and the doorway were the gifts of Tūṇāṇḍār Āṟṟuḷār.[20] Probably this refers to the renovation or the completion of the *gōpura* referred to in our inscriptions.

A

TEXT[21]

1 Svasti [‖ *] Śrīmaṉ Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaraṉ Harirāya-vibhāḍaṉ [bhā]shaikkut-tappuvarāyara-gaṇḍaṉ Mūvarāyara-gaṇ-

2 ḍaṉ pūrva-paśchima samudrādhipaṉ Śrī-Vīra-Bokkaṉ-Uḍaiyar kumārar Śrīmatu Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar mah[ā*]pra-

3 dhāni Sō[maya]-Daṇṇāyakkar kumāraṉ Śrīmatu Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māraya-Nāyakkar Veṉṟumaṇ-koṇḍa- Śambuvarāya-

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[1] No. 221 of 1931-32.

[2] No. 45 of 1922.

[3] No. 230 of 1928.

[4] No. 255 of 1934-35.

[5] No. 236 of 1928.

[6] No. 512 of 1937-38.

[7] No. 391 of 1911.

[8] No. 239 of 1901.

[9] No. 728 of 1919 dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛit.

[10] No. 511 of 1937-38.

[11] No. 297 and 303 of 1928-29.

[12] No. 230 of 1919.

[13] No. 297 of 1928-29.

[14] No. 515 of 1937-38.

[15] *An. Rep. on Epi.* for 1928, para. 33.

[16] No. 298 of 1912.

[17] No. 352 of 1912.

[18] No 54 of 1933-34.

[19] No. 271 of 1919.

[20] No. 269 of 1919.

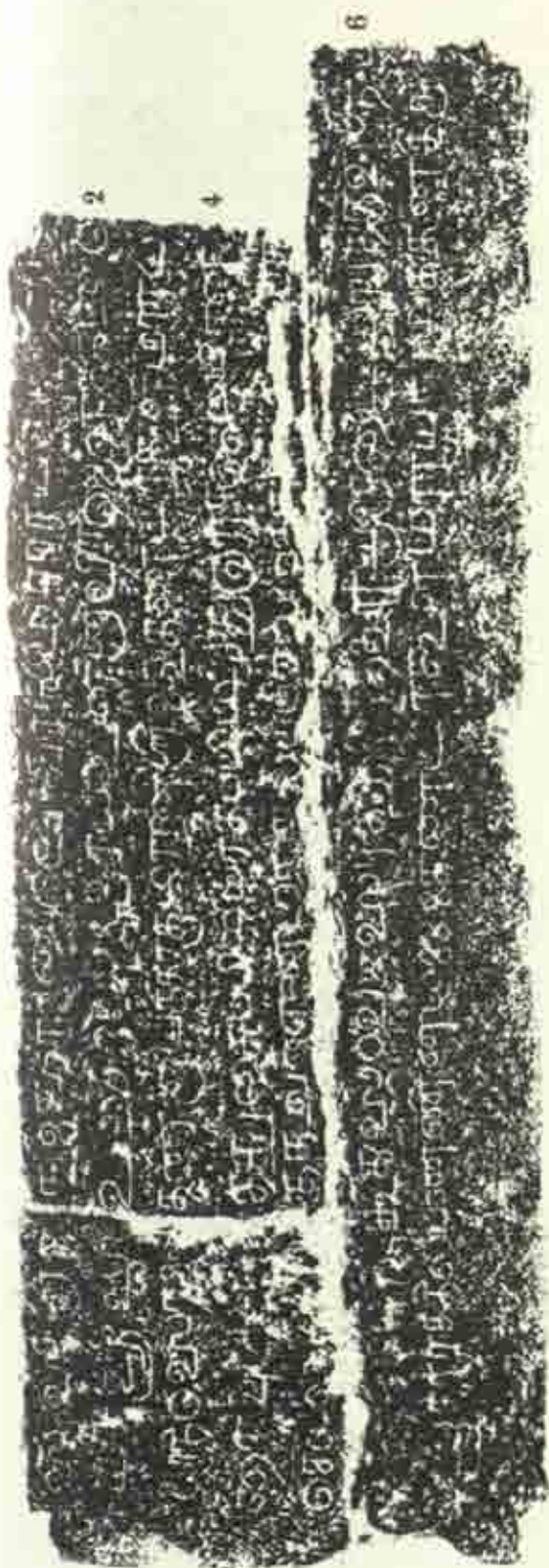
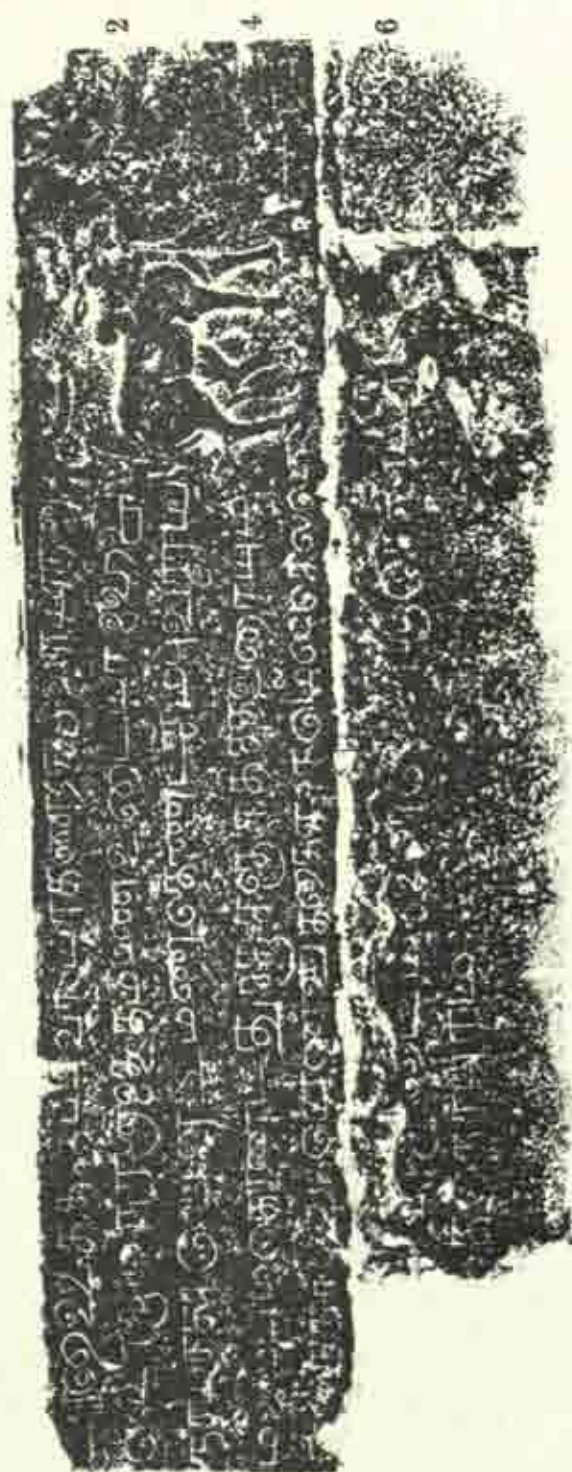
[21] No. 267 of 1919.

A

B. Ch. Chhabra

Scale: One eighth

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

Reg. No. 568 H.E (C) 51-479

Left half
Right half
B

4 raiyum [jayi¹]ttu kaippiḍiyāgap-piḍittu Irājagembīraṉ-malaiyum koṇḍadukku chandrāditta-varaiyum

5 śella [k-kuḍu¹]tta Aṇṇama[ṅga]lap-paṟṟu [|*] [Śakābd]am Āyirattu-irunūṟṟu [ye²]ṇṇūṭ-taiñjinmēl śellā-

6 niṉra [Śōbha¹]kṛit samvatsarattu [Ku]ḷa]ttūr Āḷuḍaiyār Tiruvagnīḷ[śvara]muḍaiya-Mahādē-varkku iraṇḍā[m]

7 pi[ā*]kārattil paṇṇiṉa dharmmam Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māraya-Nāyakkaṉ tiruk-kōpuram³.

TRANSLATION

(Ll.1 to 4) Hail ! Prosperity ! Śrīmat-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, son of Śrī-Vīra-Bokkaṇ-Uḍaiyar, with the titles Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran, Harirāya-vibhāḍan, Bhāshaikkut-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍan, Mūvarāyara-gaṇḍan and the lord of the eastern and western oceans, gave (*the village*) Aṇṇamaṅgalappaṟṟu (*to last*) as long as the moon and the sun, to Śrīmat-Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Māraya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya-Daṇṇāyaka, the *mahāpradhāni*, (*as a reward*) for having conquered and captured (*alive*) Veṇṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya (*and*) taken possession of (*his stronghold*) Rāja-gambīranmalai.

(Ll.5 to 7) (*This*) sacred *gōpura* (*called after*) Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Māraya-Nāyaka, in the second *prākāra* (*of the temple*) is the gift made (*by him*) in the (*cyclic*) year Śōbhakṛit which was current after Śaka 1285 to Tiruvagnīśvaramuḍaiya-Mahādēva, the lord of Kuḷattūr.

B

TEXT⁴

1 Pū-mēvu tār=aḷakam pūṇḍāgat tirumaḍandai tō mēvu mālai puṇai [m]ārbiṟ chiṟan-

2 dilaṅga śeṉṟa diśai veṉṟuvarach cheyamaḍandai tōḷ mēva veṉṟi-

3 puṇai mēvalar[gaḷ]=aḍi vaṇaṅga mēgamali Vālagiriy=ulagu pugaḻ varikkāṟ Bukkaṇa-

4 nuṅ kāḷanmugil pōl vaḷaṅgu Kampaṇaṇuṅ koṇḍāda maṇḍalikar=ālippa vayap-pulava[r]

5 vaḷam pā[ḍa] [kaḷ]ḍavargaḷ=uḷa magiḻak kāśiniyi[lkaḷ] tirach Champaṉ=araṇ palav=aḻittuch Champaṇaiyuṅ kaikko[ṇ]-

6 ḍu vempariyai mēlkoṇḍu vēṟum=uḷa kurumb=aṟuttu taṉakku nigar tāṉāṇa Sōmaya Daṇ-ṇāyakkan maṇakkaḷiku[r⁵]ud=iṉidiruppa maṇ-

7 puranda Mārappaṉ muṟaimai neṟi tavaṟāda Mūvarāyara Gaṇḍaṉ kaṟaimaliyum veṟṟaḍakkai kaṇai kaḻaṟk Gaṇḍaragūḷi kuru-

8 ṇai v[a]ḷi mudalāga kāṇiyāgap-peṟṟa aruṇa [maṇi⁵]madil puḍai-śūḻ=Aṇṇamaṅgalap-paṟṟil [va⁶]ḷanda Neḍumāl=ayan=av-Vāṇavar-

9 kōṉ vandiṟaiñjuṅ Kuḷandai Vaḷampatiy=Īśar kōlamalart-tāḷ vaṇaṅgi kaṇḍa gōpuraṅ kaṇḍu kai-toḻu-

10 pavar=aṇḍar=āguvar=aṇaivarum toḻavē⁷

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¹ The stone is slightly damaged here.

² The letters *ttā*, originally engraved, have been corrected on the stone into *yē*: *yeṇṇūṭ-taiñju* is not the correct form ; it must be *yeṇbattaiñju*.

³ Against ll. 1 to 5 is engraved a fine bull in relief, facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stand in front of the animal.

⁴ No. 268 of 1919.

⁵ The word *maṇi* is engraved below the line.

⁶ The letter *va* is engraved below the line.

⁷ To the proper right of this record is engraved the figure of a caparisoned bull with a dagger in front, pointing downward.

TRANSLATION

(Ll.1 to 5). While the goddess of prosperity who is resplendent on the lotus flower was adorning gracefully (*his*) chest wreathed with fragrant garlands, while (*he*) was conquering in all directions in which (*he*) proceeded, while the goddess of victory was seated on (*his* shoulders, while (*his*) enemies worshipped at (*his*) feet, while Bukkaṇa who is praised by all the world (*girt round by*) the cloud-capped Vāḷagiri and Kampaṇa who bestows gifts like a rain cloud, showered their praises, while the feudal chiefs extolled (*him*), while great poets sang about (*his*) prowess, while all who saw were pleased, while *Kali* came to an end on the earth,

(Ll.5 to 6) (*he*) destroyed many fortresses of Champan, and captured Champan himself and mounted on a fierce steed, conquered many other petty chieftains,

(L.6) And, while Sōmaya-Daṇṇāyaka, who is equalled only by himself, was pleased in mind,

(Ll.7 to 8) (*he*), Mārappan, who protected the earth (*and who was called*) Mūvarāyara-gaṇḍan, who does not swerve from the path of justice (*and*) Gaṇḍaragūḷi whose broad palm wields a streaked javelin and whose feet have sounding (*anklets*), (*and*) who through the grace (*of the king*) had received as *kāṇi* Aṇṇamaṅgalap-paṟṟu surrounded by walls of red jewels,

(Ll.8 to 10) having worshipped at the beautiful flower-like feet of god Īśa at the fertile Kuḷandai, who is adored by the tall Vishṇu, god Brahmā and the lord of the celestials (Indra), built this *gōpura*.

Those that adore (*it*) will become immortals.

APPENDIX

ŚAMBUVARĀYA CHIEFS KNOWN SO FAR

For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations are used in the list given below.—**S.**—for Śambuvarāyaṉ, **N.**—for Nālāyiravaṉ, **Am.**—for Ammaiyappaṉ, **Śeṅg.**—for Śeṅgēṇi and **Atti.**—for Attimallaṉ.

In the last column, references are to numbers and years of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*; thus 422/1922 refers to inscription No. 422 given in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1922.

For possible identification and study, different names adopted by chiefs are grouped together and shown below in sub-numbers *a*, *b*, *c*, etc. under each main number.

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
1	Am. S.	Vikrama-Chōḷa	5	1123	Tiruvallam	232/1921.
a	Śeṅg. S. N. Am. *alias* Rājēndra-Śōḷa-S. of Muññūṟṟuppaḷḷi in Ōymā-nāḍu.	Ditto	11	1129	Vāyalūr	422/1922. Begins with the introduction 'pū-mādu punara'. The chief constructed tanks, built temples and protected people from occasional dangers and thus won popular support.
b	Śeṅg. N. Am.	Ditto	15	1132-33	Madhurāntakam	400/1922. Begins with the introduction 'Pū-mādu punara'.
c	Śeṅg. N. Am. *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-S.	Ditto	16	1133	Śiyamaṅgalam	63/1900.
	Ditto	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II	5	1138	Madam	234/1919.
	Ditto	Ditto	8	1141	Dēvanūr	298/1929.
	Ditto	Ditto	14	1146	Ditto	302/1929.
d	Śeṅg. Am. Atti. *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-S.	Rājarāja II	4	1150	Madam	228/1919. Title N. omitted and Atti. used.
e	Śeṅg. Atti. *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-S.	Rājādhirāja II	11	1174	Ditto	252/1919 and 100/1939-40. (*Vide* 3c below.)
2	Edirilisōḷa-S.	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II	6	1139	Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam	162/1932-33.
3	Am. Śīyaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa-S.	Rājarāja II	10	1156	Muṉṉūr	52/1919.
	Ditto	Ditto	15	1161	Ānandamaṅgalam	428/1922. Begins with the introduction 'Pūmaruviya'.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
a	Rājanārāyaṇa-S. of the Śeṅgeṇi family.	Rājarāja II . .	18	1164	Achcharapākkam .	244/1901.
b	Śeṅg. Am. Śiyaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa-S.	Rājādhirāja II . .	11	1174	Muṇṇūr . . .	71/1919.
c	Śeṅg. Miṇḍaṉ Śiyaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ *alias* S.	Ditto . . .	11	1174	Maḍam . . .	252/1919. Chief joins Śeṅg. Atti. *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-S. and Ōduvāṉ *alias* Rājagambhīra-S. *against* Attiyāṇḍāṉ *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-S. *Vide* 100/1939-40 and No. 5a below.
4	Śeṅg. Miṇḍaṉ Śiyaṉ Atti. S. .	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II (?).	8	1141	Tiruvallam . .	*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 121. His connection with 3c is not clear.
a	Miṇḍaṉ Śiyaṉ Am. *alias* Edirilisōḷa-S.	Rājarāja II . .	15	1161	Vāyalūr . . .	421/1922.
b	Śeṅg. Am. S.	Rājādhirāja II . .	4	1166	Tiruppalivaṉam .	393/1923. Identification not clear.
c	Edirilisōḷa-S.	Ditto . . .	5	1168	Ārpākkam . .	20/1899.
d	Śeṅg. Miṇḍaṉ Śiyaṉ Am. *alias* S.	Ditto . . .	8	1171	Araganḍanallūr .	179/1935.
e	Śeṅg. Miṇḍaṉ Atti. S. . .	Kulōttuṅga III .	8	1186	Tiruvallam . .	301/1897 ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 60.
5	Attiyāṇḍāṉ, son of Śeṅg. Virāṇḍāṉ.	Rājādhirāja II . .	4	1167	Tiruvottiyūr . .	76/1900 ; *S. I. I.*, Vol., VII, No. 84.
a	Attiyāṇḍāṉ *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-S.	Ditto . . .	11	1174	Maḍam . . .	Compact formed *against* the chief by (1) Śeṅg. Miṇḍaṉ Śiyaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ *alias* S. (2) Śeṅg. Atti. *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-S. and (3) Ōduvāṉ *alias* Rājagambhīra-S. (*vide* 3 c above).

6	Am. Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍān *alias* Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ-S.	Ditto . . .	7	1179	Tiruvakkarai . .	195/1904.
a	Śeṅg. Am. Pāṇḍi *alias* Rājarāja-S.	Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja II.	13	1176	Mēlśēvūr . . .	222/1904. Mentions S.'s grandfather Am. Kulamāṇikkam who claims to have 'conquered the Pāṇḍya Country'.
b	Śeṅg. Atti. Am. . . .	Vīrarājēndra-śōladēva	2	1179	Tiruvottiyūr . .	80/1909 : *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 88. Identification not clear.
c	Am. Gaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ-S. 'who took the Pāṇḍya Country'.	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III	2	1179	Tiruvakkarai . .	190/1904.
			16	1194	Ditto . . .	194/1904.
d	Am. Pāṇḍi *alias* Rājarāja-S. .	Parakēsari Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa.	4	1182	Brahmadēśam . .	167/1918.
e	Am. Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍāṉ *alias* Rājarāja-S.	Ditto . . .	4	1182	Ditto . . .	176/1918. Asterism '*Aviṭṭam*' given for the chief.
f	Am. Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍāṉ Kaṇḍaṉ Sūriyaṉ *alias* Rājarāja-S.	Vīrarājēndra-Chōḷa .	6	1184	Eṇṇāyiram . .	345/1917.
g	Śeṅg. Am. Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍāṉ Gaṇḍaragūḷi *alias* Rājarāja-S.	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III	12	1190	Achcharavākkam .	239/1901, *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 453.
h	Śeṅg. Am. Rājarāja-S. 'who took the Pāṇḍya Country'.	Ditto . . .	13	1191	Mēlśēvūr . . .	223/1904. Two chiefs pledged themselves to be loyal to this chief.
i	Rājarāja-S. *alias* Gaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ.	Ditto . . .	14	1192	Perumāṇḍūr . .	219/1902 : *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 846.
j	Am. Gaṇḍar-Sūriyaṉ *alias* S. .	Ditto . . .	18	1196	Brahmadēśam . .	183/1918 : chief constructed the *gōpura*.
k	Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍāṉ *alias* S. .	Ditto . . .	27	1205	Tiruvaṇṇāmalai .	510/1902 : *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 106. Chief enters into a pact with Śeṅg. Atti. Vīrāṇḍāṉ *alias* Edirilišōla-S. and Atti. Pallavāṇḍāṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅga-śōḷa-S. and seven others against three chiefs (See No. 8c below).
l	Śeṅg. Am. Rājarāja-S. . .	Rājarāja III . .	13	1229	Muṇṇūr . . .	57/1919 : This record extends the life of the chief to over 50 years, if he is taken as identical with No. 6. The omission of the title 'Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍāṉ' must be noted.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
7	Śeṅg. Am. *alias* Kaṇṇuḍaiya-Perumāḷ *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-S.	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III	10	1188	Ammuṇḍi near Viriñchipuram.	*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 136.
a	Ditto	Ditto	10	1188	Śōḷapuram	343/1912, *vide* also *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 208.
	Ditto	Ditto	11	1189	Tiruvallam	*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 61.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1191	Tiruvaṇṇāmalai	553/1902.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1191	Tiruveṇṇaiṇallūr	422/1921.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1191	Kāñchīpuram	620/1919.
b	Śeṅg. Am. Vīramiṇḍaṉ *alias* Atti. Vikramaśōḷa-S.	Ditto	12	1190	Kāvērippākkam	405/1905. Chief probably same as Vīraṉmiṇḍaṉ against whom a pact was formed, by Śeṅgēṇi Miṇḍan Śiyan in 3-c above; 252/1919.
c	Śeṅg. Am. Atti. *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-S.	Ditto	20	1198	Chengam	115/1900: *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 127. Chief enters into a compact with Karikālaśōḷa Āḍaiyūr Nāḍāḷvāṉ mentioned below for concerted action, either friendly or otherwise, towards Piṟanda-Perumāḷ *alias* Rājarāja Adigaimāṉ.
	Ditto	[No king]	..	..	Ditto	107/1900: *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 119. Compact between (1) Vikramaśōḷa-S. (2) Karikālaśōḷa-Āḍaiyūr Nāḍāḷvāṉ and (3) Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ *alias* Rājarāja Adigaimāṉ against (1) Yādavarāyar (2) Śiya Gaṅgar and (3) sons of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-S. One condition of the compact was all to recognise the territorial boundary of each as it stood in the time of Rājarājadēva.
8	Śeṅg. Vīraśōḷaṉ Atti. *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-S.	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.	11	1189	Maḍam	254/1919. Compact with Kūḍal Araśanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāya against Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ediriliśōḷa-S.

a	Atti Kulottungaśōḷa S. . .	Ditto . . .	I[5]	1193	Achcharapākkam .	240/1901; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 454.
b	Piḷḷaiyār Kulōttungaśōḷa-S.	Ditto . . .	20	1198	Śiyamangalam . .	61/1900; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 65.
	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	24	1202	Ditto . . .	62/1900; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 66.
c	Atti. Pallavāṇḍāṉ *alias* Kulōttungaśōḷa-S.	Kulōttunga-Chōḷa. .	27	1205	Tiruvaṇṇāmalai .	516/1902; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 106. Compact with (1) Pāṇḍimāḍu-Koṇḍāṉ *alias* S. (2) Śeng. Atti. Virāṇḍāṉ *alias* Edirilisōḷa-S. and 7 others *against* (1) Magadai-Nāḍāḷvāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (2) Kulōttungaśōḷa-Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and (3) Rājarājak-Kāḍavarāyar (see No. 6k above). The chief is probably related to No. 3 above, judging from the title 'Pallavāṇḍāṉ'.
9	Śengeṉimangalamiṭṭāṉ Am. Miṭṭāṉ Appaṉ *alias* Chōḷendrasinga-S.	Ditto . . .	16	1194	Brahmadēśam . .	189/1918.
10	Śeng. Virākkaḍa-S. (Calls himself a Pallava).	Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III	17	1195	Vaḷuvūr . . .	58/98. See No. 18 below.
11	Śōlappiḷḷai *alias* Aḻagiyaśōḷa-S. son of Ammaiyappaṉ.	Ditto . . .	27	1205	Little Kāñchī . .	36/1893; *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 849.
a	Śeng. Atti. Virāṇḍāṉ *alias* Edirilisōḷa-S.	Ditto . . .	27	1205	Tiruvaṇṇāmalai .	516/1902; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 106. Enters compact. See Nos. 6k and 8c above.
b	Śeng. Am. Aḻagiyaśōḷaṉ *alias* Edirilisōḷa-S.	Ditto . . .	33	1211	Tiruvottiyūr . .	94/1900; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 103. Mentions his grand-father.
	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	35	1213	Āragaḷūr . . .	435/1913. Compact between (1) Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvaraiyar (2) Kulōttungaśōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyar and brother-in-law Kāḍavarāyar. The latter three chiefs pledged themselves not to be enemies of Śambuvarāya and give no shelter to offenders against him and he in turn vows to do the same. This complements compact in No. 516/1902. See Nos. 6k and 8c above.
c	Śeng. Atti. S *alias* Edirilisōḷa-S.	Rājarāja III . .	16	1232	Tiruvottiyūr . .	89/1900.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
d	Śeṅg. Virāśani Am. Taṉṉiṉṟu-veṉṟāṉ Taṉvaśikāṭṭuvāṉ Aḻagiyaśōḻaṉ *alias* Edirilīśōḻa-S.	Rājarāja III . .	22 and Ś. 1160	1238	Viriñchipuram . .	*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 59.
e	Virāśani Am. Aḻagiyaśōḻaṉ *alias* Edirilīśōḻa-S.	Ditto . . .	24 and Ś. 1161	1239	Ditto . . .	*Ibid.*, No. 61.
12	Śeṅg. Am. Vaṉṉiyaṉāyaṉ-S. .	Tribhuvanavīradēva .	38	1215	Iḷambayaṉkōṭṭūr .	234/1910; *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 849. Refers to a former gift by the chief. Title Vaṉṉiyaṉāyaṉ, *i.e.*, chief of Vaṉṉiyas, was assumed by Periya-Uḍaiyāṉ Śarrukkuḍāḍāṉ (171/1935).
13	Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ-S.	Ditto . .	35	1213	Tiruveṇṇainallūr .	*S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 170. This record was recopied in the 11th year of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva.
a	Śeṅg. Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ, son of S. Pallavāṇḍār.	Rājarāja III . .	13	1228	Tiruvottiyūr . .	166/1912; Probably son of No. 3 above.
b	Aḻagiyaśīya *alias* Aḻagiyaśōḻa-S. son of Pallavāṇḍār Edirilīśōḻa-S. one of the Śeṅgēṇi chiefs.	Ditto . . .	15	1231	Madhurāntakam .	393/1922.
14	Tribhuvanavīra-S. . . .	Rājarāja III . .	14	1230	Ditto . . .	406/1922.
15	Śeṅg. Vīrapperumāḷ *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa-S.	Ditto . . .	17	1233	Vaḷuvūr . . .	37/1908; cf. No. 8 above.
16	Vīraśōḻaṉ Atti. S. *alias* Edirilīśōḻa-S.	Ditto . .	1(9)	1235	Tiruvaṇṇāmalai .	551/1902; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 142.

a	S. Vīraśōlaṉ	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	16	1266	Tiruppukkuḻi	190/1916.
17	Atti. Śambukula-Perumāḷ *alias* Rājagambhīra-S.	Rājarāja III	20	1236	Tirumalai	*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 105, 108. Founded Śambukula-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.
18	Vīrapperumāḷ Edirilichōḷa Āḷappiṟandaṉāyaṉ *alias* Rājarāja-S., grandson of Śeṅgēṇi Vīrāgaraṉ Am.	Rājarāja	29	1245	Little Kāñchī	566/1919. Probably grandson of No. 10 above.
a	Piḷḷaiyār Rājarāja-S.	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	8	1258	Atti	302/1912.
b	Āḷappiṟandāṉ *alias* Rājarāja-S.	Ditto	18	1268	Ditto	303/1912.
c	Āḷappiṟandāṉ *alias* -S.	[No king]	..	..	Perunagar	353/1923. Chief revives festival instituted by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla.
19	Śeṅg. Atti. Am.	Vīra-Rājēndra-Chōḷa	2	1247	Tiruvottiyūr	80/1909 ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 88.
20	Aḻagiya Pallavaṉ Edirilichōḷa-S.	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	3	1253	Tiruvallam	*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 123.
21	Śambukulōttuṅga-S. Vīra-Champaṉ.	Saḍagōpavarman *alias* Tribh. Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.	8	1257	Tiruppukkuḻi	52/1900 ; 183/1916. Instituted 'Vīra Champaṉ-Śandi'. S.'s star 'Āyilyam'.
22	Sundara-Pāṇḍya-S.	Jaṭ. Sundara-Pāṇḍya	17	1268(?)	Kalavai	222/1901. Inscription begins with 'Samasta-jagadādhāra.'
23	Kulōttuṅgachōḷa-S. *alias* Aḻagiyaśōḻaṉ.	Tribh. Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla.	19	1269	Iḷambayaṉ-kōṭṭūr	236/1910.
24	Śōlappiḷḷai *alias* S. of Vēṭṭaikkuḍi in Maḷāḍu, a district of Magadaimaṇḍalam.	Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya.	21	1274	Kuḻalyūr	104/1918. Probably the Pāṇḍya king is the one who ruled from A. D. 1253 to 1278 ; *Vide* No. 11 above.
25	Kulaśēkhara-S.	....	10	..	Paḷḷikoṇḍa	458/1925.
			11	..	Ditto	459a/1925 ; 462/1925.
			13 + 1st	..	Ditto	456/1925.
			15	..	Ditto	459/1925.
		Vīra-Pāṇḍya	22 + 1st	..	Tiruvottiyūr	92/1900.
		....	22 + 1st		Paḷḷikoṇḍa	460/1925.
		....	25 (with astronomical details).	1302	Vēḷḷil	77/1908. Gives the 25th regnal year of Kulaśēkhara-S. Registers gift for a festival called 'Śeyyāṟṟil-veṉṟāṉ-śandi'.

APPENDIX—*concld.*

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
		Vīra-Pāṇḍya . .	25	..	Uttiramērūr . .	199/1923.
a	Ēkāmbaranāthan Kulaśēkhara-S.	Māravarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya	21st year and Śaka 1239 (with astronomical details).	1318	Viriñchipuram .	177/1940. Māṛavarman is a mistake for Jaṭāvarman.
26	Vīra Champaṉ *alias* S. . .	Māṟa-Tribh. Sundara-Pāṇḍya	12	1315	Tiruvottiyūr . .	97/1900. The Pāṇḍya king was evidently Jaṭ. Sundara-Pāṇḍya *II*.
a	Vīra Champa, son of Vīra Chōḻa	. . .	Śaka 1236	1314	Tiruvallam and Conjeeveram.	*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 70 f. His connection with the Śambuvarāyas is not clear.
27	Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa-S. called Ekāmbaranāthan (*Ep. Rep.* for 1933-34, p. 36).	[Quotes his own years]	Latest year 18	1322 to 1339	Kāñchī and other places.	Initial date fixed by 20/1933-34. Last year 18 (46/1900 and 48/1921).
28	Mallināthan Rājanārāyaṇa-S.	Ditto . . .	9, 16, 18 and 19 years known.	..	Gudimallūr, Piḷḷaipāḷaiyam, Kāvam, Tiruttaḷūr and Koḍuṅgaḷūr.	390/1905 of Kampaṇa from Kāvērippākkam refers to Mallinātha. 424/1905 ; 86/1921 ; 434/1925 and 139/1924. Elder brother of No. 29 below. *Ep. Rep.* for 1934, p. 36. Patron of the Tamil poets, Iraṭṭaiyar.
29	Rājanārāyaṇa-S. . .	[Own years] .	Latest 24 and possibly 26 (162/1940)	1337 to 1362-63		Initial year fixed by 30/1890 and 42/1900. Younger brother of No. 28 above. Ref. to Muhammadan invasions in his records (203/1912). Called also Poṉṉin-Tambirāṉ (33/1933-34).
30	Poṉṉāyaṉ Udāragaṇarāmaṉ-S.	Ditto . . .	5	..	Tiruttaḷūr	434/1925. This is a record of Rājanārāyaṇan Mallināthan-S. wherein the 5th year of the chief is quoted.

No. 29—A NOTE ON THE PONNUTURU PLATES OF GANGA SAMANTAVARMAN

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In the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 f. I have examined in detail several early Gāṅga dates and showed that the Gāṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A. D. 498).[1] Since my article was sent for publication, Mr. Somasekhara Sarma also has examined that question. According to him the era commenced in the Śaka year 426-27 or A. D. 504-05 some time between June and January. He did not fix the exact starting point of the era, but tried to prove that the months of the Gāṅga year were *pūrṇimānta*.[2] Recently Mr. Sarma has published the Ponnuṭūru plates of the Gāṅga king Sāmantavarman, dated Gn. 64. As these plates contain some data for calculation, one would have expected Mr. Sarma to calculate their date in the light of the epoch fixed by him, and to give its equivalent in the Śaka or the Christian era. He has not, however, done so. I therefore propose to examine this date to see how far it agrees with the epoch of the era fixed by me.

The Ponnuṭūru plates[3] record a grant by the Gāṅga king Sāmantavarman in the year 64, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara-saṅkrānti. The date on which the plates were actually issued is given at the end as the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pushya. According to the epoch fixed by me, the expired Gāṅga year should correspond to Ś. 484 (A. D. 562-63). Now, the Makara-saṅkrānti in Ś. 484 occurred 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th December A. D. 562. The *tithi*, Pushya śu. di. 13, in the same year ended 10 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 24th December A. D. 562. The plates were thus issued 4 days after the grant was made. This appears quite likely. The date of the Ponnuṭūru plates thus corroborates the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed by me.

On the other hand, this date disproves the other epochs proposed for the era, *viz.* A. D. 494 by Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 496 by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A. D. 497 by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and A. D. 504-05 by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. I state below in a tabular form the date of the Uttarāyaṇa and that corresponding to Pushya śu. di. 13 in the Gāṅga year 64.[4]

In *all* these cases the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara-saṅkrānti occurred some days *after* Pushya śukla trayōdaśī and so the grant made on the occasion of the saṅkrānti could not have been recorded on that *tithi* in any of these years.

In his article on the Gāṅga era as well as in that on the Ponnuṭūru plates Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to certain dates of the era which, according to him, are recorded in *pūrṇimānta* months. On the other hand I have shown in my article on the epoch of the era that the following three dates are recorded in *amānta* months—

Gāṅga Year 64

Proposed Epoch of the Era	Date of Uttarāyaṇa	Date corresponding to Pushya śu. di. 13.
A. D. 494	20th December A. D. 558	9th December A. D. 558
A. D. 496	19th December A. D. 560	16th December A. D. 560
A. D. 497	19th December A. D. 561	5th December A. D. 561
A. D. 504	19th December A. D. 568	18th December A. D. 568

[1] Subsequently I showed that the date of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 f.) also corroborates that epoch. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 192.

[2] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 f.

[4] I have calculated these dates according to the Ārya Siddhānta with the help of the tables in S. K. Pillay's *Indian Ephemeris*.

(1) Santa-Bommāli plates of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman I[1]—Gn. 221, Āshāḍha dina pañchamī, with a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. There was a solar eclipse in *amānta* Jyēshṭha in S. 641 (corresponding to the expired Gn. year 221). The wording of the date shows that the month Āshāḍha was *amānta*.

(2) Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman[1]—Gn. 308, with a solar eclipse in Māgha. There was a solar eclipse in *amānta* Māgha in S. 728 (corresponding to the expired Gn. 308).

(3) Poṇḍūru plates of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava[2]—Gn. 500, Āshāḍha-māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra. This date regularly corresponds to Śaka 919, Sunday, the 13th June A. D. 997 which was Āshāḍha su. di. 5. The wording of this date shows that the month Āshāḍha had commenced only four days before, with the bright fortnight, *i.e.*, it was *amānta*.

These three dates clearly indicate that the months of the Gāṅga year were *amānta*. On the other hand, Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to some other dates which in his opinion are recorded in *pūrṇimānta*[3] months. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss this question at some length to determine whether the months of the Gāṅga year were *generally amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*.

The only dates of the Gāṅga year which we need consider in this connection are those which mention a *tithi* in the dark fortnight of a month in connection with a solar eclipse, the autumnal or the vernal equinox or a week-day. Some other dates, whether of the bright or the dark fortnight, in which the *tithi* first mentioned in words is again expressed in the number of days at the end may also throw light on this question. On the other hand, if the *tithi* is not connected with a solar eclipse, an equinox or a week-day, but is mentioned at the end as denoting the date of the issue of the plates, it will be of no avail ; for, plates were often issued several days, if not months, after the grants recorded in them were made.[5] With these preliminary observations, we shall proceed to consider the relevant dates of the Gāṅga era—

Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has drawn attention to the following dates which according to him are in *pūrṇimānta* months—

(1) Ponnutūru plates of Sāmantavarman[4]—Gn. 64. In this record the *tithi* when the plates were issued is given first in words as *Pushya-śukla-paksha-trayōdaśī-dinam* in l. 26 and again in figures in line 29 as *Pushya-dina 28*. This shows that the month Pushya was *pūrṇimānta*.

(2) Urlam plates of Hastivarman[7]—Gn. 87. In this record the *tithi* when the grant was made is given in words in l. 13 as *Kārttika-krishṇ-āshṭamī* and the same date is expressed in figures in l. 23 as *Kārttika-dina* 8. This indicates that the month of Kārttika commenced with a dark fortnight.

These two dates are undoubtedly in *pūrṇimānta* months as stated by Mr. Sarma ; but the same cannot be said of the other two dates cited by him.

(3) Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarman[8]—Gn. 192. These plates record a grant made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The date when the plates were issued is given at the end as *Māgha*-

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 185 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 f. and Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 12 and 147.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 217 f.

[5] See, *e.g.*, the dates of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 119 f.), the Purle plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XIV, pp. 361 f.) and Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman (*ibid.* Vol. III., pp. 130 f.)

[6] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 f.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 f.

[8] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XI, pp. 301 f.

māsa-divasē triṁśatimē, *i.e.*, the 30th day of Māgha. Mr. Sarma supposes that the eclipse occurred on the day mentioned at the end, but of this there is no indication in the plates. As Mr. Sarma has himself observed, 'the charters in some cases at least were issued long after the actual date of the grant. This shows that the donee was in possession of the land or *agrahāra* given to him from the date of the actual grant and the royal charter recording the gift was given him some time later —after a lapse of some months (or even years)'.[1] The same seems to have happened in the case of the Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarman. According to the epoch of A. D. 498, about the general correctness of which there should now be no doubt, the Gn. year 192 should correspond to A. D. 690. In that year there were two lunar eclipses—one in Jyēshṭha and the other in Mārgaśirsha, but none in Māgha. The expression *Māgha-triṁśatimē* need not therefore signify Māgha *pūrṇimā*; it may as well denote Māgha *amāvāsyā*. This date does not therefore indicate that the month of Māgha mentioned in the Tekkali plates was *pūrṇimānta*.

(4) Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman[2]—Gn. 195. These plates record in line 14 a grant made on the occasion of the Dakshiṇāyana or Karkaṭaka-saṅkrānti. No *tithi* is mentioned in connection with it; but at the end in l. 29 is mentioned *Śrāvaṇa-kṛishṇa-dina-pañchamē* as the date on which the charter was made over to the donee. There is no indication in the record that this was also the date of the Dakshiṇāyana. There is thus no basis for Mr. Sarma's statement that 'the Dakshiṇāyana *referred to* in the text of the grant must have occurred on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvāṇa in 195 G. E.'[3] As in the the case of the Ponnuṭūru plates of Sāmantavarman dated Gn. 64 and the Achyutapuram plates[4] of Indravarman II, dated Gn. 87, the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman dated Gn. 195 may have been issued some days *after* the grant was made. According to my epoch of the Gāṅga era, the Dakshiṇāyana in the expired Gn. Year 195 occurred 3 h. 20 m. on the 22nd June A. D. 693 and the *amānta* Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 5 ended on the 28th July A. D. 693. This date does not therefore go against the epoch fixed above; nor does it indicate that the month Śrāvaṇa mentioned in it was *pūrṇimānta*.

There are thus only two dates of the Gāṅga era which are recorded in the *pūrṇimānta* months. As against this, in three dates cited before, the *amānta* reckoning is unmistakably noticed. This mixture of *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* months in the dates of the Gāṅga era is not surprising; for the same thing is noticed in the case of other eras also. Kielhorn has, for instance, observed after examining several dates of the Vikrama era that the southern (*Kārttikādi*) year of that era was joined with the *pūrṇimānta* as often as with the *amānta* scheme. The dates of the Śaka era are generally in *amānta* months, but Kielhorn noticed that in the case of one date, (*viz.*, the Hyderabad plates of Pulakēśin II), the *pūrṇimānta* scheme had been used.[5] I have shown elsewhere that the months of the Kalachuri year were generally *amānta* in Mahārāshṭra and Gujarāt and *pūrṇimānta* in Central India and Chhattisgarh, but in exceptional cases the other scheme also is seen to have been used.[6] The same seems to have occurred in the case of the Gāṅga era also.

It will be noticed that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme has been used in two of the earliest grants of the Gāṅga era, while the *amānta* scheme has been adopted in some later ones. The reason for this is

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[1] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 148, n. 1.

[2] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 f.

[3] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 147. If the Dakshiṇāyana occurred on the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa va. di. 5 in A. D. 699, it was a mere coincidence. The *pūrṇimānta* scheme is wholly inapplicable in the case of the dates cited above, on p. 172.

[4] These plates were granted on the Udagayana, but were issued on Chaitra *amāvāsyā*. The Udagayana or Uttarāyaṇa could not have occurred in Chaitra.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 272.

[6] *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 22 f.

not hard to find. According to some scholars the Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga hailed from Karṇāṭaka where the Śaka era was in vogue. As Kielhorn has shown, the months of the Śaka era were generally *amānta* and very rarely *pūrṇimānta*. Besides, the prevailing custom in Karṇāṭaka in the early centuries of the Christian era seems to have been to use the *amānta* scheme. Very few early inscriptions from Karṇāṭaka contain any data necessary for the verification of the dates mentioned in them, but there is one record which affords a clue. The Saṅgōḷi plates[1] of Harivarman record a grant made on the occasion of the Vishuva on the new-moon day of Āśvina. The mention of Vishuva or Tulā-saṅkrānti in the dark fortnight of Āśvina shows that the month was *amānta*. Harivarman flourished in A. D. 526 or 545. So the Saṅgōḷi plates belong to about the same period as the commencement of the Gāṅga era and may be taken to indicate the custom of reckoning of lunar months prevailing in Karṇāṭaka. If the Gāṅgas originally hailed from Karṇāṭaka, they may have commenced their era on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1. The custom prevailing in Kaliṅga may have been to use the *pūrṇimānta* scheme as it certainly was in the neighbouring country of Dakshiṇa Kōsala.[2] The Gāṅgas following this custom seem to have dated some of their early records according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. Later on, however, they adopted the *amānta* scheme with which they were familiar in their home province.[3] Hence we find that in all later records of the Gāṅga era, the months are reckoned according to the *amānta* scheme.

No. 30—INTWA CLAY SEALING

(*1 Plate*)

B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

The ancient site of **Inṭwā** is situated on a hill, in the midst of a thick jungle, about three miles from the famous rock at Jūnāgaḍh in Saurāshṭra, that contains inscriptions of Aśōka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta. The name *Inṭwā* owes its origin to the fact that the site has since long been yielding bricks (*īnṭs*) in abundance.

During the winter of 1949, the Government of Saurāshṭra had a small-scale excavation conducted here under the direction and supervision of Mr. G. V. Acharya, once the Curator of the Archæological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. He has laid bare remains of a couple of Buddhist monasteries. One finds that their pavements, walls, drains and platforms were all made of bricks of extra large size. In plan, they closely resemble those exposed at Taxila. Further diggings at Inṭwā must yield many more antiquities.

Mr. Acharya has collected an assortment of relics from this site in the shape of tiles, terracotta, pottery, beads and the like, but no inscription. The only inscribed object found there is a baked clay sealing. It is now housed in the local museum at Jūnāgaḍh along with the other Inṭwā antiquities.

In November 1950, I happened to visit Jūnāgaḍh in the course of my official tour that side. I then had an opportunity of examining the sealing in question. Similar clay sealings have been

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[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 163 f.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the date of the Lōdhia plates of Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna, *Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, p. 121. The *tithi Kārttika-pournamasī* is again expressed as *Kārttika dina 30*, which shows that the month was *pūrṇimānta*. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 325, text line 32.

[3] In the same way the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi continued to use the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era, which was previously current in Mahārāshṭra, for some years after they conquered the country from the Kalachuris, but later on they gradually introduced there the Śaka era with which they had been familiar in their home province: *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII p. 43.

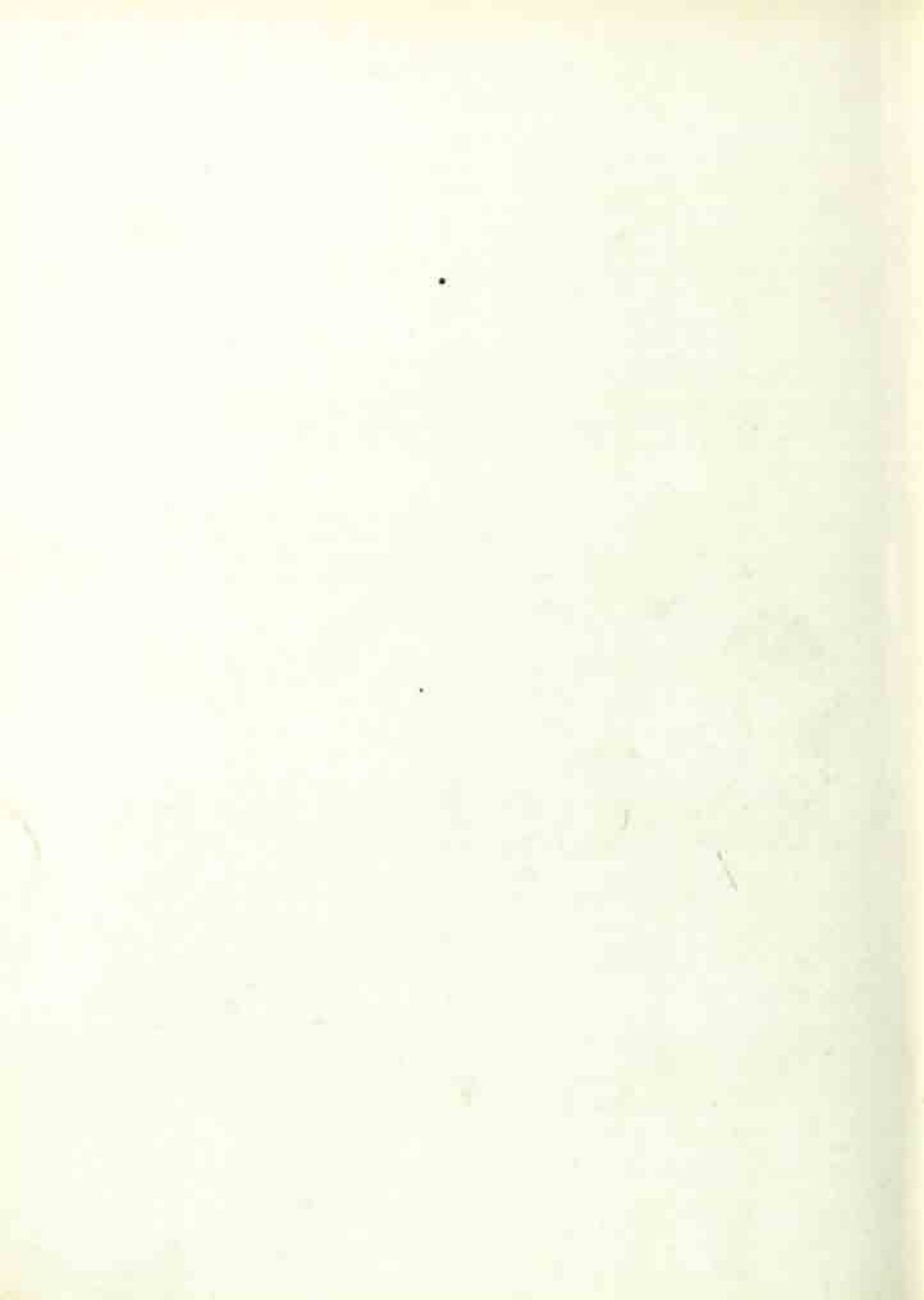
INTWA CLAY SEALING

Pencil Rubbing

Enlarged Photograph

Photograph

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 5977 E'36.

found in their hundreds at various ancient sites in the Uttar Pradesh such as Rājghāṭ near Banāras.

The Inṭwā sealing is almost round in shape and about an inch in diameter. In the centre it has what is commonly called the *chaitya* symbol. Along the margin it has a legend in Brāhmī characters, running the entire course. It begins at *3 O' clock*. The raised letters are a little worn out. Mr. Acharya had succeeded in reading a part of the legend; but it still remained a riddle. Luckily it yielded to my examination and revealed its full text to me, which is:

Mahārāja-Rudrasēna-vihārē bhikshu-saṁghasya

It means that the seal 'belongs to the congregation of friars at the **Mahārāja Rudrasēna Monastery**.'

This short record on the sealing is of great historical importance. The *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna spoken of herein is obviously one of those Kshatrapas who were descendants of Chashṭana and who ruled in Saurāshṭra and in the neighbouring regions from the 2nd to the 4th century A. C. There were four rulers of the name of Rudrasēna in this dynasty, and it is not possible at this stage to say definitely as to which one is meant here, though the palæography of the legend would make him Rudrasēna I, who was a son of Rudrasiṁha I and whose reign-period is known to be 199-222 A. C.[1]

The present sealing is the only record so far discovered that shows that this Rudrasēna built a monastery for Buddhist monks at Jūnāgadh—a natural inference from the name it bore: *Mahārāja-Rudrasēna-Vihāra*. Further light is expected to be thrown on his activities as a patron of Buddhism when more relics will come to light from the Inṭwā site.

Recently Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has published an interesting paper on the Seals of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient India, in which he has discussed similar *bhikshu-saṅgha* seals from Kasiā, Sārnāth, etc.[2] To that list we may now add the Inṭwā sealing. And this one would be the earliest of the lot.[3]

No. 31—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF ANANTASAKTIVARMAN

(1 *Plate*)

R. Subrahmanyam, Visakhapattanam

On receipt of a report from the village officers of **Andhavaram**, that an urn, containing four sets of copper plates with inscriptions, was accidently exposed by some cowherds of that village while playing, I visited the village on 27th February 1951. Messrs. Ramachandramurty and Rajarao, the village officers, took me to the findspot, and were kind enough to permit me to carry the plates to Viśākhapaṭṇam, for study and publication. Andhavaram is a small village in the Narasannapeta taluk of the Srikakulam District, Madras State. It is situated on the left bank of the Vaṁśadhārā river. It is about twelve miles from Chicacole Road Railway Station. There are two

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[1] See E. J. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, etc.*, in *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, p. 96.

[2] *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Centenary Volume (1845-1945), New Series Vol. I, pp. 27-32.

[3] [As this paper was going through the press, information was received of the discovery of two more similar clay sealings of Buddhist monasteries, one from Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, and the other from Kumrāhār, ancient Pāṭaliputra. The former belongs to the congregation of friars at the Ghōshita *ārāma*, while the latter pertains to the congregation of friars at Ārogya *vihāra*.—Ed.]

mounds in the south-east part of the village, on one of which there is a big banyan tree. The urn containing the plates was discovered just at the foot of this tree. The plates were suspended by means of an iron rod inserted across the deliberately broken rim of the urn and are in a good state of preservation.[1] The urn itself is of red earthenware and has a wide circular mouth. It had a hemispherical lid. The copper plates were preserved inside the urn in paddy-husk. This method of preserving copper-plate grants is known from some other cases as well.[2] There were, in all, four sets of copper plates. Each set consists of three plates held together by means of a thick ring, the two ends of which are securely soldered under a seal bearing the *lāñchhana* of the respective royal donor.

The earliest of the four records is edited here. Each of its three plates measure $6\frac{7}{16}'' \times 2\frac{3}{16}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$. Its copper ring is circular, 4" in diameter, and **seal** elliptical ($3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$). The legend on it is badly worn out, though four lines of writing are traceable. The writing is enclosed within straight lines of which there are four running across the breadth of the oval surface. Above the legend, at the top, are figured a dot and a crescent which stand respectively for a star (or sun) and the moon.

The plates do not have raised rims, but still the writing on them is in a fair state of preservation. The first side of the first plate alone is left blank. The ring had to be cut by me for taking impressions. The plates together with the ring weigh 102 *tolas*, the ring alone weighing 67 *tolas*.

The **script** of the inscription is Brāhmī of the southern type and bears close resemblance to the archaic characters adopted in the grants[3] of the kings of Kaliṅga of the 5th and 6th centuries. Attention may be drawn to the peculiar type of the *serif* of the letters which is indicated by a dot or dots as the case may be. In this feature it closely resembles the script of the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman.[4] The **language** is Sanskrit and except for the two benedictory verses quoted from Manu and Vyāsa, at the end (lines 14-17), the inscription is in prose. The final *m* is smaller in size and is often engraved below the line; *e.g.*, *karttavyam* in line 12; consonants are doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r* as in *varmma* in line 5, *etc.* Except for one or two mistakes of the engraver, the inscription reads all right. The numerical symbols for *10*, *5* and *4* are given in the date portion of the grant. The name of the lunar month and the day are also given. Of the two place-names given in the inscription—Vijayapura and Āndōreppa,[5] the latter appears to be the ancient name of Andhavaram, the findspot of the inscription. I am not able to identify the other place, Vijayapura.

The inscription belongs to the king **Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman** of the **Māṭhara** family (line 5) and is issued from **Vijayapura**, where the king was camping with his army (*hasty-aśva-skandhāvārāt*). It records the donation made by the king of the village of Āndōreppa converted into an *agrahāra*, free of all taxes, to the very *brāhmaṇa* families belonging to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas* to whom, earlier, the village had been granted by **Āryyaka-Śaktibhaṭṭāraka-pāda** who had conquered the celestial beings by the incessant practice of *Dharma* as ordained.

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[1] A photograph of the urn with the four sets of plates suspended from the rod in their original position was published in some of the English dailies, announcing the discovery. See, for instance, the *Mail* and the *Hindu* (both of Madras), respectively, of the 11th and the 14th April 1951.

[2] For instance, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 268 and n. 2.

[3] Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman, above, Vol. XII, pages 1 ff. and plate; Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 53; Sakunaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman, C. P. No. 21 of 1934-35. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, was kind enough to send me a set of estampages of this last mentioned inscription, the facsimiles of which have not yet been published, for purposes of comparison, for which I am highly obliged to him.

[4] Above, XII, p. 2.

[5] Cf. Kindeppa of the Śṛiṅgavarapukōṭa plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 57).

The king is described as a devout worshipper of the lotus-fee of the god Nārāyaṇa whose chest was embraced by Kamalanilayā (*i.e.*, Lakshmī), as an ornament to Māṭhara-kula, and as the inheritor of the body, kingdom posperity and prowess through the devotion to the feet of the venerable Lord, the father (*Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvapta-śarīra-rājya-vibhava-pratāpaḥ*). The executor or *Ājñapti* of the grant was one Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (Commander-in-chief) and the record was written by Mātṛivata who was both *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita* (Record-keeper of the *dēśa* or District ?).

Ananta-Śaktivarman is already known to us by a record[1] issued by him from his capital **Siṁhapura** which registers the grant of the village Sakuṇaka in the Varāhavartanī *vishaya* to the *brāhmaṇa* brothers Nāgaśarman and Duggaśarman in the 28th year of his reign, but no complete account of the Māṭhara family and the part played by them in the history of Kaliṅga is available. During the confusion that followed the invasion of Samudragupta, many new dynasties rose into prominence in Kaliṅga and of those the Māṭhara family appears to have acquired paramount sway over the whole of Kaliṅga. Śaktivarman, the founder of the dynasty, seems to have annexed the kingdom of Pishṭapura, supplanting Mahēndra[2] or one of his successors.

The Rāgōlu[3] charter describes Śaktivarman as an ornament of Māgadha(Māṭhara ?)-kula and Lord of Kaliṅga. He had also the matronymic name Vāsishṭhīputra, perhaps copied from the Sātavāhanas or Ikhākus. But no definite information is available about the successors of Śaktivarman. But it can be presumed from the Sakuṇaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman that the Māṭhara family lost its hold in the Gōdāvarī region where Pishṭapura (*i.e.*, Piṭhāpuram) was situated and its sway was confined to North Kaliṅga with Siṁhapura as its capital. About 7 records (excluding the plates under review) pertaining to the successors of Śaktivarman of Rāgōlu plates have so far been discovered. They are : Sakuṇaka grant[4] of Mahārāja of Ananta-Śaktivarman, the Tiritthāṇa[5] grant (Bobbili plates) and the Kōmarti[6] plates of Chaṇḍavarman, the Dhavalapēṭa plates,[7] the Bṛihatprōshṭhā[8] and the Astihavēra[9] grants of Mahārāja Umavarman and the Koroshaṇḍā[10] plates of Mahārāja Viśākhavarman. In view of the close resemblances of styles adopted in the *praśasti* portion of these grants and the invariable appearance of the title *pitṛibhaktaḥ* or 'devout worshipper of the father' in some form or other in all these grants, in spite of no specific reference being made to Māṭhara-kula in a few among them, it has been surmised that all the kings figuring in these charters belonged to one and the same family,[11] though it is difficult to establish a definite chronological relationship.

By inference it has been established that Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates was the ancestor of Ananta-Śaktivarman and on grounds of palaeography a time-lapse of a hundred years has been allowed between the records of these two kings. The Government Epigraphist for India, tentatively suggested in his report for the year 1934-35 that Ananta-Śaktivarman was the grandson of

[1] C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35 ; also see *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, p. 53. This record is under publication in this journal.

[2] Mahēndra is mentioned as the ruler of Pishtapura in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta—Jayaswal : *History of India* (1933), pages 134 ff. ; Fleet : *Gupta Inscriptions* (*C. I. I.* Vol. III) No. 1, lines 19-20. The Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman of Māgadha(Māṭhara)-kula was issued from Pishṭapura, the capital of Mahēndra mentioned in the Allahabad inscription.

[3] Above, Vol. XII, p. 2.

[4] C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35 , *A. S. I.*, 1934-35, page 65 and *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1935, page 53.

[5] C. P. No. 12 of 1934-35. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 35 and plate.

[6] Above, Vol. IV, pages 142 ff. and plates.

[7] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pages 143-44 and plate ; above, Vol. XXVI, pages 132 ff. and plates.

[8] Above, Vol. XII, pages 4 f. and plate.

[9] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pages 53-54 ; C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35. This record is under publication in this journal.

[10] Above, Vol. XXI, page 23 f. and plates ; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pages 282 ff. and plate.

[11] *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1934-35, page 53. *Early Dynasties of Andhra Desa*, pages 387 ff.

Śaktivarman with the possibility of Anantavarman intervening between them who might have been the father of our present Śaktivarman. The latter's name is perhaps indicated by the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman to distinguish him from the earlier Śaktivarman. If this suggestion be accepted, then we may place Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman, the donor of the present charter, in the first half **of the 5th century A. D.**

Since the grant was issued from a military camp at Vijayapura and not from Siṁhapura[1] which is mentioned as the capital in the records dated later one is tempted to presume that Ananta-Śaktivarman was just then engaged in some battle. No information is available as to the king with whom he was fighting. Presumably he was compelled in his 14th year to leave Pishṭapura, his ancestral capital, by the rising power of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers of Vēṅgī to find a capital in the northern regions of Kaliṅga, *i.e.*, Vijaya-Siṁhapura or Siṁhapura, from where members of his dynasty ruled subsequently till they were overthrown by the Vāsishṭhas.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] mahāhasty-aśva-skandhāvārād=**Vijayapurād**-Bhagavataḥ=Ka-
2 malanilay-ākkrānta-vakshasō Nārāyaṇa-svāminaḥ=pāda-bhaktaḥ
3 parama-daivata[3]-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-śarīra-
4 rājya-vibhava-pratāpō **Māṭhara**-kul-ālaṅkarishṇuḥ=Kaliṅgādhipa-

Second Plate ; First Side

5 tiś-Śrīman-Mahārāj-**Ananta-Śaktivarmma(mmā)**[4] [Ā]-[5]ndōreppa-grāmē sa[r]vva sa-
6 manvāgatān=kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati [|*] asty=avani[pa]-yathōkta-
7 dharmm-āvasthāna-vijita-tt[r]ivishṭapair-**Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka**-pā
8 daiḥ nānā-gōtra-nānā-charaṇēbhyō brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ=pūrvva-datta ity=asmā-

Second Plate ; Second Side

9 bhir=api sva-puṇy-āyur-yyaśō-bhivṛiddhayē ā sahasrāṁśu-śaśi-tāra-
10 kād=agrahāraṁ=kṛitvā sarvva-parihāraiś=cha parihṛity=aibhyō brāhmaṇa-ku-
11 lēbhyō=tiṛishṭaḥ [||*] tad=ēvaṁ jñātvā yushmābhir=uchit-ōpasthānaṁ-ka-
12 rttavyam[|*]bhavishyad-rājāna=cha vijñāpayati yushmābhir=api pravṛittakam

[1] C. P. No. 4 1934-35. Siṁhapura has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. IV, page 143) with the modern Siṅgupuram or Siṅgapuram in the Narasannapeta taluk of the present Śrīkakulam District.

[2] From original plates.

[3] May be corrected as *parama-daivata[ḥ*]* in which case this epithet becomes applicable to the royal donor.

[4] [The writer may have purposely used the a-ending form and not a-ending, thus °*varmmā* and not °*varmmā*, in which case no correction is necessary, the hiatus in °*varmmā* Ā*ndō*° being perfectly regular according to the *sandhi* rules. That the a-ending form is not incorrect, but ought to be taken as a less common form, may be inferred from its use in certain other early inscriptions. Compare, for example, *Sarvvavarmmaṇa* in the Nirmand plate of Samudrasēna (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 289, text line 9); *putrō-śvavarmmā sikhyātaḥ* (the *yūpa* inscription *A* of king Mūlavarman, Bosch, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vol. 74, 1918, p. 213); and *Vishṇuvarmmaṇya* of the Perak seal (*J. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 28). If the above surmise is correct, the writer of the present charter has done well in employing the less common form, for, in doing so, he has saved the ambiguity which would otherwise have resulted as to the proper name of the village, beginning as ā. The coalescence would have passed unnoticed, or, if detected, one would have been left wondering whether the name of the village began with an *a* or with an *ā*.—Ed.]

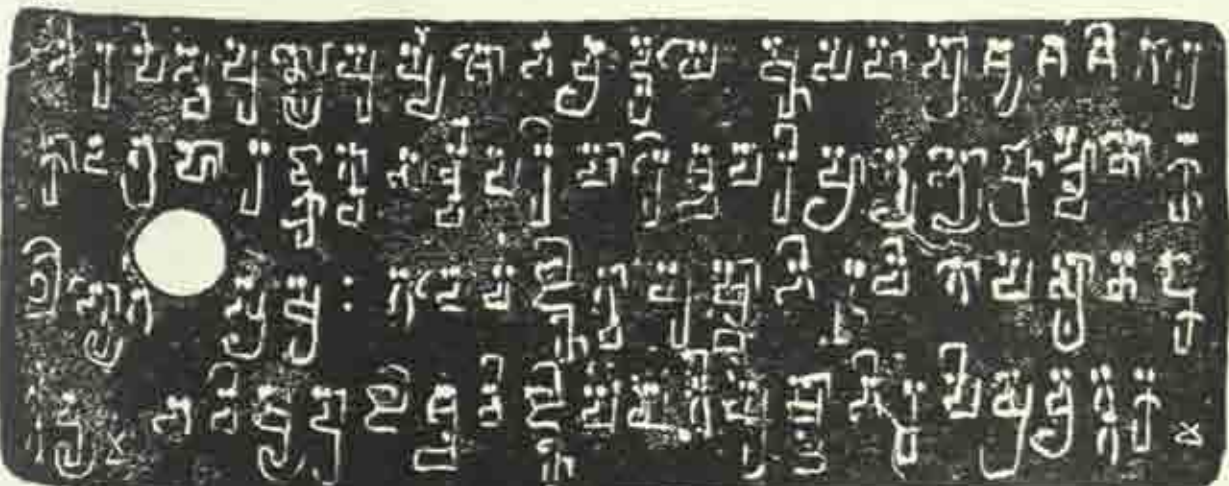
[5] The ā seems to have been written on an erasure. Its form is slightly different from the ā in line 9, which perfectly formed.

i.

ii.a.

ii.b.

B.Ch.Chhabra | Actual size | Survey of India, Dehra Dun

Reg. No. 581 HE(C) '51-499.

iii,a.

14 14

16 16

iii,b.

18 18

20 20

Third Plate : First Side

13 imaṁ=dāna-dharmmam=anupaśyadbhir=ēshō=grahārō=nupālyaḥ [|*]
14 api ch=ātra manu-Vyāsa-gītau ślōkau bhavataḥ[|*] Bahubhir=bbahudhā da-
15 ttā vasudhā vasudhādhipaih[|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
16 [ta]sya tadā phalam[||*] Pūrvva-dattē n=dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira[|*]

Third Plate ; Second Side

17 mahīm=mahimatām śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam-iti ||[1] ājñāptiḥ
18 mahādaṇḍanāyakāḥ[|*] samvatsarāś=chaturddaśaḥ 10 4 Śrāvaṇa-
19 śukla-pañchamyāṁ 5 [|*] dēś-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita-daṇḍanāyaka-
20 **Mātṛivarēṇa** likhitam=iti ||　　　　|||[2]

No. 32—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JAJPUR

(*1 Plate*)

Dines Chandra Sircar, Ootacamund

Jajpur is an old town on the Vaitaraṇī river which seems to have provided in early times the line of demarcation between Utkala and Kaliṅga. According to the *Raghuvaṁśa*,[3] Utkala lay between Kaliṅga (district round Mount Mahēndra, *i.e.* the Mahēndragiri peak in the Ganjam District) and the Kapiśā river (the modern Kāsāi running through the Midnapur District), while the *Mahābhārata*[4] seems to mention the Vaitaraṇī as the north-eastern boundary of the Kaliṅga country. Of course, in later times, under the Bhauma-Karas and the Sōmavaṁśis, often represented as lords of Utkala, this country seems to have included the Puri District and sometimes even the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District.[5] The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[6] seems to suggest that the Kaliṅga region in the present Orissan coastland was regarded by the Aryans of the later Vedic age as an impure (*i.e.*, predominantly non-Aryan) country, although it was sometimes visited by the Aryans. A later popular saying[7] allowed the Aryans to frequent this coast country only on pilgrimage. The *Mahābhārata*[8] regards the valley of the Vaitaraṇī as a holy land fit for pilgrimage and specifically mentions Viraja, which, along with the variants *Virajā* and *Virajas*, is no other than the

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[1] Read °m||*] iti ||.

[2] There is a floral design between the two sets of triple *daṇḍas* and a wavy line at the end.

[3] *Cf.* Canto IV, verse 38: *Sa tīrtvā Kapiśāṁ sainyair=baddha-dvirada-sētubhiḥ | Utkal-ādarśita-pathaḥ Kaliṅg-ābhimukhaṁ yayau ||*

[4] *Cf.* III, 114, 4 : *ētē Kaliṅgāḥ Kauntēya yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī.*

[5] For the Bhauma-Karas, see *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II pp. 103-05. Their kingdom was known both as Utkala and Tōsalī (or Tōsalā). Tōsalī was divided into two administrative divisions, *viz.*, Northern and Southern. The Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī division included Kōṅgōda on the Puri-Ganjam border. The Sōmavaṁśis, who were in occupation of the Puri region, were apparently mentioned in the records of the imperial Gaṅgas, who at first ruled from Kaliṅga-nagara (Mukhaliṅgam in the Srikakulam District) and claimed to be Kaliṅgas originally, as lords of Utkala.

[6] Cf. I, 1, 13-15 : *Avantayō='ṅga-Magadhāḥ Surāshṭrā Dakshiṇāpathāḥ | Upāvṛit-Sindhu-Sauvīrā ētē saṅkīrṇa-yōnayaḥ || Āraṭṭān Kāraskarān Puṇḍrān Sauvīrān Vaṅgān Kaliṅgān Prānūnān=iti cha gatvā punastōmēna yajēta sarvapṛishṭhayā vā | ath=āpy=udāharanti | padbhyāṁ sa kurutē pāpaṁ yaḥ Kaliṅgān prapadyatē | ṛishayō nishkṛitiṁ tasya prāhur=vaiśvānaraṁ haviḥ ||*

[7] Cf. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 74 : *Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅgēshu Saurāshṭrē Magadhēshu cha | tīrtha-yātrāṁ vinā gachchhan punaḥ-saṁskāram=arhati ||*

[8] Cf. note 4 above ; also *ibid*, III, 83, 6 : *tatō Vaitaraṇīṁ gachchhēt sarva-pāpa-pramōchanīm | Virajaṁ tīrtham=āsādya virājati yathā śaśī ||*

present Jajpur, as an important place of pilgrimage. Jajpur was thus one of the earliest *tīrthas* in the east coast country.

The present name of the town of Jajpur seems to be a corruption of *Yayātipura*. It appears that the Sōmavaṁśīs (from the tenth to the thirteenth century) who had their headquarters at Yayātinagara in Northern Orissa, built by and named after Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, made Yayātipura or Jajpur their secondary capital after extending their power in Southern Orissa. The fact that Jajpur was probably also called Yayātinagara is suggested by the early Muslim chroniclers as they mentioned the Orissa kingdom of the Gaṅgas, who supplanted the Sōmavaṁśīs from Southern Orissa and may have had their secondary headquarters at Jajpur, as Jājnagar.[1] During the medieval period Jajpur became a great centre of Tantrik worship and of the Mother-goddess cult.[2] Whether this was primarily due to the patronage of the Sōmavaṁśī kings, who were Śaivas, cannot be determined. But Jajpur enjoyed a glorious position, even before the age of the Sōmavaṁśīs, during the days of the Bhauma-Karas (from the seventh to the ninth century), who had their capital at or near the site of Jajpur. Most of the charters of the Bhauma-Kara kings were issued from the city of Guhadēvapāṭaka or Guhēśvarapāṭaka; but in an endorsement to a charter[3] of the Gaṅga king Jayavarman of Śvētaka, Unmattakēsarin (°siṁha) *alias* Śivakara I, who was the founder of the greatness of the family and possibly ruled about the middle of the seventh century, is said to have had his residence at Virajas, *i.e.*, Jajpur, and it appears that Guhadēvapāṭaka or Guhēśvarapāṭaka was the name applied by the Bhauma-Karas either to Virajas (Jajpur) itself or to a new city built by them in its vicinity.[4] It is not known whether the name Guhadēvapāṭaka or Guhēśvarapāṭaka was derived from a deity or a king or from a deity named after a king. There is no evidence regarding the existence of a king having a name or surname like Guha in the family. The dynasty is called Bhauma[5] in earlier records but Kara[6] in later documents. The latter name was actually the stereotyped ending of the names of the kings of the family, although, strictly speaking, it was *kara* in most cases (cf. the names Lakshmī-kara, Kshēmaṅ-kara, Śiva-kara and Śānti-kara) but *ākara* in one at least (cf. the name Śubh-ākara). The earlier kings of the family were Buddhists while the later rulers were followers either of Śaivism or of Vaishṇavism.

Although Jajpur was certainly the residence of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings and it is probable that all the rulers of this family had their headquarters at this place or its neighbourhood, it is rather curious that so long no inscription of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty came from the town. In January 1950, I visited Jajpur especially with the idea of seeing whether any record of the Bhauma-Karas could be traced. I am very glad to note that my effort did not prove entirely fruitless as I discovered an interesting lithic record (A) of the time of an early Bhauma-Kara ruler and another (B) that may be tentatively assigned to the early days of the family's rule. These two inscriptions are edited here.

A. Haṁsēśvara Temple Inscription of the time of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty.

On the 3rd of January 1950, while I was staying at the Inspection Bungalow at Jajpur, I received information about the existence of a stone inscription in the ruins of the Haṁsēśvara temple from

[1] See *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

[2] Vide *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (*J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIV), pp. 33, 45; cf. also references under Yājapura, Yāgapura, Virajā, Nābhigayā, etc., in Appendix V, pp. 80-100. Jajpur is written in Oriya as *Yājapura* and pronounced as *Jājapura* or *Jājpur*.

[3] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.

[4] Cf. *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 103; B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 57.

[5] Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 8, 14, *etc.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 25, 34, etc. The recently discovered Terundiā plate of Śubhākara II (son of *Śivakara II* from Mōhinīdēvī), dated year 100, mentions the family both as Bhauma and Kara. This is the earliest mention of the family as Kara.

an old Oriya gentleman named Chandrasekhar Das who is a poet and an inhabitant of Śivadāsapura forming a part of the Jajpur town. Mr. Das kindly led me to the site which was found to be not far from the Virajā and Trilōchana temples at Jajpur. Of the Haṁsēśvara temple only the plinth and the floor and the lower part of the side and back walls could be seen. There was no trace of the front wall, the upper parts of the other walls and the roof. A rectangular piece of black stone, bearing an inscription, was found embedded in the inner side of the existing lower part of the back wall. It appeared to me that the stone actually belonged to an earlier temple whose materials were utilised in the construction of the Haṁsēśvara temple possibly on the same site after the former had become dilapidated owing to the ravages of time. The ruins of the Haṁsēśvara temple lie on the bank of an old tank now almost dried up. Mr. Das informed me that the whole area had been formerly covered with a dense jungle which was cleared some 20 years ago.

The inscribed stone is rectangular in shape. There is a margin of several inches to the left of the writing; but the right side of the stone is broken and there is no margin to the right of the inscription. The lower end of the stone seems also to be broken off; but it is difficult to say anything definitely on this point. The inscription is thus fragmentary with portions lost at the end of all the extant lines, and possibly some lines of writing now missing totally. The inscribed face of the stone, as it now stands, contains altogether eleven lines, each measuring 11·5". An examination of the verses inscribed on the stone shows that an equal number of *aksharas* have been broken away from the end of all these lines. Thus the inscribed stone seems to have been originally at least double its present length. Single letters are about ·5" in height.

The **characters** employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian type of the Northern Alphabet and may be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the seventh or eight century A.D. Some of their characteristics are the same as those of the early records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs *a* (line 10), *ā* (line 2), *i* (lines 3, 5, 6), *ī* (line 6) and *u* (line 1). Medial *u* has two different forms. In many cases it resembles its late Dēvanāgarī form (cf. °*r=avatu* in line 1, °*m=bhuvi* in line 5, °*dbhutam* in line 8, etc.); but in a few cases (cf. *kulādbhut=ē*° in line 2) it looks almost like medial *ū* (cf. °*vy=abhūd=a*° in line 4 and °*d=bhūshitam* in line 7). The form of medial *au* in °*d=Bhauma*° in line 2 is interesting to note as it has an ornamental *śirō-mātrā* besides the two *prishṭha-mātrās*. Of final consonants we have only *m* (cf. lines 7, 8). The lower part of subscript *y* is ornamental and considerably long and it covers the space below several preceding *aksharas*. In the passage *śrīman-Mādhavadēvy=a*° in line 4, the subscript *y* in *vya* covers the space below the five preceding *aksharas*. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is composed entirely in verse. Interesting from the **orthographical** point of view is the wrong spelling in *vidhvansanaḥ* for *vidhvaṁsanaḥ* in line 2. Final *m* has usually been changed to the nasal of the class of the following consonants (cf. °*tulaṅ=Ka*° in line 7, *nivāsan=tēna* and *dēvyān=gatā*° in line 10). Consonants like *m* and *n* have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r* preceding them.

The existing portion of the fragmentary inscription contains **no date**. But as will be shown below, it refers to king **Śubhākara** I of the **Bhauma-Kara** dynasty, who may be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the seventh century.[1] The date quoted in the Neulpur plate[2] issued by this king cannot be definitely deciphered; but the Dhauli cave inscription of his second son Śāntikara I is clearly dated in the year 93 of an unspecified era.[3] The era used by the Bhauma-Karas is now usually identified with the Harsha era of 606 A. D. and consequently the date of the Dhauli cave inscription would correspond to 699 A. D. As Śubhākara I was succeeded first by his elder son

[1] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 103.
[2] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1-8, and plate; Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-7.
[3] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-64; Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Śivakara II[1] and then by his younger son Śāntikara I, he seems to have flourished considerably before the end of the seventh century. It, however, seems that our record was incised when Subhākara I may not have been on the throne. The inscription under discussion may thus roughly be assigned to **the third or fourth quarter of the seventh century**.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *siddham* or *siddhir=astu*. Line 1 of the epigraph seems to have contained a complete verse in the *Āryā* metre. This is suggested by the fact that line 2 begins with a different verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. Of the verse in line 1, only the first foot and nine syllables as well as traces of four more *aksharas* of the second foot are found. That the right part of this line, that has been broken away and lost, contained a little above twenty *aksharas* appears to be suggested quite clearly by lines 9-11 of the inscription. Line 9 begins with a verse in the *Indravajrā* or *Upajāti* metre which ends with the word *haṭṭaḥ* followed by two *daṇḍas* at the commencement of the next line. Then follows a verse in the *Mālinī* metre ending with the word *yasya* followed by two *daṇḍas* and the expression *tēn=aitat°* forming the beginning of another verse in a metre other than the *Mālinī*. This analysis shows that no less than twenty-one syllables are lost at the end of line 9 and twenty-three at the end of the following line.

The extant portion of verse 1 containing the words "*alir=avatu*, " let the bee protect [us] ", is apparently in adoration of some deity. The reference to the god as a bee reminds us of the mention of Vishṇu as " the mighty bee on the lotus which is the face of Jāmbavatī " in the Tusham rock inscription.[2] But the god adored in the first verse of our epigraph is probably Śiva as the construction of a temple of that god is the main subject recorded in the inscription.

Verse 2 says that there was a mighty king in the **Bhauma** family whose name was [**Su°**]-**bhākara**. The past tense in the verb *āsīt* may suggest that the inscription was engraved after the death of the king. As we know, there were no less than four kings of this name in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, although the reference to the family as Bhauma in the present record and not as Kara no doubt points to an earlier ruler of the family. The identity of Śubhākara mentioned here is, however, made clear by the following verse (verse 3) which speaks of queen **Mādhavadēvī** apparently as the wife of the king referred to in the previous verse. As known from the Chaurasi plate[3] of Śivakara II, son of Śubhākara I, queen Mādhavadēvī, whose name is often wrongly supposed to be *Mādhavīdēvī*, was the wife of king Śubhākara I and the mother of Śivakara II. The second half of verse 3 says how a temple of the god Bhava (*i.e.*, Śiva), entitled Mādhavēśvara, was built. There is no doubt that the temple was built and the deity was installed on behalf of the queen Mādhavadēvī and that the god (probably in the form of a liṅga) was styled *Mādhavēśvara* after her name in accordance with an old practice followed in different parts of India.[4] Verse 4 seems to compare the temple with Śiva's residence on Mount Kailāsa and also to record the appointment of a Śaiva *āchārya* for conducting the worship of the deity installed. Verse 5 refers to a *vāpī* or tank that must have been excavated near the temple in question. The old tank, on the bank of which the ruins of the Haṁsēśvara temple at Jajpur stand, is possibly no other than the *vāpī* mentioned in this verse. The next verse (verse 6) speaks of a *haṭṭaḥ*, ' a market or a fair,' that seems to have been established or organised in a locality in the vicinity of the temple and the tank. Possibly the income of the *haṭṭa* was assigned to the temple. Verse 7 refers to a person who did

[1] The date of the Chaurasi plate of this king (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff. and Vol. XV, pp. 672-373 and plates) is doubtful.

[2] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 270. [There is no reference to any bee in the present inscription. See note 3 on p. 183 below. Ed.]

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292-306; Misra, op. cit., p. 8.

[4] *Cf.* the cases of Pṛithivīśvara named after Pṛithivīshēṇa (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 283), Mihirēśvara evidently named after Mihiralakshmī (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 288-89), and numerous other later instances recorded in inscriptions. Fleet's interpretation of the name Mihirēśvara as a " form of the god Śiva combined with the Sun " is no doubt wrong.

something in relation to the above establishments after the queen, no doubt Mādhavadēvī, had gone to the city of the gods, that is to say, after the queen's death. The next verse, only the first two words of which are extant, apparently also speaks of the same person and of some of his activities.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only Bhauma-Kara record that comes from Jajpur proper which, as we have seen, was probably the capital of the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family. Another fact not known from any other source is that Mādhavadēvī, queen of Śubhākara I, was a devotee of the god Śiva, although her husband is known, from his own Neulpur plate as well as the records of his successors, to have been a Buddhist. That the husband and wife often belonged to different religious persuasions in ancient India is indicated not only by this instance, but also by several other similar cases known from the history of other ruling families.

The inscription does not mention any geographical names with the exception of Mount Kailāsa and the mythical Udayagiri (or the Sun-rise Mountain) and Amarapura (*i.e.*, Indra's capital in heaven).

TEXT[1]

1 Siddham[2] [||*] Udayagiri-chāru-chūḍā-[vishṭā]m=alir[3]-avatu ××××[4]..[|*]............ [||1||*][5]

2 Āsīd=**Bhauma**-kul-ādbhut-ēndur-ahita-dhvānt-ātividhvansa(dhvaṁsa)naḥ– – –⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑ ⏑– – –⏑– –⏑[|*]– – –⏑⏑-[Śu*]-

3 **bhākara** iti jyōtsnāyamānaṁ yaśō yasy=āsmin=ripu-kā[mi][ni*] ⏑⏑⏑– – –⏑– –⏑ –[||2||*][6] – –⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑–

4 rājñī jagat-svāminī Śrīman-**Mādhavadēvy**=abhūd=abhimatā– –⏑– –⏑–[|*]– – –⏑⏑–⏑– ⏑⏑⏑– – –⏑– –⏑

5 ṇa[ḥ*] khyātō=yam=bhuvi Mādhavēśvara iti Śrīmān=**Bhavasy**=ālaya[ḥ][3||*]– – –⏑⏑ ⏑– ⏑⏑⏑– – –⏑– –⏑– –

6 kh āchārya iti vyatishṭhata chiram=prajñāvatām=agraṇīḥ[|] ta[n=ē] ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑– – – ⏑– –⏑– – –⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑

7 tula[ṅ=Kai]lāsavad=bhūshitam [|][|4|*] Yēn=aitat=sukar-āvasēchana-su– – –⏑– –⏑– – –⏑ ⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑– – –⏑

8 m=atyadbhutam | [ēshā ch]=ānupam-āti-nirmmala-jalā vāpī ⏑– –⏑– – – –⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑ – – –⏑– –⏑–[|5|*]

9 Śrīman-mahābhāgi-vaṇi[k-pra]kīrṇṇas-[tīrṇṇan=tv=anēkaṁ] kirṇṇ-ōjvalā[7]-[|*][8] ⏑– –⏑⏑ –⏑– –⏑–⏑– –⏑⏑–⏑

10 haṇaḥ || [6*][9] Amarapura-nivāsan=tēna dēvyāṁ gatāyām=iha hi ku– – – – –⏑ –⏑ –[|*] ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑– – –⏑–

11 pratītiḥ suvipula-jana-[sā]rthās=tōsha[ya*]nt=īva yasya || [7*][9] Tēn=aita[t*][10]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The *aksharas mali* are quite clear. [The correct reading appears to be *chintāmaṇir=avatu*.—Ed.]

[4] Traces of four *aksharas* can be seen after *avatu*.

[5] The metre of the verse appears to be *Āryā*.

[6] Metre of this verse and of the next three verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[7] Either °*ōjjvalēna* or °*ōjjvalē=yaṁ* is intended.

[8] Metre: *Indravajrā* or *Upajāti*.

[9] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[10] The rest of the inscription is lost.

B. Chāmuṇḍā Image Inscription of Vatsadēvī

Jajpur, a famous centre of Tantrik worship and the Mother-goddess cult, abounds in the images of the Mātṛikās. There is a small temple where the Mātṛikās are in actual worship. A number of huge Mātṛikā images are preserved in shades within the compound of the S. D. O.'s Bungalow. Of the Mātṛikās, Chāmuṇḍā appears to have been in special favour at Jajpur and her images are very often met with scattered here and there. One such image of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā was found by me on the main road in the neighbourhood of the Trilōchana temple. The image is not under regular worship, although its mutilated face, dabbed with vermilion, shows that it commands at least some respect from the womenfolk of the locality. Most of the images examined by me at Jajpur were found to be uninscribed; but the image of Chāmuṇḍā noticed above has one line of writing on its base. The inscription covers a space of 1⅔ feet in length. A single letter is about 1.5" in height; but a conjunct and a consonant with vowel marks are in some cases about 4" high.

The **characters** belong to the Northern class of alphabet of about the seventh century A. D. The ornamental vowel mark in *rā* reminds us of epigraphs like the Banskhera plate of Harshavardhana dated [Harsha] Saṁvat 22 (=628 A. D.)[1] and the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (=661 A. D.).[2] Medial *i* is still short; but medial *ī* is long enough to reach the bottom line of the letters. Subscript *y* has its lower part lengthened towards the left; but it is shorter than in the case of the record of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty edited above (A). Although some of the palaeographical features of that inscription are present in the epigraph under discussion, this record seems to belong to an earlier date. The forms of *s* and *d* are slightly earlier. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there is Prakrit influence in the form °*dēvyāyāḥ* for *dēvyāḥ*. As regards **orthography** the reduplication of *t* in conjuction with the preceding *r* may be noticed.

The inscription simply refers to the *kīrti* of queen Vatsadēvī. The *kīrti* (literally meaning 'fame') referred to is undoubtedly the image of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā on which the epigraph is incised. Bhagawanlal Indraji and K. T. Telang pointed out that in certain connections the word *kīrtana* means a temple.[3] R. G. Bhandarkar supported the suggestion by quoting passages from the *Agni Purāṇa*, Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and Sōmēśvara's *Kīrti-kaumudī*.[4] J. F. Fleet referred to the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Ādityasēna mentioning one's *pushkariṇī-kīrti* which he rendered as the "famous work of a tank" and pointed out that the same meaning may be applied in many other cases to the word *kīrti*.[5] But he further suggested on the authority of R. G. Bhandarkar that "*kīrti* and *kīrtana* are hardly to be actually translated by the word 'temple' or by any other specific term, but denote generally 'any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.... And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above[6] or a tank as in the present inscriptions[7] or anything else of a suitable nature". The inscription under discussion referring to an image of a goddess as the *kīrti* of a queen perfectly bears out the above suggestion of Bhandarkar and Fleet.[8]

Queen **Vatsadēvī** of ancient Orissa, who installed the image of Chāmuṇḍā in question apparently in a temple at Jajpur, is not known from any other source. She was probably the wife of one of

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 210 ff. and plate.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31 and plate.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 36, note 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228 f.

[5] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212, note 6.

[6] This is in reference to *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 36 : XII, pp. 228, 230 ; XIII, p. 185. See also above, Vol XXIV, p. 240 and n.

[7] These are the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Ādityasēna.

[8] See an article on *Kīrti : Its connotation* in the *Siddha-Bhāratī* (Dr. Siddheshwar Varma Presentation Volume), pp. 38-42.

the early Bhauma-Kara kings. The earliest member of the family is mentioned in some records as Kshēmaṅkara and in others as Lakshmīkara and often the latter is regarded as the father of the former.[1] I have elsewhere suggested that the two names may actually indicate the same person.[2] The son and successor of the *Param-ōpāsaka Mahārāja* Kshēmaṅkara was the *Parama-tathāgata Mahārāja* Śivakara I Unmattasiṁha (also called Bhamsaha) who married Jayāvalīdēvī, daughter of a ruler of Rāḍhā in the valley of the river Ajay in South-west Bengal, according to the *rākshasa* form of wedding.

The issue of this union was the *Paramasaugata Mahārāja*[3] Śubhākara I who is the king mentioned in the record edited above and whose queen was Mādhavadēvī. It is tempting to suggest that Vatsadēvī of our inscription was one of the wives of one of the two predecessors of Śubhākara I.

TEXT[4]

Siddham[5] [||*] rājñī-Vatsadēvyāyāḥ[6] kīrttiḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! (*This image of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā is*) the fame (*i. e.* the fame-producing work) of the queen Vatsadēvī.

No. 33—KENDUPATNA PLATES OF NARASIMHA II ; SETS II AND III

(*2 Plates*)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND.

When the Kēndrāpaḍā canal in the Cuttack District, Orissa, was being excavated more than sixty years ago, a stone box measuring 3′×3′×2′ was found about 20′ below the surface of the earth in the village of **Kēndupāṭnā** in the Kēndrāpaḍā subdivision. The box contained three copper-plate grants issued by the imperial Eastern Gaṅga monarch Narasiṁha II (*circa* A.D. 1278-1305) in favour of one of his officials. Each of the grants is said to have consisted of seven plates. The box together with the copper plates was preserved in the local temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa. Sometime about the year 1892, the late Mr. N. N. Vasu secured the inscriptions for examination. Vasu edited the first of the three sets of the Kēndupāṭnā records in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 229-71 with plates. The third set of these inscriptions was transcribed by the same scholar in the Bengali encyclopaedia entitled *Viśvakōsha*, Vol, V, 1893, *s.v. gāṅgēya* (appendix between pp. 320 and 321), where the second set of the plates was barely noticed. Unfortunately Vasu's transcripts and interpretations of the inscriptions are far from satisfactory. Even his description of the three sets of plates is not free from errors. The *Viśvakōsha* containing his transcript of one of the grants is, moreover, not easily available to scholars,

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[1] Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[2] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 103.

[3] He is called simply *Mahārāja* in his own Neulpur plate ; but in the records of his successors he is endowed with the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*. Śubhākara I was the first imperial ruler of the family while his father and grandfather possibly owed allegiance to Harshavardhana who is known to have led an expedition in Orissa about A. D. 643 ; cf. *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 102-04.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read °*dēvyāḥ*.

while one of the three inscriptions has never been published. For these reasons, a re-edition of these records was desirable. As all the three sets of the plates are now the property of the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneswar, I approached Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa, and Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator, Orissa Museum, for a loan of the plates. They were kind enough to send me for examination the first set of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates in July 1950. My paper on that inscription was soon completed and I contributed it to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*,[1] Calcutta. In August 1950, I received the second and third sets of the plates. These are edited here. My thanks are due to Messrs. Acharya and Panigrahi for the kindness they have shown to me.

It is now well known that the 105 verses, containing some stray names between verses 6 and 7, form the introductory part of the charters of Narasiṁha II and are the same in the different charters of the king. As the later imperial Gaṅga monarchs used to copy the genealogy of the family from the introductory portion of the grants of their predecessors, the above verses, sometimes with slight modifications, are also found in some other Gaṅga charters.[2] Since the historical value of these verses has been dealt with by us in detail in connection with the Nagari, Asankhali and Alalpur plates, there is hardly any necessity of discussing the introductory part of the two inscriptions now under review. I am therefore editing here only the charters of Narasiṁha II forming the concluding portions of the inscriptions engraved on the second and third sets of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates. As a matter of fact, the grants of the king have really nothing to do with the introductory part which deals with the genealogy of the imperial Gaṅgas down to the reigning monarch as well as the achievements of some of the kings.

A.—Set II ; Śaka 1217 ; Aṅka year 22.

The record is incised on seven plates of which the first and seventh plates are inscribed only on the inner sides. The plates are about 13 inches long and about 9½ inches high. They are not numbered as in the case of the first and third sets, although the first plate seems to bear traces of the figure *1* without any preceding letter. The plates have raised rims. The hole for the ring to pass through has a diameter of 1". The diameter of the ring is 4¼" while its thickness is a little above ½". The space between the left border of the plates and the ring-hole measures 1". The **seal** soldered to the ring is the same as that attached to other charters of king Narasiṁha II and closely resembles the seal of other imperial Gaṅga grants. It is of the shape of an expanded lotus about 3" in diamter, its border containing the petals slightly bent upwards. The principal emblem on the seal is a **bull**,[3] about 4¼" in length and 3" in height, in an inclined posture. The size of the seal and of the bull emblem is bigger than that of the seal and the emblem of the first set of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates. There are also the emblems of the *triśūla*, *ḍamaru*, crescent and solar orb ; but the *aṅkuśa* found on the seal of the Nagari plates is absent. The writing on the plates is neat and clear ; but its preservation is not quite satisfactory. Some of the plates are damaged here and there, especially about the borders, owing to corrosion. There are altogether 117 lines of writing on the plates. The inner side of the first plate and the reverse of the second have 19 lines each, while the reverse of the sixth plate and the inner side of the seventh have respectively 18 lines and 1 line. The rest of the

[1] See now *op. cit.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 33-39.

[2] See the Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III (*circa* A.D. 1211-38) to be published in this journal ; the Puri plates of Bhānu II (*circa* A.D. 1305-27), son of Narasiṁha II, which have been discussed by me in the *JRASB*, L, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-28 ; the Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV, *JASB* Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 153 ff. ; the Asankhali and Alalpur plates of Narasiṁha II to be published in this journal.

[3] The Gaṅgas were originally Śaivas but became Vaishṇavas from the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The Śaivite emblem on their seal, however, was not modified.

inscribed sides of the plates have each 20 lines of writing. The weight of the plates is 955 *tolas*, while the seal and the ring weigh 253 *tolas*.

The inscription very closely resembles the other records of Narasiṁha II in respect of **palaeography, language** and **orthography** and nothing calls for special mention, especially because they have been discussed in details in connection with the Asankhali and Alalpur plates of the same king to be published in this journal.

The **date** of the grant is given in words in line 177 as the expired Śaka year 1217 corresponding to the 22nd *Aṅka* year (i.e., 18th actual regnal year omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years of the *Aṅka* reckoning) of Narasiṁha II. The precise date of the document as given in line 178 is Saturday the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Mēsha (solar Vaiśākha) corresponding, if the Śaka year is regarded as current, to Saturday, the 10th April, A.D. 1294. This date, however, seems to be actually earlier than the 18th regnal year of Narasiṁha II. It is said that the king made a number of grants in his 19th *Aṅka* (i.e., 16th regnal year), one of which was being recorded on the plates under discussion. The above date of the document is, however, based on the supposition that the word *abhilikhyamānē*, found in other similar records (cf. the first set of the Kēndupāṭnā plates, line 176) of the king in association with the Śaka year, has been omitted in the present inscription as in the third set of the plates to be discussed below. But the language of the record as it stands may indicate that the grant had been made when the king was in the *pānīya-chchhāyā-maṇḍapa* (possibly a shaded hall cooled by water) at the *kaṭaka* (residence, city or secondary capital) called Rāmuṇā (the same as Rēmuṇā of several other records of the king) on Saturday, the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Mēsha in the king's 19th *Aṅka* or 16th regnal year, although the charter was issued a few years later in the king's 22nd *Aṅka* corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1217. If such was the case, the date of the grant may correspond to Saturday, the 14th April, A.D. 1291, although this date also actually appears to be earlier than the 16th regnal year of the king. It may be pointed out that the date of the first set of the Kēndupāṭnā plates is Monday, the 6th of the month of Siṁha (i.e., solar Bhādrapada) in Śaka 1217 and in the 21st *Aṅka* (17th regnal year) of Narasiṁha II. This date is irregular for Śaka 1217 and, for Śaka 1218, corresponds to Monday the 6th August, A.D. 1296. None of these dates tallies with the generally accepted date of the king's accession in A.D. 1278.

King *Vīra-śrī*-Narasiṁhadēva (i.e., Narasiṁha II), who was endowed with such *birudas* as *chaturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati*, is said to have made the grant of 100 *vāṭikās* of land in favour of Bhīmadēvaśarman who is also the donee of the other two sets of the Kēndupāṭnā plates. Bhīmadēvaśarman, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras*, is described as the king's *Kumāra-mahāpātra* in the first set of the plates, while, in the present record as well as in the third set, he is called *Bṛihat-kumāra-mahāpātra*. *Mahāpātra* was no doubt a minister and *Kumāra-mahāpātra*, like *Kumār-āmātya* of the older records, a minister of the rank of a *Kumāra*, i.e., a prince of the royal blood. The word *bṛihat* suggests that Bhīmadēvaśarman was a *Kumāra-mahāpātra* of the foremost rank. The *mudula*, which in Telugu means 'an order' and in this context signifies the king's order regarding the execution of the grant, passed through the *Purō-parīkshaka Pātra* Trilōchana Jēnā.[1] The word *jēnā* originally meant 'a prince' and later came to be the cognomen of many noble families of the Orissa region. *Parīkshaka*, the same as Oṛiya *parīkshā* or *parichhā*, was used to indicate a governor, a superintendent, an inspector, etc. Thus the word *purō* prefixed to *parīkshaka* may be Sanskrit *pura* and indicate a *Parīkshaka* attached to the capital or secondary capital of the Gaṅga monarch, which may, in the present case, have been the *kaṭaka* of Rēmuṇā.[2]

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[1] In the records of Narasiṁha IV and in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the word *mudala* seems to mean 'an arrangement made or to be made according to an order'.

[2] If *puro* stands for Sanskrit *puras*, it may indicate a higher officer in the class in question. The word is found as *pōrō* in the grants of Narasiṁha IV and as *pōro* in the *Mādalā Pāñji*.

The land measuring 100 *vāṭikās* granted to Bhīmadēvaśarman consisted of several plots. The village called Vōhālagrāma situated in the Pūrva-khaṇḍa or eastern subdivision of the Sōṅgaḍā *vishaya* (district) formed the first of the plots. The *nala*, which in Oṛiyā means the measurement of area, was done by *Purō-nāyaka* Śivadāsa *Sēnāpati*. The word *nāyaka* (meaning a superintendent, possibly a superintendent of survey in the present context) in the designation *Purō-nāyaka* (possibly *pura-nāyaka*), indicated a high officer like the *Parīkshaka*. The designation *Sēnāpati* (leader of army) suggests that Śivadāsa held both an executive and a military post possibly at the same time. Vōhālagrāma is said to have been bounded in the east by the junction of two of the boundary lines of Bhaṁbhaṇāgrāma and in the west by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Jōmarāmagrāma. The southern boundary of the village was the contiguous part of the boundary line of Sunāilō-grāma, while its northern limit was the path (*daṇḍā*) in front of the *śālmali* tree at Aṇḍiyōalāgrāma. Within these boundaries, the land measured 60 *vāṭikās* 7 *mānas* and 20 *guṇṭhas*; out of this, an area measuring 26 *vāṭikās* 2 *mānas* and 15 *guṇṭhas* was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands, *maṇḍapas* (public buildings), canals, jungles, palmyra groves and *niśadhi* land under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas and was subtracted leaving the net remainder (*niravakara*) of 34 *vāṭikās* 5 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*. The expression *niśadhi-bhūmi*, used in this connection, no doubt means the same thing as the *niśadhikṛita* land referred to in line 190 of the first set of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates. The word *niśadhi* may be a corruption of Sanskrit *nishēdha*. Thus *niśadhi-bhūmi* may indicate 'forbidden land'. In Kannaḍa inscriptions, the word *nisidhi* is used to indicate a Jaina burial ground. Whether *niśadhi* is related to *nisidhi* cannot be determined. A *māna*, which consists of 25 *guṇṭhas* and 20 of which make a *vāṭikā*, is now regarded as equal to one acre of land in Orissa.

The second plot of the gift land comprised the village of Gadhaigrāma situated in the Kusa-maṇḍala *vishaya*. It was bounded in the west by an *aśvattha* tree near the tank at the junction of two boundary lines of the Maṅgalapura *śāsana* (gift village) and in the east by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Dēvapura. Its southern limit touched the junction of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit comprised parts of the canal at Sāṅgapaḍāgrāma. The area within these boundaries measured 40 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 1 *guṇṭha*. Out of this, an area of 11 *vāṭikās* and 3 *guṇṭhas*, covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 29 *vāṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas*.

The third plot of land comprised the village of Khaḍiṅgāgrāma situated in the same Kusa-maṇḍala *vishaya*. This village was bounded in the east by two boundary lines of Naṅrōāgrāma and in the west by those of Gadhaigrāma. Its southern limit touched two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit those of another village the name of which is doubtful. The land within these boundaries measured 10 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 8 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this, an area, which measured 1 *vāṭikā* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas* and was covered by cattle tracks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from early times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 9 *vāṭikā* and 10 *guṇṭhas*.

The name of the village forming the fourth plot of the gift land was possibly Bhāṁḍapaḍā. Its southern boundary touched parts of two boundary lines of Khaḍiṅgāgrāma and its northern boundary ran from parts of the canal up to the village road of Gadhaigrāma. In the east, the village was bounded by parts of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and in the west by those of Gadhaigrāma. The area within these boundaries measured 31 *vāṭikās* 15 *mānas* and 6 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this land, an area measuring 4 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 19 *guṇṭhas* was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times and was subtracted, leaving the net remainder of 26 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*.

The areas of the four plots of the gift land, *viz.*, 34 *vāṭikās* 5 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*, 29 *vāṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas*, 9 *vāṭikās* and 10 *guṇṭhas*, and 26 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*, together

made a total of 100 *vāṭikās* of land which was granted to the donee Bhīmadēvaśarman as a permanent rent-free holding together with the right to enjoy it along with land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The *śāsanādhikāria*[1] (writer and keeper of documents) Allāianātha *Sēnāpati*, who is also known from other records of Narasiṁha II, received two *vāṭikās* of mixed homestead and water-covered land apparently as his fees or perquisite. The engraver of the document, the copper-smith Pannādi, who was also the writer of the first set of the Kendupāṭnā plates, similarly received one *vāṭikā* of mixed homestead and water-covered land. It is specifically said that the copper-smith received his plot of land from the donee, the *Bṛihat-Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadēvaśarman. The absence of the specification of the boundaries, etc., of any extra plot of land suggests that the *śāsanādhikāria* also received his plot from the donee. This seems to have been the established custom as indicated by the expression *śāsan-ādhikāri-vyavasthitā* in line 197 of the first set of the plates.

The following seven rent-paying subjects were allotted to the *śāsana*, which is not endowed with a special name as in other charters :

(1) Kālidāsa who was the son of Aṇantiā, a *śaṅkhakāra* (maker of conch-shell bangles) of the Gōlāōḍā *haṭṭa* (market) ; (2) Kāō *śrēshṭhin* who was an inhabitant of Kōmaṭichchhaṅgula and belonged to the Jayanagara *haṭṭa* ; (3) Alālū[2] who was the grandson of the goldsmith Vāmadēva of the Kivalōlō *haṭṭa* ; (4) Vanamālin who was the grandson of Virjū, an oilman of Ārulapura[3] ; (5) Aṇantāi who was the grandson of Raṇāi, a milkman of Vaṭṭakēśvara *haṭṭa* ; (6) Indū who was the grandson of Sirū, a potter of the Painnapaḍā *haṭṭa* ; and (7) Vanamālin who was the grandson of the oilman Rāju of Jhajhallapura. It has to be pointed out that the words *gōpa* and *gōpara* are prefixed to the names of *tailika*-Virjū and *tēli(li)*-Rāju. The same word seems to have been used as *gōpāpa* in the passage *Vairōā-gōpāpa-tailika-Jāguli-śrēshṭhikasya* in the Asankhali plates and in line 197 of the third set of the Kēndupāṭnā plates. Whether this refers to a particular community among the oilmen cannot be decided.

Besides **Rēmuṇā**, a well-known locality near Balasore, the charter mentions a number of districts, villages and market places. The districts mentioned are the Sōṅgaḍā and Kusamaṇḍala *vishayas*. The villages lying in the Sōṅgaḍā district were Vōhāla, Bhaṁṇaṇā, Jōmarāma, Sunāilō and Aṇḍiyōalā and those in the Kusamaṇḍala *vishaya* were Gadhāī, Maṅgalapura (styled *śāsana*), Dēvapura, Sāṅgapaḍā, Khaḍiṅgā, Naērōā and Bhāṁdapaḍā, all situated in the vicinity of one another. The list of rent-paying subjects discloses the names of the following localities : Gōlāōḍā *haṭṭa*, Kōmaṭichchhaṅgūla, Jayanagara *haṭṭa*, Kivalōlō *haṭṭa*, Ārūlapura, Vaṭṭakēśvara *haṭṭa*, Painnapaḍā *haṭṭa* and Jhajhallapura. I have not been able to identify them satisfactorily. The name Sunāilō, also known from other records of king Narasiṁha II, was apparently borne by different villages.

TEXT[4]

[Lines 1-158 are incised on Plates I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb and Va.]

Fifth Plate ; Second Side

Lines 159-175 [*Verse 105 of the introductory part ends with line 175*].

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[1] *Cf. Śāsanādhikārika* in the records, e.g., of the Western Chālukyas. See **above, Vol. XII, pp. 115, 214.** Allāla is a Tamil name and Allālanātha may have been the descendant of one of the Tamil officials of the ancestors of Narasiṁha II. See our article on the Alagum inscription to be published in this journal.

[2] *Cf.* the name *Allāla* above.

[3] Aruḷ is a Tamil name and appears to point to Tamil influence in Orissa. *Cf.* note 1 above.

[4] From the original plates and their impressions.

176 Svasti [||*] chaturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipat-ity-ādi-viruda-rāji-virājamānaḥ sva-pratāp-ānala-paripū(plu)shṭy-ā(sht-ā)rāti-gahanō vijaya-[ma*]-

177 hōdayī vīra-śrī-Narasi[ṁ*]hadēvaḥ sva-rājyasya dvāviṁśa(viṁśa)ty-aṅkē saptadaś-ādhika-dvādaśa-śata-mitē gatavati Śaka-vatsarē | Rā(Rō)-

178 mun-ābhidhēyē kaṭakē pānīya-chchhāyā-maṇḍapē Mēsha-kṛishṇa-chaturddaśyāṁ Sauri-vārē av-ōnaviṁśa(viṁśa)ty-aṅka-samutsṛishṭa-bhū-madhyāta(dhyāt)

Sixth Plate ; First Side

179 t[1] purō-parīkshaka-pātra-Jēnā-T[r]ilōchan-ākhya-mū(mu)ḍalēna Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva-pravarāya vṛi(bri)hat-ka(t-ku)māra-ma-

180 hāpāta(tra)-Bhīmadēvaśarmmaṇē vāṭik-aika-śata-pradānāya Sōṅgaḍā-viya(sha)ya-pūrvva-khaṇḍa-madhya-sthitaṁ Vōhāla-grāmaṁ purō-nāyaka-Śi-

181 vadāsa-sēnāpati-nala-p[r]amāṇēna | pūrvvataḥ Bhaṁ[ṇa]ṇā-grāmīya-dvē(dvi)-śī(sī)ma-da-[ṇḍā]taḥ Jōmarāma-grāmīy-ārddh-ādi-daṇḍā-paśchima-pari-

182 chchhēdaṁ(dam) | dakshiṇataḥ Sunāilō-grāmīy-ārddh-ādi-daṇḍām-ārabhya Aṇḍiyōalā-grāmīya-Śālmalī-vṛiksha-sammukha-daṇḍā-paryant-ā(nt-ō)ttara- | [2]

183 [sī*]mānam-ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinna-viṁśa(viṁśa)ti-guṇṭh-ōpēta-sapta-mān-ādhika-sha[shṭi]-vāṭikā-bhū-madhya-purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gō-

184 hari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-maṇḍapa-jōḍ-āṭavī-tālava[na]-niga(śa)dhi-bh[ū]mi-samēta-pañ-chadaśa-guṇṭh-ōttara-māna-dvay-ādhika-shaḍviṁśa(ḍviṁśa)- | [2]

185 ti-vāṭikā-bhū-va(ba)hirbhūtaṁ niravakara-pañcha-guṇṭh-ōttara-pañcha-mān-ādhika-cha-tustriṁśa(striṁśa)d-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) || Kusamaṇḍala-vishaya-ma-

186 dhya-varttinaṁ Gaḍhai-grāmaṁ paśchimataḥ Jaṅgalapū(pu)ra-śāsanīya-dvi-śī(sī)ma-daṇḍā-pū(pu)shka[riṇī]-samīp-āśvattha-vṛikshāt Dēvapū(pu)r-ārddh-ādi-

187 daṇḍā-paryanta-pūrvva-parichchhēdaṁ(dam) | dakshiṇataḥ Maṅgalapū(pu)rīya-dvi-śī(sī)-ma-daṇḍām-adhikṛitya Sāṅgapaḍā-grā- | [2]

188 mīya-jōḍ-ārddh-ōttara-parichchhēdam-ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinna-guṇ[ṭh]-aik-[ō]ttara-saptadaśa-mān-ādhi[ka-chatv]ā-

189 riṁśa(riṁśa)d-vāṭikā-madhya-pū(pu)rātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hma[ṇa]-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpatha-gō[pra]chā[ra]-pushkariṇī-samēta-gu-

190 ṇṭha-tray-ādhik-aikādaśa-vāṭikā-va(ba)hirbhūta-niravakara-guṇṭha-trayōviṁś-ā(viṁś-ā)-dhika-shōḍaśa-mān-ō[ttar]-ō-

191 natriṁśa(triṁśa)d-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) | tath=aitad-vishaya-madhy-āsīna-Khaḍi[ṅgā]-grāmaṁ pūrvvataḥ Naērōā-grāmīya-dvi-[śī(sī)ma]-daṇḍām-ā[ra]bhya Ga-

192 dhai-grāmīya-dvi-śī(sī)ma-daṇḍā-paśchim-āvachchhēdaṁ dakshiṇataḥ Maṅgalapurīya-dvi-śī(sī)ma-[da]ṇḍā[m=a]valliḳṛitya × × × × grāmīya-dvē(dvi)- | [2]

193 śī(sī)ma-daṇḍā-paryant-ōttara-śī(sī)mānam-ēvaṁ chatu[ḥ]-śī(sī)m-ā[va][chchhi*][nna]-guṇṭh-āshṭ-ādhika-saptadaśa-mān-ōttara-da[śa-vā]ṭi[kā]-madhya-purā-

194 tana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpatha-trayōviṁśa(viṁśa)ti-guṇṭh-ōttara-shōḍaśa-mānān[3]-ādhik-aika-vāṭikā-va(ba)hirbhūta-nira-

195 vakara-daśa-guṇṭh-ōttara-nava-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) | tath=aita[d-visha]ya-madhya-varttinaṁ [Bhaṁ][ḍa?]paḍā-grāmaṁ(mam) | dakshiṇataḥ | Khaḍiṅgā- | [2]

---

[1] This t is superfluous.

[2] The daṇḍa is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.

[3] Read mān-ādhi°.

1—Set II

v,b.

160 162 164 166 168 170 172 174 176 178

vi,a.

180 182 184 186 188 190 192 194 196 198

B. CH. CHHABRA

SCALE: ONE-HALF

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

REG. No. 3977 E'38-499' SI.

vi, b.

200 — 202 — 204 — 206 — 208 — 210 — 212 — 214 — 216

vii.

217

vi,b.

196 [grāmī]ya-[dvi-śi(sī)]ma-daṇḍ-ār[ddham-ā]diṁ kṛitvā Gadhai-grāmīya-jōḍ-ārddh-ādi-da-
[ṇ]ḍā-paryant-ōttara]-śi(sī)mānaṁ(nam)|| pūrvvataḥ [Ma]ṅgalapuri-

197 ya-[dvi-śi(sī)]ma-[daṇ]-ārddhā]t Gadhai-grāmīya-dvi-śi(sī)ma-daṇḍā-paśchi[m-āvachchhē]-
daṁ=ēva[ṁ] cha[tuḥ*]-s[īm-āvachchhi*]nna-[sha]-gu]ṇṭh-ōpēta-pañchadaśa-mā- | [1]

198 n-ā[dhik-aika] [triṅśa(triṁśa)d-vā*][ṭi]kā-madhya-[purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa]-
bhōgya-[gō]hari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-pushkariṇī-samēt-ō[na-| [1]]

Sixth Plate; Second Side

199 viṅśa(viṁśa)ti-guṇṭha-sahita-saptadaśa-man-ādhika-chatushṭaya[2]-vāṭikā-va(ba)hirbhūta-
niravakara-guṇṭha-dvādaś-ōpēta-[saptada][śa-mā*]-

200 n-ōttara-shaḍviṅśa(ḍviṁśa)ti-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam)|| ma(ē)vaṁ si(mi)litvā vāṭikā-
śataṁ jala-sthala-machchha(tsya)-kachchapa-sahitam=āṁ(m-ā)chandr-ārkka[m=a*]-

201 kaṅkṛitya prādāt|| asmin śāsanē śāsan-ādhikāri-[3] A[llā]lanātha-sēnāpatayē vāstu-samēta-
jala-[kshē][tra*]-

202 vāṭikā-dvayaṁ(yam)|| śāsana-lēkhaka-tāmvra(mra)kārāya Pannāḍi-nāmnē vāsta(stv-a)-
rddha-samēta-jalakshētra-vāṭik-aikā vṛi(bṛi)ha[t-ku][mā*]-

203 ra-mahāpātra-Bhīmadēvēna datt=ēti||*|| ētach-chhāsanasy=āṅgatayā Gōlāōḍā-haṭṭiya-
śa[ṅkha]kāra-[Aṇa]-

204 ntiā-sutō(taḥ) Kālidās-ākhyaḥ||o|| Jayanagara-haṭṭiya-Kūmaṭichchhaṅgū(?)liyā(ya)-
Kēsū-śrē(śrē)shṭhi(shṭhi)-nāmā||o|| Kiva(?)lā-

205 lō-haṭṭiya-suvarṇṇakāra-Vāmadēvasya naptā Alālū-nāmā||o|| Ārū(?)lapura-gōpa
tailika-Virjū-naptā Va-

206 namāli(li)-nāmadhēyaḥ||o|| Vaṭṭakēśvara-haṭṭiya-gōpāla-Raṇāi-naptā Aṇantāi-nāmā
[|*]

207 Paimnapaḍā-haṭṭiya-kumbhakāra-Sīru-naptā Indū-nāmā||o|| Jhajhallapū(pu)rara-
gopara[5]-

208 tali(li)-Rāju-naptā Vanamāli(li)-nāmā|| ētāḥ sapta parajāḥ prādāta(dāt)||*||........

Lines 209-16 [*Imprecatory verses*]

Seventh Plate; First Side

217 ....

B.—Set III; Śaka 1218.

The charter is written on six plates, although there is a seventh plate without writing either on the obverse or on the reverse, apparently meant for the protection of the inscription on the second side of the sixth plate. The plates, each measuring about 13" × 9", are very similar to those of the other records of Narasiṁha II including the second set of the Kēndupāṭnā plates described above. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory. As in the case of the other set, some letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion on many of the plates. Of the six inscribed

[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.

[2] Read *vāṭikā-chatushṭayē*.

[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[4] There is the usual flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

[5] The intended reading may be *gōpāpa* or *gōpa*. The second *ra* of *purara* may either be regarded as redundant or as the Oriya suffix indicating the sixth case-ending.

[6] There is a flower design between the double *daṇḍas*. These are followed by the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.

plates, the first has writing on the inner side, while the others are inscribed on both the sides. Five plates are consecutively numbered on the left margin of the reverse and the numerals are preceded by the *akshara bhī* or *bhi* (wrongly written *lī* in one case) which appears to be a contraction of the donee's name Bhīmadēvaśarman. It may be recalled that on the first set of the Kēndupāṭnā plates the numerical figures are similarly preceded by the *aksharas kuma* or *kū* which we have taken to be an abbreviation of the donee's designation *Kumāramahāpātra* as given in that record. There are altogether 208 lines of writing. The second sides of the fifth and sixth plates have respectively 19 and 9 lines, all the other inscribed sides having 20 lines each. The seven plates together weigh 952 *tolas*, the weight of the uninscribed seventh plate being 127½ *tolas*. The **seal** which must have resembled the one described above and the ring on which the plates were originally strung appear to be **lost**.

The **palaeography, language** and **orthography** of the inscription are similar to those of the king's other records and do not call for any special remarks.

The introductory part of the record ends in line 176 and is followed by the word *svasti* and the date which actually begin the charter. The **date** recorded in lines 176-77 is Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Mēsha (solar Vaiśākha) in the expired Śaka year 1218. The year of the *Aṅka* reckoning is not mentioned. The date is irregular; but if the Śaka year is taken to be current, the date corresponds to Thursday, the 21st April, A.D. 1295.

The king is said to have had previously made, for the increase of his longevity, health, wealth and sovereignty, a number of grants of land, one of which was recorded on the plates under discussion. This particular grant of 50 *vāṭikās* of land was made in favour of the same *Bṛihat-Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadēvaśarman who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras* and was a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda. The *mudala* or order of the execution of this grant was issued by king *Vīra-śrī* Narasiṁhadēva (*i.e.*, Narasiṁha II) on the date discussed above, when he was staying at the *kaṭaka* (city, camp or residence) of Chauhaṭṭā, to the *Purō-parikshaka* Alāla, who was also a *Bṛihat-Sandhivigrahi-Mahāpātra*, in the presence of Kumāra who seems to have been the adopted son (*dulāla*) of the *Halin* and *Kōshādhyaksha* Yāgānanda styled *Khaḍgagrāhi-Mahāpātra*. The expression *maṇahā-samay-ānantarā* used in connection with the issue of the king's order is difficult to explain.[1] The executor of the grant, Alāla, was not only a *Purō-parikshaka* (possibly *Pura-parikshaka*) but also a *Bṛihat-Sandhivigrahi-mahāpātra*, *i.e.*, a minister of the superior rank for war and peace. *Mahāpātra* Yāgānanda, called *Khaḍga-grāhin* (possibly the same as Oriyā *Khaṇḍāita*), has also the official designation *Halin* (officer in charge of the royal lands) and *Kōshādhyaksha* (treasurer). He seems to be no other than the *Ghaṭavaṭiya-Khaḍgagrāhi-Mahāpātra* Yāgānanda mentioned in the Alalpur plates of Narasiṁha II as the owner of a *śāsana* or gift village possibly called Ghaṭavaṭa.

The 50 *vāṭikās* of land granted by Narasiṁha II to Bhīmadēvaśarman covered two plots. The first of them comprised the village of Siṁhaḍāmaṇḍoi situated in the Rēmuṇā *vishaya*. The measurement of the area was done by Mahēśvara-nāyaka (*nāyaka* here indicating the caste or family name of Mahēśvara or his official position as a surveyor) who was the representative of the *Purō-nāyaka* Śivadāsa also known from the second set of the Kēndupāṭnā plates edited above. The village was bounded in the west by parts of the boundary line of Tantiōḍāgrāma (also called Tantiaudā?) and in the east by the western boundary line of a village, the name of which ended with the letter *rṇa*. Its southern boundary was a sandy waste land and its northern limit was the bridge on the river Suvarṇarēkhā. Within these boundaries, the land measured 48 *vāṭikās* 12 *mānas* and

[1] *Maṇahā* (for *maṇahī* ?) may be Oriyā *maṇāhi* meaning the act of taking food by a king. The word *māṇāhi* occurs in the *Madalā Pāñji*, ed. A. B. Mahanti, p. 30.

MGIPC—S1—14 DGA—10-2-53—450.

10 *gunthas*. Out of this, an area which measured 3 *vāṭikās* and 10 *mānas* and was covered by cattle tracks and tanks enjoyed by gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 45 *vāṭikās* 2 *mānas* and 10 *gunthas*.

The second plot of the gift land comprised the village called Chchhōdrā (possibly otherwise called Chchhōḍā) situated in the same district of Rēmuṇā. The measurement of the area was done by Ravi-nāyaka who was another representative of the *Purō-nāyaka* Śivadāsa. The village was bounded in the north by the bridge to the field in the south of Tantiōḍāgrāma and in the south by another bridge to the north of the cornfield (*kēdāra*) on the Rupāidhāri *ṭikkara* (possibly Oriya *ṭikara*, "a mound of sand") to the north of the Suvarṇanadī and to the south of Chchhōḍāgrāma. The eastern boundary of the village was the Sijguā *ṭikkara* on the border of the field to the west of Tantiōḍā and its western limit was the Bhaizā *ṭikari-bandha* (possibly sand embankment) in the field to the east of Chchhōḍā. Within these boundaries, the area measured 4 *vāṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 15 *gunthas*. Out of this land, 10 *mānas*, covered by cattle tracks and village roads and enjoyed by gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 4 *vāṭikās* 7 *mānas* and 15 *gunthas*. The two plots of land, the first measuring 45 *vāṭikās* 2 *mānas* and 10 *gunthas* and the second 4 *vāṭikās* 7 *mānas* and 15 *gunthas*, are said to make a total of 50 *vāṭikās*, although actually the total comes up to only 49½ *vāṭikās*.

The gift land was given the name of Bhīmanārāyaṇapura[1] and was made a permanent rent-free holding to be enjoyed along with land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The *Śāsanādhikārin*, Allālanātha *Sēnāpati*, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pūtimāsha *gōtra* and a student of the Śākala branch of the Ṛigvēda, is said to have received two *bhāgas* (possibly meaning *vāṭikās*), while the copper-smith Punnāḍiraṇā who engraved the plates received similarly one *bhāga*. These receipts of the *śāsanādhikārin* and the *tāmra-lēkhaka* are described as *dvija-vyavasthita* possibly referring to a custom sanctioned by the *Brāhmaṇas*. These three *bhāgas* or *vāṭikās* were probably taken out of the land granted to the donee. *Punnāḍiraṇā* may actually indicate Raṇā, son of Pannāḍi.

Four rent-paying subjects were allotted to the *śāsana*. They were (1) Kumbhāra-sādhu who was the grandson of the goldsmith Nārāyaṇasādhu of the Jayapura *haṭṭa* ; (2) Gōpiā who was a milkman of the Siḍraṅga *haṭṭa* ; (3) Kālō-śrēshṭhin who was the grandson of Dradāiśrēshṭhin, a *gōpāpa* oilman of the Vaḍatāla *daṇḍā* ; and (4) Dēvāiśrēshṭhin who was the grandson of the potter Jayadēva-śrēshṭhin of the Saṭhagrāma *navā-haṭṭa* (new market).

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the record, the *kaṭaka* of Chauhaṭṭā cannot be satisfactorily identified. The Rēmuṇā *vishaya* must of course have been the district round modern **Rēmuṇā** near Balasore. The **Suvarṇarēkhā** is the celebrated river of that name running through the Balasore District of Orissa and Suvarṇanadī is either the same as the Suvarṇarēkhā or one of its branches or tributaries. The villages of Siṃhaḍāmaṇḍoi, Tantiōḍā, Chchhōḍā, etc., all mentioned in connection with the gift land and situated in the Rēmuṇā *vishaya*, must have been near the banks of the Suvarṇarēkhā. In the list of the rent-paying subjects, mention has been made of the Jayapura *haṭṭa*, the Siḍraṅga *haṭṭa*, the Vaḍatāla *daṇḍā* and the Saṭhagrāma *navā-haṭṭa*. None of these can be satisfactorily identified, although Jayapura is also mentioned in some other records of Narasiṃha II.

TEXT[2]

[Lines 1-160 are incised on Plates I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb and Va]

Fifth Plate ; Second Side

kṣḍkṛ 5[3]

[1] The name reminds us of the donee, *Bhīmadēva*.

[2] From the original plates and their impressions.

[3] In the left margin of the face.

Lines 161—75. . . . .

176. . . .[1] Svasti [||*] Śaka-nṛipatitaḥ samatītē-shṭhayādaś[2]-ōttara-dvādaśa-śata-[vatsa]-rēshu |[3]

177 Mēsha-śukla-pañchamyāṁ=Guru-vārē Chauhaṭṭā-nāmadhēyē kaṭakē maṇahā-samay-ānantarē hali(li)-kō[sh]ādhyaksha-kha- |[3]

178 ḍgagrāhi-mahāpātra-Yāgānanda-dulāla-Kumāra-sannidhau purō-parīkshak-Ālāla-vṛi(bṛi)-hat-sandhivigrahi-mahāpātra-mū(mu)-

179 dalēna Vīra-śrī-Narasiṁhadēvaḥ sv-āyur-ārōgy-aiśvarya-sāmrājya-samṛiddhayē pūrv-ōtṛishṭ-ānēka-bh[ū]-madhyā-

Sixth Plate ; First Side

180 [t Kāśyapa]-sagōtrāya Kāśyarṇa(p-Ā)va[tsāra-Nai]dhruva-pra[va]rāya Yajurvvēd-āntar-ggata-[Kā]ṇva-śākh-aika-dēś-ādhyāyinē [vṛi(bṛi)hat-Kumā]ra-mā(ma)hā-

181 pātra-śrī-Bhīmadēva[śa]rmmaṇē pañchāśad-vāṭikā-pradān[āya Rē]muṇā-vishaya-ma[dh]ya-varttinaṁ Siṁhadāmaṇḍōi-gr[āmaṁ purō-nā]-

182 yaka-Śivadāsa-pratihasta-Mahēśvara-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇēna paśchimataḥ Tantiōdā-grāmīya-daṇḍ-ārddh-ādim-āra[bhya] × × ×

183 ṛṇa-grāmīya-paśchima-śī(sī)mā-daṇḍā-pūrv-āvachchhēdaṁ dakshiṇataḥ vālū(lu)kā-patita-bhūmim-adhikṛitya Suvarṇarēkhā-nadī-s[ē][tu-parya]-

184 nt-ōttar-āvachchhēda ēvaṁchatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachhinna-bhūmi-guṇṭha-daś-ōpēta-māna-dvādaś-ādhika-vāṭik-āshṭāchatvāriṁśata-[4]madhya-[purāta]-

185 purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gōhari-jalāśaya-samēta-māna-daś-ōttara-vāṭikā-tritaya[m*] va(ba)hishkṛitya niravakara-[daśa-gu]-

186 ṇṭh-ādhika-māna-dvay-ōttara-pañchachatvāriṁśāṭikā[5]-parimitaṁ(tam) || tath=aitad-vishay-āsīnaṁ Chchhōdrā-grāmaṁ(mam) [|] purō-nāyaka-Śivadāsa-[pratiha]-

187 sta-Ravi-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇēna | ētad-grām-ōttara-śī(sī)mānta-Tantiaudā-grāma-dakshiṇa-kshētra-sētum-ādikṛitya Chchhōḍā-grāma-dakshiṇa-[Su-*]

188 varṇṇa-nady-uttara-Rupāidhāri-ṭikkar-āsthita-kēdār-ōttara-sētu-paryanta-dakshiṇ-āvachchhēdaṁ(dam) | pūrvvataḥ | Tanti-

189 audā-paśchima-kshētra-parichchhēda-Sijguā-ṭikkaram-adhikṛitya Chchhōḍā-pūrvva-kshētra-madhya-Bhairā-ṭikari-[va(ba)ndha]-

190 parichchhēdam ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinna-bhūmi-pañchadaśa-guṇṭh-ōttara māna-saptadaś-ādhikaṁ(ka)-vāṭikā-chatushṭa-

191 ya-parimita-madhya-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpatha-daṇḍā-samēta-māna-daśa-mitaṁ va(ba)hishkṛitya ni-

192 ravakara-pañchadaśa-guṇṭh-ādhika-sapta-mān-ōpēta-vāṭikā-chatushṭaya-parimitam=ēvaṁ grāma-dvayēna pa-|[6]

193 ñchāśad-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ jala-sthala-machchha(tsya)-kachchhapa-sahittaṁ(ta)m-ā-chandr-ārkkaṁ-alaṅkṛitya prādāt ||[7] Asmin Bhīmanārā-

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[1] Verse 103 of the introductory part ends about the beginning of this line.

[2] Read *shṭādaś-*.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous and is used to cover some space about the end of the line.

[4] Read °*viṁśan-madhya*. The following three *aksharas* are superfluous.

[5] Read °*chatvāriṁśad-vāṭikā-*.

[6] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[7] There is the usual ornamental flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

194 yaṇṭa(ṇa)phu(pu)r-ākhyē śāsanē Pātimāsha-gōtrasya [Ṛi]gvēd-āntarggata-Śākala-śākh-
ādhyāyinaḥ śāsan-ādhikā[ri]- | [1]

195 Allālanātha-sēnāpatēr-bhāga-dvayaṁ dvija-vyavasthitaṁ(tam) || ētat-tāmvra(mra)-lē-
khaka-tāmvra(mra)kārasya Pannāḍiraṇ-ākh[yasya]

196 dvija-vyavasthitaṁ bhāgam-ēkaṁ(kam)[2] [o] asya śāsanasy-āṅgatayā Jayapura-haṭṭīya-
suvarṇṇakāra-Nārāyaṇa-[sā]-

197 [dhōr-na]ptā Kumbhāra-sādhu-nāmā || Siḍraṅga-haṭṭīya-gōpāla-Gōpiā-nāmā || Vaḍa-
tāla-daṇḍā-gōpāpa-t[aili]-

198 ka-Dradāi-śrēshṭhikasya naptā Kālā-śrēshṭhi-nāmā || Satha-grāma-navā(va)-haṭṭīya-
kumbhakāra-Jayadēva-śrē[sh]ṭhikasya na[ptā]

199 Dē[vā]ji-śrēshṭhi-nāmā || etāś-chatasraḥ prajāḥ pradāt ||[3].......

Sixth Plate ; Second Side[4]

Lines 200—208 ....[5]

No. 34—TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS

(2 *Plates*)

G. H. Khare, Poona

A. Nāgad Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhallaśakti : Śaka year 577

These plates were originally owned by Mr. Giramājī Dagaḍu Pāṭīl of **Nāgad**, *taluqa* Kannaḍa, District Aurangabad (Hyderabad State). Mr. G. R. Pāḍalkar of Chalisgaon (East Khandesh) acquired them on loan for the Rājwāḍe Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhulia (West Khandesh), the Secretary of which Institution very generously allowed me to edit them in the Society's **Journal** in Marāṭhī.[6] I re-edit them here in English.[7]

The set in question consists of **two plates**, each measuring 8¼" by 3½", strung together on a circular ring two inches in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into an oblong **seal** with diameters of 1¾" and 2". The first plate is written on one side only, while the second contains writing on both sides. Though the rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing, it is not well preserved. It has been obliterated all along and a large number of letters has been practically erased. Owing to rust, the first plate has got a hole in it, while a corner of the second plate has completely disappeared. Still, with the help of the texts of the Bagumra[8] and Kaḷwaṇ (Mundakhōḍē)[9] plates, I have been able to decipher the grant fairly well.

The **characters** of the grant are the proto-type of old Kannaḍa and closely resemble those of the Bagumra plates and also the Kāsārē plates published below (*B*).

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] Better read °*vyavasthitō bhāga ēkaḥ*.

[3] This is followed by parts of the verse *svad-dāna-phala-siddhy-arthaṁ*, etc.

[4] This face is not numbered as the reverse sides of the first five plates.

[5] Continuation of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses found in the records of Narasiṁha II.

[6] Vol. VIII, No. 3.

[7] A note on this grant in English has been published by me in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 12.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 *et seq.*

[9] *Prabhāta* (Marāṭhī Journal), Vol. II, No. 12: *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1834, pp. 60 *et seq.*

About **orthography**, the following peculiarities deserve notice. *Ṛi* is generally substituted by *ri* with only two exceptions, *viz.*, °*śrishṭō* (l. 18) and *paṭal-dṛiśa* (l. 21). A consonant preceded by *rēpha* is doubled, except in *krimir-bhūtvā* (l. 24) and *nirbhukta* (l. 25). If the doubled consonant happens to be the second or the fourth letter of a class, then the initial consonant is changed respectively into the first or the third consonant of the same class; for instance °*sarppaṇ-ārttham* (l.18), *dharmm-ārtha-* (l.35) and *dirggha* (l. 29). In *samuddhyāta* (ll. 5, 7) similarly *dh* has been doubled. In *vaṁśaiḥ* (l. 19) the *anusvāra* has been replaced by *ṅ*. *Upadhmānīya* has been used in two places: *kālima*⨯*putra* (l. 16) and *nṛipatibhi*⨯*prabala* (l. 19). In *kāḷi* (l. 26) *ḷ* has been substituted by *l*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit prose all through, excepting the verses in ll. 22-25.

The record belongs to the king **Nikumbhāllaśakti** of the Sēndraka dynasty, whose father and grandfather were Ādityaśakti and Bhānuśakti respectively. In all the records of this branch of the Sēndrakas that have come to light hitherto, the name of the last member was spelt as Nikumbhallaśakti, *i.e.*, with a short *a* in *bha* and we were unable to split the word correctly.[1] But here the *ā* in *bhā* is clearly long and we can easily split the word into Nikumbha and Allaśakti meaning thereby Allaśakti of Nikumbha. In the following grant we actually get the name Allaśakti as a variant for Nikumbhāllaśakti. The same kind of genealogy appears in the Bagumra and Kaḷwaṇ plates with the exception that the Kaḷwaṇ plates carry the pedigree one generation further and names Jayaśakti as the son of Nikumbhāllaśakti. The plates under discussion supply no historical information about the three members of the dynasty mentioned in it. But being dated in Śaka 577 current they would show that Nikumbhāllaśakti died some time between Śaka 577 and Śaka 602 which is the date of the Kaḷwaṇ plates of his son Jayaśakti.

After the eulogy of the three members in general terms, which closely resembles that in the Kaḷwaṇ plates, comes the description of the grant proper. We are told that Nikumbhāllaśakti, while camping near the lake Vṛiśchi....ndha in the vicinity of the austerity-grove at **Kāyāvatāra**, with a view to gain merit for himself as well as for his parents, granted the village Saṁchirākhōli, situated to the south of the hill Bāruvāṇa, which was lying in the district of Nāndipuradvāri to the *Brāhmaṇa* Bhōgika, the son of Nannasvāmin, a student of the *Ṛigvēda*, belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra* and a resident of the village Prāktaṅgarā. The boundaries of this village are not specified. The charter was drafted by Mātṛidatta by the order of the generalissimo Vāsava and with the consent of Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war. In the Bagumra plates, both Vāsava and Dēvadinna figure in the same capacities and in addition it has been stated there that the latter was the younger brother of the former.

The **date** of the inscription is given as the year 577 without quoting any era, cyclic year Ānanda, the month Māgha, and the 3rd day of the bright fortnight. As 577 of the Śaka year current coincides with the cyclic year Ānanda according to the southern system of reckoning, it must be referred to the Śaka era. The corresponding Christian date is the **15th of January 655 A.C.**

Of the place-names occurring in this record, I am unable at present to identify any except **Kāyāvatāra.** This place is referred to in another grant found at Nausari,[2] which is later in date and issued by the Gūrjara king Jayabhaṭa III. The editor of the grant was inclined to look

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[1] Prof. V. V. Mirashi has rightly pointed out that the name Jayaśakti in the Kaḷwaṇ (Mundakhēḍā) plates is preceded by the word Nikumbha, but I cannot understand how he calls it a *biruda* (*D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 23, note 4).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 71.

upon Kāyāvatāra as the Sanskrit form of Kāvī[1] (Jambusar-Broach). Dr. A. S. Altekar of Patna, in his monograph on the *History of Some Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad* by oversight assumes the place-name to be Kāvyāvatāra instead of Kāyāvatāra and opines that this Kāvyāvatāra is the same as ancient Kāpikā or modern Kāvī.[2] But both of these scholars seem to be in the wrong. Kāyāvatāra must be identified with the modern Kārwaṇ near Dabhoi in the Baroda State. For this is the very place that was sanctified by the residence of Lakulīśa, the pioneer exponent of a Śaiva (Pāśupata) sect. The same is referred to as Kāyāvi-(va)rōhaṇa in the Ēkaliṅgaji inscription and under the more simplified form Kārōhaṇa in the Cintra (Portugal) *praśasti*, in *Liṅga-Purāṇa* under its variant Kāyāvarōhaṇa, in the local *māhātmya* of Kārwaṇ under the slightly corrupted forms Kāyavirōhaṇa and Karōhaṇa, and in a still more corrupted form Kāyārōhaṇa in *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.[3] But as Kāyāvatāra and Kāyāvarōhaṇa mean one and the same thing, Kāyāvatāra cannot be any other place but Kārwaṇ. It is interesting to note that there is also a very large and holy tank at this place as stated in the present record.[4] But unfortunately I could not trace the name of the tank even after much correspondence and oral enquiry. The place-name Nāndipuradvāri mentioned in the present record occurs also in the Jeṭhwai plates[5] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa queen Śīlamahādēvī and in the Bhāndak plates[6] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇarāja I dated Śaka 708 and 694 respectively. The editor of the former grant has left this place unidentified; and the late R. B. Hiralal in his note on the latter has identified this place with Nāndorā, a village just near, and to the north of, Wardha, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Berar. I would like to suggest the following: Nāndīpuradvārī literally means a door to Nāndīpura. Nāndīpuradvārī, therefore, must be a locality wherefrom a road should lead one to Nāndīpura. Now Nāndīpura or Nāndipurī which could have some possible connection with Nāndīpuradvārī and which was situated in Western India, is the one referred to in the two Kaira and the two Saṅkhēḍa[7] plates of Gūrjara Dadda II which were issued from Nāndipurī or Nāndīpura itself. Dr. Bühler identified this place with an old fort just outside the town of Broach;[8] but the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's suggestion that it should be identified with Nandod in the Rajpipla State stands on a firmer ground.[9] The only place which could have served as a door-way to either of the places and especially the latter, is Nandurbār, a *taluqa* town in the West Khandesh District. It is only sixty miles from Nandod and has some ancient remains.[10] Moreover it is interesting to note that the feminine gender of the name is still retained in colloquial language.

B. *Kāsārē Plates of Sēndraka Nikumbhāllaśakti ; year 404*

These plates were indeed originally edited by the late G. K. Chandorkar in a now-defunct Marāṭhī quarterly *Itihāsa Āṇi Aitihāsika* (year 3, Nos. 26, 27 ; p. 44); but the editing was done in such a way that no apology was needed when I re-edited them in *The Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. III, p. 66. I edit them here for the third time.

The plates originally belonged to one Bhikā Pāṇḍū Chaudharī, of the village Kāsārē, *taluqa* Sākrī, District West Khandesh. I secured them for the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala*

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] P. 18.

[3] *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.* 1906-07, p. 179.

[4] *Ibid*, and *Baroda Gazetteer*, pp. 19, 551.

[5] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 98.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 121.

[7] *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Nos. 1209, 1210, 1212 and 1213.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 62.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

[10] *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XV, part 2, July 1946.

through the good offices of Professor N. R. Phatak (Bombay), the late V. G. Joshi (Poona) and Mr. Balubhai Mehta, M.A., LL.B. (Dhulia), all of whom I thank heartily.

The set consists of two plates, 7¼" × 5½" in length and breadth, which were strung together with two rings 2" and 1½" in diameters respectively through two holes bored lengthwise. One of the rings was found already cut and without a seal. The two ends of the other were soldered into a circular **seal** ½" in diameter and bearing the legend *Śrī Allaśakti* engraved on it. Both the sides of the first plate and the inner side of the second are inscribed containing 4, 14 and 15 lines respectively. The 4 lines of writing on the outer side of the first plate are in continuation of the second plate and form the concluding portion of the grant. On the inner side of the second plate, just in the space between the lines 19 and 20, are inscribed the words *yathā mayā brāhma* and below the lines 20 and 21 are inscribed some words which have been partially erased. The upper lines are, therefore, so much obliterated that it is very difficult to decipher either of the two writings satisfactorily.

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Nāgad and the Bagumra plates with little variations and consequently require no special remarks.

About **orthography** some points deserve mention here. *Ri* is invariably substituted for *ṛi* except in *bhūbhṛi* (l.8). The *anusvāra* is generally changed into the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs. But in *khañjānsu* (l.5), *vaṁśajāḥ* (l.7) and *-smad-vaṁśajaiḥ* (l.28), the *anusvāra* has been wrongly changed to *n*. In *°rāgammburuvāyaḥ* (l.8) *m* is redundant and the two words are unnecessarily joined together. In several places *visarga* or its transformation is dropped. In *°bhūtas-śamita* (l.9) and *°nishēvitas-sārpō* (l.12) *visarga* has been changed to the following consonant. *Jihvāmūlīya* occurs in *°kalik-kuśali* (l.18) and *Upadhmānīya* in *ātmajāḥ-prabala* (l.10), *sidhēśvaraḥ-pura-* (l.17), and *mantavyaḥ-prati-* (l.27). In *kuruvāyapprōnnatānām* (l.8), *visarga* has been wrongly changed to *p*. The doubling in *Māddhyandina* (l.22) and *°rvviggāmi* (l.26) also deserves notice.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, prose and poetry intermingled.

The grant begins with the preamble beginning with *Mēru* and ending with *nighṛishṭa-pāda-paṅkajaḥ* as we find in the other three Sēndraka plates. After it, comes the prose as well as the versified description of the king Nikumbha of the Sēndraka family, his son Ādityarāja and his son Nikumbhāllaśakti or simply Allaśakti. It is interesting to tabulate the pedigrees in the four grants here :—

From the table it becomes quite evident that in the Kāsārē grant the first member is named Nikumbha, while the other three grants name the same member as Bhānuśakti. The Kāsārē grant mentions Ādityarāja as the son of Nikumbha while the other three grants give Ādityaśakti as the son of Bhānuśakti. The name of the member of the third generation is the same in all the four grants with the difference that Kāsārē grant supplies a variant Allaśakti in addition. But does this mean that the Sēndraka branch represented by the Kāsārē grant is different from the

one represented in the other three? It is difficult to answer in the affirmative. For, besides the date of the Kāsārē grant which is very near to that of the Nāgad and the Bagumra grants, the writers and the commanders are practically the same in all the three. Thus the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Vāsava was the person at whose command all the three grants were issued. The Kāsārē grant was drafted by one Dēvadinna. In the Nāgad plates, Dēvadinna figures as the minister for peace and war and the charter was drafted by one Mātṛidatta with the consent of Dēvadinna. The draft of the Bagumra grant was also prepared by Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war and the charter adds that Dēvadinna was a younger brother of Vāsava. I tabulate the above information in order to have a clear idea.

Grant	Commander	Drafter
Kāsārē (653 A.C.)	Generalissimo Vāsava	Dēvadinna.
Bagumra (655 A.C.)	Do.	Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war and the younger brother of Vāsava.
Nāgad (653 A.C.)	Do.	Mātṛidatta with the consent of Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war.

Thus it is evident that all the four plates represent one and the same family in spite of a slight variation in the name of the first member of the family in the record under discussion.

In an inscription at Bādāmi (Bijapur) occurs the stray name of one Bhīmaśakti Sēndrakan who undoubtedly belonged to a Sēndraka family and the same person appears to have been mentioned in other inscriptions of the same place.[1] But I fear that at this stage of our knowledge of the Sēndraka dynasty it is not possible to assign a definite place to this Bhīmaśakti.

From line 18 begins the description of the grant proper. Nikumbhāllaśakti, the last member of the family, who meditated on the feet of his parents, who was a great devotee of Mahēśvara, who had acquired the five great sounds and who was the master of the earth, with a view to acquire merit for himself as well as for his parents, gave fifty *nivartanas* of land lying to the south of the river at the village Pippalakhēṭa to the *Brāhmaṇa* Bālapravasita, of the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra* and of the Mādhyandina branch of the *Vājasanēyī Saṁhitā*, *i.e.*, white Yajurvēda, for the *upabhōga* of the god Laṅghyēśvara. The phrase *samadhigatapañchamahāśabdaḥ* clearly indicates that the last member was a feudatory prince, apparently of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

The date on which the grant was issued is denoted by two symbols (l.31). The first symbol undoubtedly represents 400. The second symbol must be taken to represent 4. It is appended with a zig-zag horizontal line at the upper right corner and if this line has been appended purposely the symbol probably represents the number 70. But then we would be confronted with insurmountable difficulties. I, therefore, take the second symbol to represent 4. Thus the year will be 404. The further details of the date are the new-moon day of the month Āshāḍha and the solar eclipse. To what particular era this year of the grant is to be referred? In the Nāgad and the Mundakhēḍē plates, though no era has been specified, the years 577 and 802 which occur in them can easily be referred to the Śaka era. In the Bagumra grant also though no era has been specified, the year 406 in which it is dated must be taken to belong to the Kalachuri era. The year 404, the date of this grant must also be referred to the same era as both the grants have many points of similarity as shown above. If, according to Prof. Mirashi's calculations, we grant that the initial year of this era began on 6-10-248 A.C., we must add 249 to 404 to get a date in Āshāḍha of that year.[2] According to the *pūrṇimānta* system of reckoning Hindu months, the new-moon

[1] *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, for the year 1928-29, Appendix E, Nos. 125, 101, 126, 127.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 12.

day of Āshāḍha of the year 404, *i.e.*, 653 A.C. (404 *plus* 249) fell on June 1 when there was a solar eclipse visible in India. **1-6-653 A.C.** must, therefore, be the **date** of the grant.

If on the other hand the numerical symbols are taken to denote the year 470 (*i.e.*, 719 A.C.), there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the Nija-Āshāḍha according to either system of reckoning Hindu months. Though there was a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the intercalary Āshāḍha of this year, there is no mention of such a month in the grant itself. Moreover, it is well nigh impossible for the same generalissimo and the same writer to have lived under the same king in 406 and 470 which will be the dates for the Bagumra and Kāsārē grants respectively.

Pippalakhēṭa is the only **locality** that I can decipher. Some river or rather stream is mentioned to be flowing by the side of the village ; but its name cannot be properly deciphered. As the boundaries of Pippalakhēṭa are not specified, it is difficult to identify it.

Though each of these two grants supplies very little direct historical information by itself, the facts supplied by the above-mentioned four grants when pieced together indeed shed much light on some points regarding the history of the Sēndraka family referred to in the grants, and it would not be out of place if I say a few words about them.

First, what was the extent of the country which the Sēndrakas ruled over ? The village granted in the Bagumra record has been rightly identified with Nausari in the Surat District. The place of encampment mentioned in the Nāgad plates from which the plates were issued is Kāyāvatāra or modern Kārwaṇ near Dabhoi which in itself is twenty miles to the south-east of Baroda. I may, therefore, be not far wrong if I surmise that the power of the Sēndrakas had extended upto Baroda at the time of the grant. If my conjecture about Nāndīpuradvārī, the province which included the village granted in the Nāgad plates, be correct, it follows that at least the southern half of the present West Khandesh District was under the sway of the Sēndrakas at the time of the grant. The places mentioned in the Kaḷwaṇ plates have not been finally identified as yet, I believe. But if Prof. Mirashi's suggestion about the identification of the places in the grant be accepted as correct, the village granted should be supposed to lie in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik District. The village granted in the Kāsārē plates should be searched for somewhere in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik and the south-western extremity of the East Khandesh Districts. For, it is in this part of the country that places bearing the names Pimparkhed, Pimpaḷwāḍī-Nikumbha (Pimpaḷwāḍī of the Nikumbhas), Āḷwāḍī (Allavāṭikā), etc., lie and it is this part which the Nikumbhas who seem to be related to the Sēndrakas were ruling over in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries of the Christian era. Thus it is evident that the Sēndrakas most probably ruled over the modern Surat and Broach Districts, the southern half of the Baroda State, the West Khandesh District, the south-western part of the East Khandesh and the north-eastern part of the Nasik Districts.

Is there anything to show that the Sēndrakas were connected with the Nikumbhas in any way ? On the one hand the Bagumra grant begins with a verse in praise of the Sun. The names of the majority of members of the Sēndraka family begin with some word meaning the Sun, *e.g.*, Bhānuśakti, Ādityaśakti ; and Nikumbha was the name of a well-known mythical king belonging to the solar race. On the other hand the Nikumbha inscriptions begin with homage to the solar race and then Rāma and Nikumbha belonging to the same race are extolled. Lastly, it is stated in Nikumbha inscriptions that in the family of Nikumbha was born the first ancestor from whom begins the pedigree of the Nikumbha dynasty. In these circumstances it appears that the Nikumbha dynasty was either an off-shoot of the Sēndraka family or both of them were descended from a common stock.

A. Nāgad Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhallaśakti : year 577

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति श्रीकायावतारतपोवनप्रत्यासन्नत्रि(वृ)श्चि....[3]ग्वतटाकावासितविजयस्कन्धावारा[त्]

2 मे[4]रुमहीधरशिखरस्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते:(तें) विकसितयशसि महति सेन्द्रकानामन्वये

3 अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्टलब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण:

4 स्वभुजबलविक्रमाक्रान्तमहीमण्डल: प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमुक(कु)टनिघ्रि(घृ)ष्टपा-

5 दपङ्कज:(जो) नरपतिश्श्रीभानुशक्ति:[5] तस्य पुत्र[6]स्तत्पादानुद्ध्या(ध्या)त:(तो) नयविनयसत्यशौचा-

6 चारदमदयादानदाक्षिण्यो(ण्यौ)दार्य्यधैर्य्यवीर्य्यपराक्रमोत्साहशक्तिसम्पन्न: श्रीमदा-

7 दित्यशक्ति:[5] तस्य पुत्रस्त(स्त)त्पादाम[7]नु(पादानु)द्धया(ध्या)त:(तो) व्यपगतसजल-

जलधु(घ)रपटलव्योमतलगतश-

8 रदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोवितानलङ्घिताम्भोधिपरापर: परमगम्भीरो देवद्वि-

9 जातिस्वजनब(वा)न्धवोपभुज्यमानविभवो भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहतशक्ति: शक्तिरिवोबा(पा)-

10 त्तराज्य(ज्य:) [समद]द्विरदवरसलिल[गति*]रर्जुन [इ*]वाशेषसंग्रामविजयी काम इव समदव[र*]युवतिज-

11 ननयनानन्दो(न्द:) [पर]ममाहेश्वर: परमब्रह्मण्य: समधिगत[पञ्च]महाशब्द:

Second Plate ; First Side

12 श्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भाल्लशक्ति: कुशली सर्व्वा[नेव स]मुपगत[विष]यपतिराष्ट्रग्रा-

13 ममहत्तराधिकारिको[कान्] समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु व: संविदितं नान्दीपुरद्वारीविषयान्तर्गत-

14 पर्व्वतवारुवाणदक्षिणेन सुस्थिराखोली ग्रामो(म:) [8]सग्रामोपान्तसहितस्सर्व्वदानसमा-

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[1] Prepared from the original.

[2] Represented by a symbol.

[3] A letter has disappeared here.

[4] The text beginning from here and ending with line 22 very closely resembles the corresponding part in the Bagumra and the Kalwan (Mundakhede) plates: but at the same time shows the degree of corruption in the text of the Bagumra grant.

[5] Read °*śakti-tasya*.

[6] The reading here is rather doubtful to me.

[7] The reading of this and the following two letters is doubtful to me.

[8] The reading here has been restored with the help of the text in the Kaira plates of Gūrjara king Dadda II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 83).

15 ह्यसर्व्वादित्यविष्टिप्रो(प्रा)तिभे[दि*]क(का)परिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्र(द्र)न्यायेनाचाटव[भ]-
टप्रावेस्समाचन्द्रा-

16 र्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसमकालीनᳲपुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य: प्राक्तंगरावास्तव्य[1] आत्रेयसगो-

17 त्रबह्वृ(ह्वृ)चसब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणनन्नस्वामिपुत्रश्रीभोगिकाय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रा-

18 दिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवि(वृ)द्धये[1] उदकातिसर्ग्गेणातिसृष्टो
यतो-

19 स्मद्वङ्श्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिनि(नृ)पतिभिᳲप्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चलं जीव-
लोकमभा-[2]

20 वानुगतानु(न)सारा[न्*] विभवा[न्*] दीर्घकालस्वे(स्थे)यश(स)श्च[2] गुणानाकलय्य
अस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य: पाल-

21 यितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमा(मा)[मानं*]
वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महा-

22 पातकै(कै:) स(सं)युक्त: स्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षस-
[हस्राणि स्व]-

23 र्गे मोदति भूमिद: [।*] आ[च्छेता चानु]मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥१॥*]
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा [यो हरेत वसु]-

24 न्धरां [।] स विष्ठायां क्रि(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा पित्रि(तृ)भिस्सह मज्जति ।[।२॥*]
यानीह दत्तानि पु[रा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मा]-

Second Plate : Second Side

25 र्त्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तम(मा)ल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु(धु:)
पुनराददीत [॥*]·······

26 पञ्चशतिके काळे(ले) सप्तसप्तत्यधिके आनं(न)न्देब्दे मह(हा)बल(ला)धिक्रि-
(कृ)तवासवस[मा]दिशा[त्*]

27 सान्धिविग्रहिकदेवदित्तानुमतेन लिखि[त*]मिद:(दम्) मात्रि(तृ)दत्ते(त्ते)न माघ-
शुक्लत्रि(तृ)तीये(यायां) इति [॥*]

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[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] The reading here has been restored with the help of the text in the Kaira plates of Gūrjara king Dadda II
(*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 83).

A NAGAD PLATES OF NIKUMBHALLASAKTI: YEAR 577

i.

ii,a.

ii,b.

26

26

B. Kāsāre Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhāllaśakti : Year 404

TEXT[1]

First Plate ; First Side

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति[3] मेरुमहीधरशिखरस्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि

2 महति सेन्द्रकराज्ञामन्वये अनेकचातुर्द्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट-

3 लब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण(णः) स्वभुजबलविक्रम(मा)क्रान्तमहीमण्डल(लः)

4 प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमुकुटनिघ्रि(घृ)ष्टपादपङ्कजो(जः) [।*] पुनरपिच [।*] [4]आजौ नि-

5 भिन्नकुम्भप्रगलितरुधिरव्याप्तभूमौ हताश्वे । द्रि(दृ)ष्ट्वा [5]खड्गाङ्गुजालं क्षरदनलक-

6 णप्रस्फुरद्विद्युदाभम् [।*] स्थातु(तुं) शक्तोपि येषां प्रभवति न रणे तान्द्रि(दृ)शामुन(न्न)ताना(नां) [।*]

7 राजासीत्[6]श्रीनिकुम्भ(म्भः) सुरपतिसद्रि(दृ)शो [7]वङ्शजः सेन्द्रकाणां [॥१॥*] [8]बिभ्राण(णो) [आ*]नुरागम्

8 जग(न)हितमन(नि)यं(शं) सर्व्वदा सानुरागं म्कु(कु)र्व्वाण(णः) प्रो(प्रो)न्नताना(नां) गुरुकटकभ्रि(भृ)त(तां) भूभृ-

9 ता(तां) मूर्द्धिन पादं [।।*] लोकानां चक्षुभूतश्शमितजनतमा लोकपालः न्रि(नृ)पिव्या(व्यां) श्रि(श्री)मान्[*]

10 विख्यातकीर्त्ती रविरिव विम[न*]स्तत्सुतोदि[9]त्यराजः [॥२॥*] [10]तस्यात्मजः प्रबलरिपुब-

11 लोद्भूतविभवप्रध्वंसहेतुः शरदमलशशाङ्कमण्डलामलयशाः

12 सुरपतिरिव विद्याधरजनगन्धर्व्वनिषेवितस्सेव्यो रम्यज्ञानकर्म्मभावितम-

13 नाश्च गरुड इव विनतानन्दजनो(न)नो राम इव परिसमाप्तसीता-

14 विग्रह(हो) यश्च [11]विप्राधिष्ठितसम्पदाहितनृपः

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[1] Based on the original plates.

[2] Represented by a symbol.

[3] Compare this prelude with those of the Bagumra, Kaḷwaṇ and the preceding grants. The text of the Bagumra grant is certainly defective.

[4] Metre *Sragdharā*.

[5] Read *khadg-āṁśu*.

[6] The reading of this letter is doubtful to me.

[7] Read *vaṁśajaḥ*.

[8] Metre *Sragdharā*.

[9] Grammatically it should be °*suta Ādityarājaḥ*; but then the line will be metrically faulty.

[10] Here begins a short prose passage.

[11] Here begins a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre in which the names of the five Pāṇḍavas have been brought in allegorically.

Second Plate

15 [1]पर्य्यावन — सदा श्रीमानर्ज्जुनकर्म्मभावितमना (नाः) सद्दी (द्री) मसेना-

16 न्वित (तः) [।।*] धर्म्मात्मा सहृदेवपूजितवपु — — ‿ — नस्सदा — — वाङ्गकु-

17 ल (लो) युं (यु) धिष्ठिरसमो रावाल्लशक्ति (क्तिः) क्षितौ [।।३।।*] मातापितृ-
पादानुद्ध्या (ध्या) तपरममाहेश्वर ⋊ पर-

18 मब्रह्मण्य (ण्यः) समावाप्त[प*]ञ्चमह (हा) शब्दः प्रि (पृ) थिवीवल्लभश्रीनिकुम्भाल्ल-
शक्ति × कुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसाम-

19 न्तविषयभोगिकचोरोद्धरणिकदण्डपाशिकदूतश (ग) मागमि[2]कयाममहत्त[2]राधिकादि (रि) कादीन्

20 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु व (वः)[3] संविदितं यथा मया पिप्पलखेटग्रा[मा*]न्तर्गतनद-

21 . . . . . . श्चनदीदक्षिणतः भूनिवर्त्तनानि [4]वर्त्तनानि

22 पञ्चाशतः ब्राह्मणवाजि (ज) सनेयसब्रह्मचारी (रि) माद्यन्दिनकि (क्र) ण्वात्रेयसगोत्रबालप्र-

23 वसिताय भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन्या (ना) चन्द्राकर्क्कार्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनत्वेन पुत्रपौत्रा-

24 न्वयभोग्यतया लड्ड्येश्वरदेवपादोपयो (भो) गाय[5]स्मं

25 पित्रोरात्म[न*]श्च पुण्ययशोभिवि (वृ) द्धये उदका-

26 तिसर्ग्गेण प्रतिपादितो यतोस्मद्व[6]ञ्शजैरण्यै (न्यै) र्व्वागिगा (गा) मिनि (नृ) पतिभिरस्मद्दा-

27 योनुमन्तव्य ⋊ प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं भगवतो (ता) [वेद*] व्यासेन व्यासेन
[7]षष्ठिम्वर्ष्यस-

28 हस्त्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।।*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक (के)

29 वसेत् [।।४।।*] [8]आरामतलभोगनिब[द्ध*]मर्य्यादया

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[1] The reading of this and the following lines is unsatisfactory owing to erasure and correction.

[2] In the space between the letters from *ka* to *rā* in this line and the word *Pippalakhēṭa* in the next line are engraved the words *yathā mayā brāhma*.

[3] Exactly below the portion of the text beginning here and ending with the 22nd line was originally engraved a different text which seems to run thus : *grāma ch=Āphālāṇḍaka uttarataḥ* [illegible] *nadī pūrvataḥ* [illegible] *grāma* [illegible] *dakshiṇataḥ* [illegible] *paśchimataḥ* [illegible] *saha* [illegible] *chaturā*". But as this portion was unnecessary, it was subsequently erased and substituted by the present portion. But owing to this very reason the text here has become so obliterated that it is not possible for me to give a satisfactory reading and as this very part contains the details about the village connected with the grant the loss is greater.

[4] Delete *vartanāni* which is redundant.

[5] Read °*y=āsmat-pi*°.

[6] Read *vaṁśajair*°.

[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh* ; read *shashṭiṁ varsha*.

[8] This portion should follow, I think, *nadīdakshiṇataḥ* in line 21.

B Kasare Plates of Nikumbhallasakti: Year 404

First plate

Second plate

First plate: Second side

First Plate ; Second Side

30 महाबलाधिक्रि(क्र)तश्रीवासवसवसमादेशो[1]

31 लिखितमि[दं*] देवदिन्नेनेति स ४०० ८ दे(दि)

32 आषाढ व अमावास्या(स्या) सूर्य्यग्रहो-

33 परागे

No. 35—VELICHERLA GRANT OF PRATAPARUDRA GAJAPATI : SAKA 1432

(*1 Plate*)

G. Ramadas, Jeypore

This copper-plate charter was sent to the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy in the year 1920-21, by the District Munsiff of Kāvali and in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* of that year issued by him, it is registered as No. 12 of Appendix A. The Assistant Superintendent makes the following note on it in part II, para. 70 of the report.

" A set of three copper-plates strung on a ring belonging to Pratāpa-Rudra of the Gajapati family of Orissa, was sent to me by the District Munsiff of Kāvali. This is given as No. 12 of Appendix A to this Report. The plates measure 8·1 inches in breadth and 3·7 inches in height. The ring that holds them together is 2·5 inches in diameter and carries a fixed **seal**, the circular surface of which is blank."

Sri Ongole Venkatarangayya Garu, B.A., B.L., edited this grant in English in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 51 ff. and in Telugu in the *Bhārati*, Vol. XIII, pt. II, pp. 271 ff.

He says, " Mr. Puluguila Venkataramaniah, a pensioner (since deceased) was kind enough to lend the engraved plates for publication. They contain a petal-like projection with a hole in the middle about ⅜ inch long on the left side of each plate. The ring with which these three plates were strung together passed through the round hollow in these projections. Unfortunately this ring is missing." The same information is given in the Telugu article in the *Bhārati*, where the author states (p. 274) : " In the year 1917, in the O. S. No. 388, between the *Agrahārikas* and the ryots of the village, regarding certain cultivation rights, the *Agrahārikas* obtained the judgement in their favour in the court of the District Munsiff of Kāvali by filing this document as exhibit R."

This charter is written in the Telugu **script** and there are many **orthographical** peculiarities. The first 32 lines are in **Sanskrit** verse ; the last 4 lines (lines 36-39) give the imprecatory verses. The boundaries of the gift village are given in lines 32-36 in **Telugu** prose. The following orthographical peculiarities are noticed in the record.

The *anusvāra* generally takes the place of the nasal and the consonant after an *anusvāra* is doubled, sometimes the aspirate or the unaspirate form of the same consonant being employed while doubling, *e.g.*, line 1, *saṁghyā-* ; line 2, *viśvaṁkhkala* ; line 3, *samastarggā-* ; line 5, *aṁbbhōjinī-* ; line 9, *-āṁśāt* ; line 12, *phullaṁtti* ; line 17, *Gōviṁdda* ; line 18, *Vēṁkkaṭa* ; line 19, *koṁḍḍa* ; line 21, *sāmaṁttas* ; line 32 *daṁḍḍu* ; but in *guṁṭa* line 34, the letter *ṭ* is not doubled. This is to show the difference in the significance of each.

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[1] Read *Vāsava-samādēśāt*.

Similarly the consonant after *r* is doubled, *e.g.*, line 2, *-ōrmmi* ; line 5, *Harēr-ddakshiṇa* : lines 9 and 19, *durgga* ; line 10, *karṇṇa* ; line 21, *sarvva* ; line 25, *Velicherlla* ; line 28, *udakair-ddhārā* ; line 33, *barllō* ; line 36, *sarvvē*. The final *n* (*nakārapollu*) at the end of a *pāda* is given, *e.g.*, line 4, *°udvahan*.

In the Telugu portion giving the boundaries, the word *rāyi* (stone) is written with only the initial vowel *i* (short) as *rāi* ; *pūrṇānusvāra* is used where *ardha anusvāra* is used now, *e.g.*, line 35, *vāṁgu* ; *tūrpuṁgommuna*.

Lines 1 to 4 ; the charter opens with a prayer to Gaṇēśa and to the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu who raised the earth from the ocean. Lines 4 to 6 ; the family of the donor is said to have been descended from the Sun-God who is also praised. Lines 6 to 12 ; in that family was born Kapilēśvara and to him was born Purushōttama. To the latter was born Pratāpa-Rudra. The charter ratifies the gift of the village, Velicherla, by Pratāpa-Rudradēva Gajapati to a Brāhmaṇa on the 3rd *tithi*, Friday, of the bright half of the (lunar) month of Kārttika of the (cyclic) year (*Pramōdād-any-ābdavarē*) which corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram *kara-rām-ābdhi-śitāṁśu*, (2, 3, 4, 1).

As this **date** is important to clear some fallacies created by the historians regarding the relations of Kṛishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara and Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, I undertake to discuss this first before I proceed to comment on the text of the document. Mr. Venkatarangayya, who published this copper-plate grant, said that the date corresponded to 1510 A. C., October, 4, Friday ; but on examination it is found that the *tithi* on that day was not *tṛitīyā* but partly *prathamā* and partly *dvitīyā*. The editor of the journal (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 57.) argued thus :—Unfortunately the Śaka saṁvat and the cyclic year do not agree ; for Śaka 1432 (expired) coincided with Paridhāvi (*sic*), Śaka year 1433 expired or 1434 current alone (*sic*) would correspond to the cyclic year Pramōdūta. The date of the grant in Christian era would be equivalent to Friday, 24th October, 1511 A. C.

In the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921, para. 70, it is said that Pramōdūta corresponded to 1510-11 A. C. None of these examiners seem to have understood the passage giving the date rightly. I quote here the verses (lines 22 to 24) to make it clear.

Line 22. *kara-rām-ābdhi-śitāṁśu-saṅkhyāka-Śaka-vatsarē Pra-*

Line 23. *mōdō(dā)d-any-ābda-varē māsi Kārttika-nāmani śukla-tṛitīyyā-divasē Bhā-*

Line 24. *rggavasya cha vāsarē*, etc.

Here the cyclic year Pramōda or Pramōdūta correctly corresponds to the Śaka year 1432 ; but the compound *Pramōdō(dā)d-any-ābda-varē* clearly indicates that the year other than (next to) Pramōda, *i.e.* Prajāpati—consequently, the Śaka year next to that quoted in the inscription, *viz.*, 1433 seems to be intended. The date now resolves itself to Śaka 1433, (cyclic year) Prajāpati, (the lunar month) Kārttika śuddha 3, Bhārgava's (week-)day, which corresponds to 1511 A. C., October 24, Friday.

Since the grant was made when the king was holding court in the great fort of Uṇḍrakoṇḍa, it is certain that he was in the south in 1511-12 A. C. ; it was his *aṅka* 17 as his father died in 1496-97. That the Gajapati king was in the south about 1511 A. C. is corroborated by other sources of information. The *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvali*[1] says that, when, in the 17th year (of reign) Cuttack was attacked by the Mogul called Hassan Shah, the king (Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati) who went

[1] *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 94. The rest of the passage mentions the regnal year as *varsha* and not as *aṅka*. However since the Gajapati rulers invariably reckoned their reign in *aṅkas*, we may understand by *varsha* only the *aṅka* year.

south to conquer, returned and defeated the Mogul. This was in the 17th year of Pratāpa-Rudra. Jīvadēvāchārya in the *Praśasti* of his *Bhaktibhāgavata*[1] says, 'the king, in his 17th year, was at Tirumala, fighting.' All these prove that Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati of Orissa was in the south till October 1511 A. C.

Yet, basing his arguments on the Gōnnguṇṭa rock inscription of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, the Superintendent for Epigraphy in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34, para. 41, says that Kṛishṇadēvarāya subdued Udayagiri some time between 24th January 1510 A. C. and 15th October of the same year. This argument becomes untenable if the date of the said Gōnnguṇṭa epigraph is taken into consideration. The date given in it is Śaka 1433, Pramōdūta, Kārttika *su.* 11, Tuesday. Firstly, Śaka 1433 was not Pramōdūta; but it corresponds to Prajāpati, 1511 A. C. If the cyclic year Pramōdūta is taken, Kārttika *śu.* 11 falls on 13th October, Sunday, 1510 A.C. If Śaka 1433, Prajāpati, is taken, the date corresponds to Saturday, 1st November, 1511 A. C. Either way, the date of the epigraph is not correct, since the week day does not tally; and therefore it cannot be accepted as genuine.

The same officer in the beginning of the paragraph corrects the date of another inscription at Guṇḍlapālem, of Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, and says that he granted a piece of land in 1510 A. C., sometime after January. Guṇḍlapālem is in Kandukur *tāluk* and Gōnnguṇṭa is in Ongole *tāluk*. The two *tāluks* are so adjacent that it cannot be accepted that two hostile kings could hold sway here so closely.

In view of what has been stated above, the conclusions of the Superintendent for Epigraphy regarding the date of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's conquest of the Udayagiri fort need to be modified.

In the Velicherla copper plate under review, Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa bears several titles. It is but necessary to see if they were mere vainglorious ones or were really deserved. He was the overlord of the five Gauḍas, (*Pañcha-Gauḍ-ādhināyakaḥ*, line 16). Kapilēśvara, his grandfather, acquired the title of Gauḍēśvara which became hereditary in his family. Only one part of the Gauḍa country must have been subdued during the time of Kapilēśvara. But Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa defeated the ruler of Bengal (Gauḍa) and pursued him till the latter hid himself in his fort (lines 13-15). The *Bhaktibhāgavata Praśasti* says (verse 27), 'while his hair was still wet with the bath of coronation, he defeated the Sultan of Gauḍa, a conqueror in many battles, and at the end of the sixth week of his father's death he offered handfuls of water of the Gaṅgā for the merit of his father. The Anantavaram plates[2] with the date corresponding to 1500 A. C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, say that Pratāpa-Rudra drove the Aṅga king to the mountain refuge. This victory is amplified in the Iḍupulapāḍu-Garuḍastambha inscription,[3] the date of which corresponds to 1500 A. C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, which declares *Gauḍēndra-krandana-kathit-āśāsu-vijayaḥ*. Since these records bear the same date, this particular exploit must have been achieved before 1500 A. C.

Then we consider the other epithet, *Raṇa-Baṇjāra*. *Raṇa* means battle or fight; *Baṇjāra* is an Urdu word meaning the same thing as *Lambāḍi* (C. P. Brown), which means a trader.[4] So the phrase means a trader in battles, *i.e.*, a victor in battles.

Since Anantavaram and Iḍupulapāḍu, where the grants of this Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati were found, are located to the north of the river Kṛishṇā, and since the village of Velicherla, the

[1] *Report on the Search for Sans. Mss.*, *1901-02 to 1905-06*, by M. M. H. P. Sastri, pp. 14 ff, vv. 31 and 32.

[2] *Andhra Patrika Annual*, 1929, pp. 175-6; *Kaḷingadēśacharitra*, App. p. 97; *Journal of K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 37.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 732, text lines 38-9

[4] [Really speaking, the word *baṇjāra* is derived from Sanskrit *bāṇijya* (or *vāṇijya*)-*kāra*.—Ed.]

object of this grant, is said to be in Pāka-nāḍu, it may be inferred that the region along the sea-coast might have been called by the name of Pāka-nāḍu.

Uṇḍrakoṇḍa, one of the forts said to have been captured by Kṛishṇadēvarāya, was a *mahā-durga* where Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati held his court, attended by learned men (*Paṇḍits*), *Pātras* (commanders of army), *Bĕharā Mahāpātras* (collectors of revenue as well as commanders of army), and *Sāmantas* (vassals) (lines 19-21). The Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy takes this to be the same as Indrakoṇḍa of Briggs' *Ferishta*, II.

Vidyānidhi is the last of his titles and it requires explanation. His work, *Sarasvatīvilā-sa*, is a living evidence of his lore in *Śāstras*, *Purāṇas* and other works in Sanskrit literature. Some scholars contend that the work was written by Lakshmīdhara Paṇḍita ; yet it may be said that the Paṇḍit might have helped the Gajapati in compiling the work.[1] His father Purushōt-tama Gajapati was such a great scholar that his poetic flourishes were elixir to the ears (*Karṇa-rasāyanāni*) (line 10). The son of such a scholar king must have been educated well in his boy-hood. In his 15th year while being the governor of Śrīkūrmam(-Maṇḍala), he wrote such a beauti-ful and scholarly book as *Syainika-śāstra* (the science of Hawking).[2] M. M. H. P. Sastri, who was not aware of the learning of the Gajapati prince of Kūrmam, considered Kūrmāchala as referr-ing to Kumaun and Rudradēva as its king. The other details recorded in the inscription are the following.

Lines 26-28 : The donee Koṇḍayya, was the best of the twice born (*dvija-rājaḥ*), shone with all good qualities, was the son of Tammaya and the grandson of Nārāyaṇa Yajvan (who perform-ed a sacrifice) of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, of the Yajuś(-śākhā) sect, and was a resident of Puluguḷḷa.

Line 28 : The object of the grant was Valicherla, the gem amongst villages situated in the region of Jaladaṅki, in the district (*sīman*) of Pāka-nāḍu. This gift was made with reverence (*samādarāt*), associated with libations of water and gold (*hiraṇya*).

The gift, exempted from the thirty six kinds of demands and other imposts, was given to last till the moon and the sun endure, to be enjoyed from son to grandson (for genera-tions). Such rights as those of mortgage and sale were also given. The gift was made in the presence of Durgā and Jagannātha for the increase of merit (lines 31-32). The boundaries of the village were shown by the boundary stones.

The boundaries are mentioned in Telugu from line 32 to line 36. Lines 36-39 contain two imprecatory verses.

The charter is ratified by fixing the royal seal which is divided into two parts. The first re-presents a 'rampant lion' in writing. Many people understand it to be the Telugu letter *kha* which forms the initial of the word *Khāmandu*. This is not tenable as there was no occasion for the kings of Orissa to adopt this word of Urdu origin.

The significance of this seal requires to be traced from the time of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa. They ratified their grants by securing the ends of a metallic ring on which the plates containing the document were strung, in a metallic lump on which was fixed the seal consisting

[1] [For a discussion regarding the authorship of *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, see *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 15 ff.—Ed.]

[2] Published by the *A. S. B. New series*, No. 1252, edited by M.M. H. P. Sastri. Mr. Sastri understood the author as the lord of Kūrmāchala, which is supposed to be the modern name of Kumaun ; but considering the in-ternal evidences in the work, Pratāpa-Rudra was really the Governor of Kūrmam which, in analogy with Simhā-chalam, was named Kūrmāchala. As in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, in this work also, he collects authorities from several books of Sanskrit literature. References to *Purāṇas*, *Vēdas*, and other works of Sanskrit are a peculiar feature in the authorship of Gajapati kings. Purushōttamadēva Gajapati in his *Nāmamālikā* says that he had studied several books.

of a couchant bull, conch, sword and elephant-goad. When the Sūryavaṁśī kings succeeded to the government of Orissa, they replaced the four objects so as to suit their faith and prowess. Kapilēśvara's copper-plate grant shows a harnessed elephant and the hilt of a sword. There are some ornamental engravings on the hilt.

Only one charter of Purushōttama Gajapati is found till now and it is published in *J. B. and O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 361 ff. and plate, under the caption : *A note on an inscribed copper axe-head from Orissa*. The seal represented at the end of the inscription is composed of the engravings of four objects :—(1) a letter (2) a conch (3) a double-edged long sword (4) a dagger.

The first looks like the figure 3 with an uplifted tail behind. Since the donor was a worshipper of Durgā (*Śrī-Jayadurgāyai namaḥ*), he might have adopted the lion, the vehicle of Durgā as his emblem or crest. This figure represents the rampant lion. (2) The conch may stand for the *pañcha-mahā-śabda*, often found mentioned in the copper-plate charters of the early Gaṅga kings.

(3) The long sword is always a sign of royal authority and valour.

(4) The dagger is another weapon used in a closer fight.

Purushōttama's son Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati reduced these signs, omitting the conch, to the writing form.

The first crest lost its middle horizontal projection but retained its tail. This stands for the rampant lion, as emblem of valour and royalty. Then the long sword and the dagger are combined together. The first two ovals stand for the hilt of the sword ; the third oval stands for the handle of the dagger the blade of which is shown by a line from the lower part of the oval.

There are some signs on the handle of the long sword. They are the representation of some ornamental carvings of the hilt as found in the Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara.[1]

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Gaṇānām-adhipaḥ pāyāt gaṇḍa-matt-āli-nisvanaiḥ bhakta-saṁghā(ṅghā)ta-vighn-aughān vārayan Vām-

2 ṇānanaḥ ||[1||*] Pārāvāra-viśiṁkha(ṅkha)l-ōrmmi-paṭali-pathyā nimagnāṁ bhuvaṁ daṁshṭr-āgrēṇa samu-

3 ddharan sa-pulaka-svēd-ōdgamām-ātmanaḥ | saṁsa(sa)rgg-ānubhavēna rōma-paṭali-svēd-ōda-biṁdū(ndū)-

4 n-iva |[3] krīḍā-krōḍa-kaḷēbarō-vatu sadā sapt-ārṇṇavīm-udvahan ||[2||*] Asti trayī-mūla-mū-

5 rttir-Ādityō mahasān-nidhi[ḥ*] |[3] aṁbhōjininām jīvātur-Harēr-ddakshiṇa-lōchanam ||[3||*] Tad-a-

6 nvay-ābdhāv-udabhūn-mahaujāḥ |[3] kaḷā-nidhiḥ śrī-Kapilēṁdra(ndra)nāmā | yat-kīrtti-chaṁdra(ndra)-dvita-

7 y-āri-bhūbhṛit |[3] kar-āṁbbu(bu)jātāni nimilayaṁtti(nti) ||[4||*] Sa bhūpatir-ddakshiṇa-bhūmipā-

8 lān |[3] vijitya viśrāṇana-pārijātaḥ | ananya-sādhāraṇa-sāhasa-śrīr-jagrāha pa[ś]chāt-ye(Te)-

9 luṁgā(ṅgā)ṇa-durggān ||[5||*] Puṇyas-tadiyyaḥ(dīyaḥ) Purushōttam-āṁśā |[3] t-putrō-bhavat śrī-Puru-

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[1] C. P. No. 17 of 1934-35.

[2] From impressions.

[3] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

10 shōttamāṁdraḥ(ndraḥ) | sugaṁdha(ndha)yaḥ[1] s-tat-kavitā-vilāsā[ḥ=*]saṁkhyā(ṅkhyā)vatāṁ
karṇṇa-rasāyanāni ||[6||*]

11 Divā-niśaṁ tasya mahīśvarasya |[2] pratāpa-bhānau paridṛiśyamānē | nāk-āpagāyāṁ nalināni
ni-

12 tyaṁ |[2] n-āti praphullaṁtti(nti) na kuṭmalaṁtti(nti) ||[7||*] Puttrō-bhavat-tasya Gajēśa-
varasya |[2] Pratāparudraḥ para-sainya-

Second Plate : First Side

13 randraḥ | sa Gaṇḍa-rājasya balāni jitvā |[2] pratyagrahīd-rājyam-adhijya-dhanvā ||[8||*]
Mattēbha-

14 kuṁbhaṁ(mbhaṁ) samarēshu yasya |[2] dṛishṭvā palāyya sva-puraṁ pravēśyā(śya) | bhay-
ākulō Gaṇḍa-

15 patiḥ kad-āpi |[2] bibbi[3]-kuchaṁ n-ēkshitum-īhatē sma ||[9||*] Sa bhūpatir-mmahārājō
rājēṁdra(ndra)-para-

16 māśvaraḥ | śrīmad-rājādhirājēṁdra(ndra)-Paṁcha(ñcha)-Gaṇḍ-ādhināyakaḥ ||[10||*] Yaśasvi
vīra-kōdaṇḍō māna-

17 Gōviṁdda(nda)-lāṁchchha(ñchha)naḥ | vidyā-nidhiḥ Pāṁka-nāṁṭi-Chōḷa-maṁḍḍa(ṇḍa)la-
nāyakaḥ ||[11||*] Tribhuvana-tōḍara-

18 mallō |[2] raṇa-baṇijāraḥ pratāpa-vīra-varaḥ | śrī-Vēṁkka(ṅka)ṭa-gajarājaḥ |[2] Pratāparudraḥ

19 pratāpa-mārttāṁḍḍa(ṇḍa)ḥ ||[12||*] Vuṁḍri(ṇḍra)koṁḍḍa(ṇḍa)-mahādurgga-kaṭakē maṇi-
śōbhitē |

20 siṁhyā(hā)sana-samāsīnau(nō) vidvaj-jana-samāvṛitē[4] ||[13||*] Pātraiḥ[4]r= bāhatā-mahā-

21 pātrais-sāmaṁttai(ntai)[ḥ*] pari-sēvitaḥ | pālayan pṛithivīm sarvvām Puruhū-

Second Plate : Second Side

22 ta yi(i)v-āparaḥ ||[14||*] Kara-rām-ābdhi-śītāṁśu-saṁkhyā(ṅkhyā)ka-Śaka-vatsarē | Pra-

23 mōdō(dā)d-any-a(ā)bda-varē māsē(si) Kārttika-nāmani ||[15||*] Śukla-tritīyyā(tṛitīyā)-divasē
Bhā-

24 rggavasya cha vāsarē | Vu(U)dayāchala-durggasya pūrva-bhāgē pratishṭhitē ||[16||*] Ja-

25 ladaṁkki(ṅki)-sthalē Pāṁka(ṅka)-nāṁṭi(ṇṭi)-simni virājitaṁ(m) | Velicherla-grāma-ratnaṁ
Pulu-

26 guḷa-nivva(vā)sinē ||[17||*] Śrī-Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Yajuś-śākhā-pravarttinē | Nārā-

27 yaṇa-yajvana[ḥ*] pautrāya Tammayasy-ātma-sūnavē ||[18||*] Koṁḍḍa(ṇḍa)ya-dvija-rājā-

28 ya samasta-guṇa-śōbhinē | sa-hiraṇy-ōdakair-ddhārā-pūrvaṁ kṛitvā samādarā-

29 t ||[19||*] Shaṭ-triṁśad-āvēdanaka-rahitaṁ nirupādhikaṁ [|*] ā-chāṁdr-ā(ndr-ā)rkka-putra-
pautra-pāra-

30 ṁpary-ānuśāsanaṁ(m) ||[20||*] Adi(dhi)kray-ādhi(di)-yōgyaṁ-chcha(ñ-cha) sarva-bhōga-
samanvitaṁ(m) | pradā-

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[1] *Visarga* unnecessary.

[2] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[3] The word *bibbi* is apparently derived from *bībī* which is of Persian origin meaning 'wife'.

[4] Omit *visarga*.

SCALE: SIX-SEVENTHS

B. CH. CHHABRA

Reg. No. 615 HE(C)'52-478.

SURVEY OF INDIA DEHRA DUN

ii, b.

22

24

26

28

30

iii.

32

34

36

38

Third Plate

31 [d*]-Durggā-Jagannātha-sannidhau dharmma-vṛiddhayē [[21||*] Tasya grāmasya sīmā-chih-nāni śilā-stam-

32 bhai[ḥ*] śisthai (śishṭair)-jñēyāni || Grāmam tūrpuna daṁḍḍu-dōvanu gumḍḍinu rāini [|*] āgnēyāna

33 bariōnu vidamḍalō rāi [|*] dakshiṇāna Chemuṭṭa-gumiṭṭana ā-paḍamaṭi kaddavanu rā-

34 iani [|*] nairuti-mūlanu Rēvaḍi-gumṭa-paḍamaṭi-kommuna rāi [|*] paḍamaṭa nilvu rāi [|*] vāyu-

35 vyāna vāmgu daṁḍḍa-rāi [|*] uttarāna va(u)ppuṁḍervu-tūrpuṁ-gommuna rāi [|*] īśānyāna

36 muddula-gumṭṭa-daṁḍḍanu rāi [|*] iviyē polam samjñalu [||*] Yē(Ē)k-aiva bhaginī lōkē sarvvē-

37 shām-ēva bhūbhujām | na bhōjyā na kara-grāṁ(grā)hyā vipra-dattā vasuṁddha(ndha)rā [[22||*] Sva-da-

38 ttām para-dattām vvā(vā) yō harēd-vasudhām-imāṁ(m) | shashṭhir(shṭi)-vvarasha(varsha)-sahasrā-

39 ṇi vishṭā(shṭhā)yām jāyatē krimiḥ [[23||*] *The crest and the sign-manual* [||*]

No. 36—TERUNDIA PLATE OF SUBHAKARA II

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

About the close of May 1950, I received for examination a copper-plate inscription from Mr. C. M. Āchārya, M.A., LL.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, through the Registrar of the said institution. No information was then available as to its findspot and the circumstance of its discovery. Sometime afterwards Mr. Āchārya kindly agreed to my suggestion that the inscription should be edited by me in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. My sincere thanks are due to him for his kindness in allowing me to publish the record. In December 1950, I visited Purī in course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions. There I met Pandit Sadāśiva Ratha Śarmā who collects inscriptions on behalf of the Utkal University. I learnt from the Pandit that the plate under discussion had been recovered by him, together with some interesting articles of pottery, from an old well in the house of Śrī Chakradhara Sāmal of **Terundiā**, a village about five miles from Nimāpāṛā which is the headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Purī District of Orissa.

The inscription is written on **a single plate** measuring about 16" in length and 8¼" in height. The proper right end of the plate, to which a copper lump containing the seal is soldered, does not run in a straight line but is slightly curved. The plate is thus more than ½" longer in the middle than in the upper and lower sides which are both about 16" long. The **seal** is much corroded and only the traces of an emblem looking like a couchant bull are visible. The round surface of the seal is 2¾" in diameter. The thickness of the lump of metal, on which the seal emblem is counter-sunk, is 1½". The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and the writing, especially on the obverse, has suffered considerably from the affects of corrosion. There are 20 lines of writing on the obverse and 10 lines on the reverse. The weight of the plate together with the seal is 191 *tolas*.

As regards **palaeography** and **orthography**, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the published records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, including the Śāntiragrāma

grant of Daṇḍimahādēvī (who flourished about three quarters of a century later than the issuer of the present charter) and the Jajpur (Haṁsēśvara temple) inscription mentioning the royal couple Śubhākara I and Mādhavadēvī (who were the grandparents of the issuer of our charter), both of which have been recently edited by me for the pages of this journal.[1] The only point of palaeographical interest, to which attention may be drawn, is the way in which the number *100* is written in line 22. Here the usual *lu* symbol indicating *100* is rather unusually followed by a cypher apparently indicating the absence of the ten and unit elements in the number. This is no doubt due to the influence of the decimal system of writing numerals which was becoming popular in various parts of India even before the rise of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa. The Bhauma-Kara king, who is usually styled Śubhākara II, is already known from his two copper-plate grants, *viz.*, the Hindol and Dharakota plates,[2] both of which are dated in the year 103, the former on Śrāvaṇa *śudi* 7 and the latter on Bhādrapada *śudi* 7. It is interesting to note that, while the number 103 has been written in the Dharakota plate as 100 3 in the usual way, the same number has been written in the Hindol plate[3] as 100 0 3 with the cypher indicating the absence of the ten element in it. The charter under discussion was issued about three years earlier than the Hindol and Dharakota plates referred to above.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. It should, however, be pointed out that, while the texts of the Hindol and Dharakota plates of the year 103 closely resemble each other, the draft of the present document issued in the year 100 is quite different. The verses employed in the charter under review are also different from those found in the Hindol and Dharakota records. As, moreover, will be seen from our discussion below, the present inscription offers some interesting new information.

The inscription is **dated** in the year 100 Vaiśākha *śudi* 5(?). As is well known, the era used by the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa is identified by some scholars with the Harsha era of 606 A.C., although there are writers who are inclined to assign the epoch of the era to a later date. Thus the date of the record under discussion falls in 706 A.C. or, if the views of the second group of scholars are preferred, to sometime in the eighth century or later. I have fully discussed the problem of Bhauma-Kara chronology in connection with the Santiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādēvī recently,[4] and hardly anything in this connection requires special mention here.

The charter belongs to king **Śubhākara II** of the celebrated Orissan imperial family called usually Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in the later. It was issued, like other grants of the family, from the city of Guhadēvapāṭaka, otherwise called Guhēśvarapāṭaka. This city, which was apparently the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, has been identified with modern Jajpur on the Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack District of Orissa.[5] It is mentioned as a *jaya-skandhāvāra*; but it has been shown that, although the word *skandhāvāra* usually means 'a camp,' it has also the sense of a *rājadhānī* in medieval lexicons.[6] The description of Guhadēvapāṭaka in prose in lines 1-2 of the record under review is followed by another prose passage saying that, after the death of the Bhauma kings beginning with Lakshmīkara, the throne passed to *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Śubhākara I who was a *paramōpāsaka*, 'a follower of the Buddhist faith.' It may be pointed out in this connection that, in the Neulpur[7] plate of Śubhākara I himself, the king is described as a

[1] Above, p. 180.

[2] B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12-22; *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-91.

[3] The plate now belongs to the collection of the Utkal University, Cuttack, and I had recently an opportunity of examining it through the kindness of Mr. C. M. Āchārya. An examination of the original plate revealed the fact that the published transcript of the text of this inscription contains some errors.

[4] My article on the inscription is being published in this journal.

[5] Above, p. 180.

[6] *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 47-48.

[7] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 3; Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

paramasaugata 'a devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha,' while his father Śivakara I (also known as Unmattasiṁha *alias* Bharasaha) and his grandfather Kshēmaṅkara are called respectively a *paramat[ā]thāgata* and a *paramōpāsaka*. The most interesting epithet of king Śubhākara I in our record is *sva-prabhāva-samāsādita-sārvabhauma-bhāva* in lines 3-4, which suggests, as already conjectured by me elsewhere,[1] that he was the first imperial ruler of the family. It was also suggested by me that Lakshmikara was just another name of Kshēmaṅkara, grandfather of Śubhākara I.

The above section of the inscription in prose is followed by three verses in lines 4-8, describing Śivakara II who was the eldest son and successor of Śubhākara I. In the last of these verses, king Śivakara II is described as *Sugat-āśraya*, 'a Buddhist.' The three verses are followed by a long passage in prose in lines 8-13, introducing *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Subhākara II described as the son and successor of Śivakara II and the issuer of the charter under discussion. He was a *paramasaugata*, 'a Buddhist,' like his predecessors. It is interesting to note that, like some of the Buddhist kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar,[2] *paramasaugata* Śubhākara II claimed to have established the order of the *varṇa-āśrama* in its golden age purity in strict accordance with the scriptures (cf. *niratiśaya-śāstr-ānusāra-pravarttita-kṛitayug-ōchit-āsaṅkīrṇṇa-varṇṇ-āśrama-vyavastha* in lines 9-10). This no doubt points to the great influence of the Brahmanical social system on the lay followers of Buddhism which, along with several other factors, ultimately led to the complete absorption of the latter into the Brahmanical fold. But the most important point in the description of king Śubhākara II in our record is that he is here represented as the son of Śivakara II. He is, moreover, said to have been born of the queen Mōhinīdēvī who belonged to the Bhavāna-vaṁśa, possibly indicating a royal family of which the progenitor was a ruler named Bhavāna, although no such king or dynasty is so far known to us from other sources. We know that, according to the Hindol and Dharakota plates of the king usually styled Śubhākara II, he was the son of Śāntikara I, younger brother of Śivakara II, and was born of the queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī belonging to the *Nāg-ōdbhava-kula*, *i.e.*, possibly a certain Nāga family.[3] We also know that after the premature death of that king, his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvī, also called Siddhagaurī, ruled the Bhauma-Kara kingdom for some years during the minority of her son's son Śāntikara II.[4] King Śāntikara I is known to have ruled in the year 93.[5] He was therefore followed on the Bhauma-Kara throne by Śubhākara represented in the present inscription (dated year 100) as the son of his elder brother Śivakara II from Mōhinīdēvī, although the Hindol and Dharakota plates (dated year 103) speak of a ruler of the same name as his own son from queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī *alias* Siddhagaurī. The information offered by the present inscription is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of Bhauma-Kara history. Śāntikara I seems to have been succeeded by Śubhākara who was the son of Śivakara II from Mōhinīdēvī and this Śubhākara was succeeded by another Śubhākara who was the son of Śāntikara I from Tribhuvanamahādēvī. If such was the case, Mōhinīdēvī's son Śubhākara (to be called Śubhākara II) must have ended his rule shortly after the year 100 and Tribhuvanamahādēvī's son Śubhākara (to be called Śubhākara III) must have succeeded him shortly before the year 103. It may, however, be argued that the issuer of the present charter as well as of the Hindol and Dharakota plates may have been one and the same king named Śubhākara II and that he was actually the son of Śivakara II from the queen Mōhinīdēvī but was adopted by Tribhuvanamahādēvī queen of Śāntikara I between the years 100 and 103 of the era used by the Bhauma-Kara kings, when he was actually on the throne. But I consider it impossible

[1] *JKHRS*, Vol. II, p. 103. Cf. the expression *prati-sāmanta*, probably meaning 'rival feudatories,' used in connection with the adversaries of his predecessor in lines 2-3.

[2] *Gauḍa-lēkha-mālā*, p. 35 : *śāstr-ārtha-bhājā chalatō=nuśāsya varṇān pratiṣṭhāpayatā sva-dharmē*, etc.

[3] Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[4] Ibid., pp. 23 ff. In her own Dhenkanal plate, queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī is described as the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country.

[5] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-4.

that a reigning monarch could have been adopted as son by one of his female relations. Moreover the accession to the Bhauma-Kara throne of five queens (*viz.* Tribhuvanamahādēvī I-II, Gaurīmahādēvī, Vakulamahādēvī and Dharmamahādēvī) and of a princess (Daṇḍimahādēvī) points to the unpopularity of the institution of adoption in the Bhauma-Kara family. The difference of the draft of the present charter from that of the Hindol and Dharakata plates has also to be noted in this connection. It is, however, as yet unknown whether there was a struggle for the throne between Śubhākara II and Śubhākara III after the death of Śāntikara I. It is also uncertain why Śāntikara I succeeded his elder brother when the latter had left a son.

The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the present and future officials and subordinates belonging to Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī such as the *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahārāja*, *Rājaputra*, *Antaraṅga*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Vishayapati*, *Taḍāyuktaka*, *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Sthānāntarika* and other dependants, including persons of the *chāṭa*, *bhaṭa* and *vallabha* categories (lines 13-15). It was also addressed to such offices (*adhikaraṇa*) within the Sulāntarakurbha *vishaya* as those of the *Mahāmahattara*, *Brihadbhōgin*, *Pustapāla* and *Kuṭakōlama* (lines 15-16). It is well known that the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas was divided at least into two provinces, *viz.*, Uttara-Tōsalī and Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī, *i.e.*, the North and South Tōsalī. The *vishaya* or district, called Sulāntarakurbha in our record, formed a part of South Tōsalī. A village called Lavāgaṇḍā, situated in the said *vishaya*, was granted by the king as a revenue-free permanent gift in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas at the request of the queen (*rājñī*) Nṛiṇṇā who was apparently one of the king's wives (lines 16-22). The donees, who were inhabitants of Tāmamaṇḍapagrāma, belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and were students of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* of the Yajurvēda. They were six in number, *viz.*, Bhaṭṭa Bhēṇḍadēva, Bhaṭṭa Vidrāvaṇadēva, Bhaṭṭa Khillāvanadēva, Bhaṭṭa Mēradēva, Bhaṭṭa Rāṅgadēva and Bhaṭṭa Śaṇḍhadēva. Most of the technical terms used in connection with the grant are also found in other copper-plate charters of the family and have been discussed already in connection with the Śāntiragrāma grant[1] of Daṇḍimahādēvī. The grant was made for the upkeep of the *maṭhas* and *maṇḍapas* established by the Brāhmaṇas in their native village. The words *maṭha* and *maṇḍapa* appear to mean here respectively 'a college' and 'a public building.' They are often mentioned in later Gaṅga records.[2] Lines 22-23 contain the king's entreaty to the future rulers of the country as well as the date discussed above. This is followed by the passage *uktā-cha dharmma-śāstrē* which introduces five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses in lines 23-27. There is another verse in lines 27-28, praying for the permanence of the Kara (*i.e.*, Bhauma) king's charter recorded on the plate. Similar verses are also found in some other charters of the family.[3] It is interesting to note that our record thus speaks of the royal family in question both as Bhauma (line 3) and as Kara (line 28). This is, again, the earliest record of the dynasty in which the family name Kara occurs. The dynastic name Kara was no doubt due to the crystallisation of the name-ending of all kings (*e.g.* Kshēmaṅkara-Lakshmīkara, Śivakara I-III and Śāntikara I-III) of the family, excepting those bearing the name Śubhākara (I-V). The *dūtaka* or executor of the grant was the *Mahākshapaṭalādhikṛita* (*i.e.*, an officer of the *akshapaṭala* or record department) named Tāradatta. The writer of the document was the *Mahākshapaṭalika* (*i.e.*, record-keeper) *Bhōgin* Ānandanāga. The plate was heated (*tāpita*), apparently for soldering the seal, by the *pēṭāpāla* Nārāyaṇakara. The epithet *pēṭāpāla*, also found in many other records, has not been satisfactorily explained. The word *pēṭā* seems to be used in the *Divyāvadāna*[4] in the sense of 'a basket.' The *pēṭāpāla* thus may have been a storekeeper of the king's record department. It is difficult to say whether *Pēṭāpāla*

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[1] The inscription is being published in this journal.

[2] See the grants of Narasimha II, edited above, pp. 187 ff.

[3] Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 16 (lines 30-32 of text), p. 27 (lines 39-41 of text), etc.

[4] Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, s.v. The word is found in some records as *peḍāpāla*.

Obverse

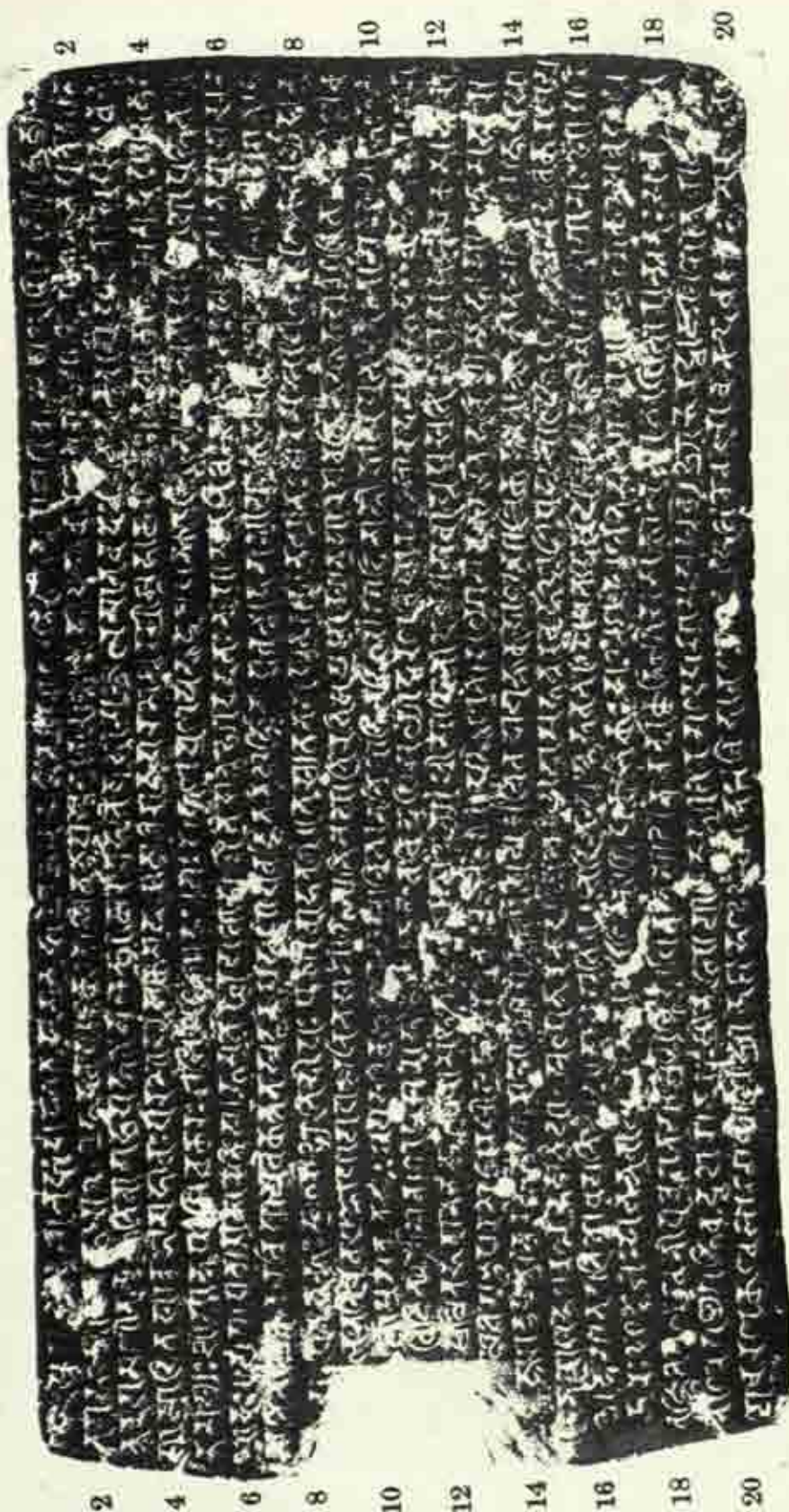
SCALE: ONE-HALF

B. CH. CHHABRA

SURVEY OF INDIA, DEHRA DUN

Reg. No. 578 M E (C)'51-499.

Reverse

22 24 26 28 30

Nārāyaṇakara of the present record is the same as *Pēṭṭapāla* Nārāyaṇa who heated the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara I. The plate was engraved by the *ta[ṭh]ārō* (*i.e.*, metal-worker ; cf. Hindi *ṭhaṭhērā*) Āghāka who was the son of Mallu.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter under discussion, Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī included the present Puri District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttak and Ganjam Districts. I have not been able to locate the Sulāntarakurbha *vishaya* and the villages called Lavāṇapaḍā and Taramaṇḍapa. The location of Guhadēvapāṭaka or Guhēśvarapāṭaka has already been indicated above.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 3-7 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 8 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verse 9 *Mālinī*.]

Obverse

1 [Siddham ||][2] Svasty-a[ti-ru?]dra-mātaṅga-saṁghāta-samuttuṅga-prākāra-parikshiptāt | kshi(kshi)r-āmvu(mbu)rāśēr-iv-āśēsha-bhōgi-samupabhujyam[ā]-

2 na-sahaj-an[d]ā[rya*]-[sambhā]rāt | Guhadēvapāṭak-āvāsita-jaya-skandhāvārāt | [ā]-di- asādhāra[ṇa]-parākrama-āṅhri(ṅghri)[p][īṭhī*]kṛita-pratisāma-

3 nta-chūḍā-maṇ-indrēshu[3] [sura?]-nivāsa-bhupa(va)n-gatēshu Lakshmīkara-prabhṛitishu Bhauma-kula-mānava-dēvēsh[u] tad-anvavāya-prabhavaḥ sva-prabhāva-sa-

4 māsādita-sārvvabhauma-bhāvaḥ paramōpāsaka-mah[ā]rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Śubhākaradēvaḥ | Tasy=ātma[jaḥ] samudapādi jaga-

5 n-namasyaḥ śrīmān nṛipaḥ Śivakaraḥ śaśiśēkhar-ābhaḥ | yaḥ sad-guṇa-praṇaya-kṛid-[vṛi]sha-pakshapātī [kshmābhṛi]t-sutā-pa[riṇa]y-ōpahita-pra-

6 mōdaḥ || [1||*] Yasya pratyupakāra-nispṛiha-matēr-arthaṁ yath-ābhyarthitaṁ sa[rvvē]bhyō dadataḥ kṛip-āmṛita-nidhēḥ sa[ntōsha?]taḥ sa[rvva]dā | na prādāt=samastāṁ viniya kavachaṁ viprāya vaikarttanas=tach-chhakti-grahaṇ-āpavarjjita-nij-aurjjitya-

7 tāṁ viniya kavachaṁ viprāya vaikarttanas=tach-chhakti-grahaṇ-āpavarjjita-nij-aurjjitya-prava(ba)ndh-ōdayaḥ || [2||*] Yaḥ [kō]sar-[ī]va [śūr-āgrō dhī?]mām(mān) śrī-Sugat-āśra-

8 yaḥ [|*] pitṛi-bhaktaḥ kul-ōdyō(ddyō)ta-dīpaḥ Purar-iv=ābhavat || [3||*] tasya tanayas-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramasaugata[ḥ] pratata-bhāgya-samva(saṁva)-

9 lana-nirata-[ma]hōpāya-pa[llavi]ta-saṁhit-ātiśayō niratiśaya-śāstr-ānusāra-pravarttita-kṛitayug-ōchit-āśa[ṅki]rṇṇa-va-

10 rṇṇ-āśrama-vyavasthaḥ sapa[dy-a]dhika-dha[vala]-yaśō-vitāna-tirōhita-Dilip-ādi-mahīpāla-pratītiḥ tāmarasa-nābha iva

11 vijita-[kusu]mavā(bā)ṇa-prasarō Bhī[m-āgra]ja iva viddhō=pi Śaly-ōddharaṇa-viśāradaḥ śārada-ma[hā]hrada iva sva[chchh-ānta?]r-āśaya[ḥ*]

12 prathita-Bhavāna-[vaṁśa(vaṁśa)-la]lāma-bhūtā[yāṁ] mahādēvyāṁ śrī-Mōhinīdēvyām=avāpta-prasu(sū)tiḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārā-

13 jādhirāja-para[mēśva]ra-śrī-Śubhākaradēvaḥ ku[śa]lī || Dakshiṇa-Tōsalyām(lyāṁ) varttamāna-bhavishyan-mahāsā[ma]nta-mahārā-

14 ja-rājapu[tr-ānta]ra[ṅga]-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishayapati-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍapāśika-sthānāntarikān=anyā[n=api] rāja-prasā-

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[1] From the original plate kindly lent by Mr. C. M. Āchārya, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, and from impressions prepared in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The intended reading may have been *mauli-bhūshaṇa*

15 dinaś=chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jāti(tī)yān Sulāntarakurhha-vishayē-pi mahāmahattara-vṛi(bṛi)-[hadbhōgi]-pustapāla-[kuṭa]kō[la*]s-ādy-adhikaraṇaṁ ya-

16 th-ārhaṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati [sa]mājñāpayati cha | viditam=astu bhavatāṁ ya[th=ai]-tad-vishaya-sa[mva(mba)]ddha-Lavāgaṇḍāgrāmaḥ s-ōpari-

17 karaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ sa-tantuvā[ya]-[gōku*]ṭa-[śauṇḍi]k-ādi-prakṛitikaḥ sa-[khē]ṭa-[gha]ṭṭa-nadī-tara[sthā]n-ādi-gulmaka[ḥ] sarvva-[pīḍā]-

18 varjjit[ō]=lēkhani-pravēśatayā bhūmi-chchhidr-āpidhāna-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaḥ sarvva-[sattvā]-

19 nāñ=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē rājñyāḥ śrī-Nṛiṇṇāyā [vi]j[ñ]aptyā Taramaṇḍapa-grāma-vāsta-vyēbhyō Bha(Bhā)radvāja-sagō[tra]-Vā[jasanē*]-

20 ya-charaṇa-Ka(Kā)ṇva-śākh-ādhyāyibhyō Bhaṭṭa-Bhēṇḍadēva |[1] Bhaṭṭa-Vidrāva[ṇadē]va | Bhaṭṭa-Khēlāvanadēva | [Bhaṭṭa]-Mēru[dē]va |

Reverse

21 Bhaṭṭa-Rāṅgadē[va |] Bhaṭṭa-Śaṇḍhadēvēbhyō | [Ta?]ramaṇḍapa-grāma-madhyē tat-kārita-maṭhī(ṭha)-maṇḍapa-pālan-ādy-artham=asmābhis=tāmra-śāsanī-

22 kṛity=ā[kshaya-nīvī]-dharmmēṇ=ā-kara[tvēna prati]pāditaḥ | tad=ash=āsma[d*]-dattir=ddharmma-gauravād=bhavadbhiḥ paripālanīyā [||*] Saṁvat 100 0 Vai-

23 śākha-su[di 5?]|| uktañ=cha dharmma-śā[strē] [|*] [Va(Ba)hubhir=vva]-sudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [4||*]

24 [Mā] bhūd=a-phala-śaṁkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthiv[āḥ] | sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantya[ṁ] para-datt-ānupālanē || [5||*] Svadattā[ṁ] para-dattāṁ=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasundha-

25 [rām*] | sa vishṭhāyā[ṁ] kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [6*] Va(Ba)hun=āttra kim=uktēna saṁkshēpād=idam=uchyatē | svalpam=āyus=chalā bhōgā dha-

26 [rmmō] lōka-dvaya-kshamaḥ || [7||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | [a]khilam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha

27 vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi pu[rushai]ḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [8||*] Kshititalam=alam=āstē yāvad=ākramya Mērur=vvila[sa*]ti Hara-maulau Jahnu-ka-

28 nyā cha yāvat | Kara-narapati-vīrasy=ōru-kīrttēḥ sthiratvaṁ vrajatu jana-manōjñaṁ śāsanan=tāvad=ē[tat] || [9||*] Dūtakō=ttra mahākshapa-

29 ṭal-ādhikṛita-śrī-Tāradattaḥ | lēkhakō mahākshapaṭalika-bhōgy-Ānandanāgaḥ | tāpitaṁ pēḍā-pā[la*]-Nārāyaṇakarēṇa | utki-

30 rṇṇaṁ ta[thē]kār-Āghāka-Mallupattrēṇa ||

No. 37—TALI INSCRIPTION OF KODAI RAVI: 17TH YEAR

(1 Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, MADRAS

The inscription[2] published below is engraved on a slab of stone kept in the *vādil-māḍam* or the entrance-porch of the Śiva temple at Taḷi in the Taḷappuḷḷi taluk of the Cochin State. The temple contains some records of the time of the Chēra kings Kōvindēvaran Kōdai[3] (Indu-Kōdaivarman)

[1] The single *daṇḍas* are used in lines 20-21 as the hyphen is done in English.

[2] No. 344 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

[3] No. 341 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

and his successor Bhāskara-Ravivarman[1] and may therefore be considered to have been in existence from the middle of the tenth century at the latest.

The Vaṭṭeḻuttu **characters** in which the record is neatly engraved can be approximately attributed to the 11th century A. C. The medial *i* sign which is attached to the left side of the letters in most of the cases is put on the top of the letter in a few instances, as in *vi*, *ti*, *mi* in line 1 and in *ḷi* in line 2. The letter *ya* is engraved in the earlier form and in the later cursive variety. **Grantha** letters have been employed in the words *Svasti śrī* (line 1), *Nityavichārēśvara* (line 2) and *Uttama-madhyama adhama* (line 13). The **language** of the record is correct **Tamil** prose except the word *iṭṭidu* in line 5 which is a slightly corrupt form of the word *iṭṭadu* now in use in the Malayalam language. *Iyāna* is the dialectical form of *Īśāna*, *ya* being the usual substitute for *śa*. Rules of *sandhi* have generally been followed.

The **object** of the record is to register a gift of the villages Ukkiramaṅgalam (Ugramaṅgalam) and Iyānamaṅgalam) (Īśānamaṅgalam) made by the (Chēra) king **Kōdai-Ravi** in his **17th regnal year** to the temple of Nityavichārēśvara so as to provide, from the annual income of 300 *kalam* therefrom, for the expenses of worship, etc., in the temple. The *Taḷiyār* and *Taḷi-adhikārar* of the temple are stated to have met under the presidency of a certain Kōdai-Ravi[2] of Veṇpoli-nāḍu and to have made the arrangement noticed in this document. As published Chēra records are very few, this record of Kōdai-Ravi is edited here and an attempt is made to fix his place tentatively in the line of Chēra kings. Only a few records of a king named Kōdai-Ravi have been secured till now. They are :—

No.	Name of village.	Regnal year.	Position of Jupiter.	Reference.
1	Chōkūr (Malabar)	15	..	No. 13 of 1901 ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 173.
2	Taḷi (Cochin)	17	Mithuna . .	No. 344 of 1924.
3	Aviṭṭattūr (Cochin)	20	Kanni . .	Nos. 360, 361, 362 of 1927.
4	Tiruppaṛaṅgōḍu (Malabar)	23+4	..	No. 210 of 1895 , *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 783 and plates.
5	Tripūṇittura (Cochin)	30	..	No. 1 of 1902 (*T. A. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 94).

Of these, the king mentioned in No. 2 is identical with the Kōdai-Ravi of the Aviṭṭattūr records (No. 3), because Jupiter which was in the *Mithuna-rāśi* in the 17th year would correctly be in the *Kanni-rāśi*, three years later in the 20th year of the king's reign. Though the position of the Jupiter is not specified in the other three records (Nos. 1, 4 and 5), they can all be palaeographically assigned to the same period and the king. If this is conceded, then the 30th year quoted in the Tripūṇittura record (No. 5) may be considered as the highest so far discovered for this king.

[1] No. 348 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

[2] Kōdai and Ravi are very popular names in the west coast: and so this Kōdai-Ravi of Veṇpoli-nāḍu, as well as another Kōdai-Ravi of Neḍumpuṟaiyūr-nāḍu, figuring as a signatory in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (above, Vol. III, p. 69) and a third Kōdai-Ravi of Vaṇṇāṭṭaichchēri (*T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 154, 164 and Vol. III, p. 185), a contemporary of Indu-Kōdaivarman, were evidently private individuals, having no connection with the king of that name.

From the provenance of these records and from the fact that the king is not specifically called a *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ* we may consider him to be a Chēra ruler. We know of six kings of this dynasty who flourished between the 9th and 11th centuries A. C. They are :—

(1) Sthāṇu-Ravi,[1] of the Kōṭṭayam and Tiruvalla plates, who was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Āditya I (870-906 A. C.);

(2) his successor Vijayarāghavadēva,[2] who was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka, in the first half of the 10th century, in 936 A. C.;

(3) Indu-Kōdaivarman[3] of the Tirukkākkarai and Taḷi inscriptions, who reigned from 955 to 978 A. C.;[4]

(4) Bhāskara-Ravivarman,[5] the contemporary of Vāṇāḍuḍaiya Śrīvallabhaṅ-Kōdai of Kollam 149 and who ruled from 978 to 1036 A. C.;[6]

(5) Ravi-Rāma[7] of the Tirukkaḍittānam record, who was probably a successor of Bhāskara-Ravi (*circa* 1040), and

(6) Rāman Tiruvaḍi[8] Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāri of the Quilon epigraph dated in Kollam 278 (=1103 A. C.; date of accession 1090 A. C.).

The reigns of Nos. 1 to 4 may be considered to have been continuous without any appreciable break; whereas between those of Nos. 5 and 6 there is an interval of nearly half a century. In this gap, Kōdai-Ravi with a reign of 30 years can well be accommodated; and palaeographical considerations do not militate against this assumption. But whether he was a predecessor of Kulaśēkhara or his successor can be decided only when more data are available.

A few points of interest in the wording of the record may be noticed.

Viyāḻam nirka (line 2). The *Vyāḻa-vaṭṭam* or the Jupiter's cycle was a favourite method of astronomical reckoning in use in the West Coast. As Jupiter moves round the ecliptic once in twelve years at the rate of one *rāśi* per year approximately, the citation of its position in a particular *rāśi* is chronologically useful. This system is used in some North Indian inscriptions, but is not in vogue in the records of South India.

Nityavichārēśvaram (line 2). The origin of this name of the temple has, on the analogy of the names like Rājarājēśvaram, etc., to be traced to the name or *biruda* 'Nityavichāra' of a Chēra ruler; but which particular king bore this, is not ascertainable. This name was in vogue even in the time of Indu-Kōdaivarman, and so it is possible that this king or some predecessor of his had the title.

Taḷiyār and *Taḷi-adhikārar* (lines 2-3). According to the *Kēraḷōtpatti*, a Malayāḷam prose work of no great antiquity, the early Chēra rulers were helped in their administration by an advisory council consisting of the presidents of four assemblies representative of respective portions of their dominions. These assemblies met in halls called *taḷis*, and references to them are found in inscriptions. *Taḷi* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sthalī*, and here it appears to mean simply the temple. *Taḷiyār* may mean 'the temple officials' and *taḷi-adhikārar*, 'the temple manager.'

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 60 ff. and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 221.
[2] *TAS.*, Vol. IV, p. 144.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 182.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 144.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 187.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41. The date 2+14th year of this record, as read by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar (No. 54 of the *Trav. Arch. Report* for 1095 M. E.) is corrected as 2+11th year in the *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. V, p. 44.

Śeṉṉaḍai (line 5) has been understood to mean 'the sacred temple expenses.' *Naḍai* is still in use in Malayāḷam as a word signifying 'a temple.' *Agambaḍip-paṇimakkaḷ* (lines 7-8); *agambaḍi* are servants in palace service such as personal attendants of the king, etc. The temple establishment is probably meant here. In other records of this period, they are called *mēl-Śānti*, *kīḻ-Śānti*, etc.

Gāndarvvikaḷ (line 10). This word is derivable from *gāndharvam* 'music and dance' from *gandharva*, 'a class of celestial musicians.' *Gāndharvikaḷ* were probably the musicians attached to the temple, who rendered service in the temple by playing on musical instruments such as the flute, drum, etc., and by singing hymns during the time of worship.

Naṅgaimār (line 10) in conjunction with the *gāndharvikaḷ* may have reference to the wives of the *chākkiyār* actors who have to sing and mark time during the staging of dance-performances in the temple. This institution of acting and dancing was a permanent feature in West Coast temples and formed part of the daily ritual, while special performances were celebrated during the festivals. From lines 13 to 15 it is learnt that three different scales of payment in kind prevailed in respect of the remuneration paid to the *naṅgaimār* of the temple, *viz.*, 2½ *nāḻi* to the *uttama* (higher grade), 2 *nāḻi* to the *madhyama* (middling), and 1½ *nāḻi* per day to the *adhama* (lower grade) of incumbents.

Ōvviyaṉ (line 12) may perhaps be a mistake for *ōviyaṉ*, a painter. The walls in the West Coast temples are frequently found decorated with mural paintings of Purāṇic episodes; and a painter may have been borne on the establishment, in the same way as a *Śirpāchāri* or a sculptor was provided for in South Indian temples of the East Coast.

The meaning of the word *kāṇaṉ* (line 12) is not clear. It has to be ascertained whether the duties of a *kāṇaṉ* have any connection with the weighing of the articles (*kāṇam*[1]) brought to and issued from the temple.

Āsiyam (line 13) derived from the word *āhnika* means 'pertaining to a day.' *Sattiram* (line 14) was probably a local measure of quantity.

The territorial division Veṇpoli-nāḍu is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman,[2] where it is engraved as Vēṇapāli-nāḍu. The back-water called Vēmbānāḍukāyal between Alleppey and Cochin seems to derive its name from this division which embraced roughly the present taluks of Kōṭṭayam and Vaikam in the Travancore State. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao connected the Tekkinkūṟu-rājas with this region.[3] Ravi-Śrīkaṇṭaṉ was the governor of this province according to the Huzur office plates,[4] but whether he was related to Kōdai Ravi mentioned in the present inscription has yet to be ascertained. This province was divided into two divisions called Tekkinkūṟu and Vaḍakkinkūṟu.

The details furnished in the inscription regarding the distribution of paddy are :-

For offerings and servants	109 *kalam* and 20 *nāḻi*
Paṅguvilai and lamps	0 *kalam* and 806 *nāḻi*
Gāndharvikaḷ and *naṅgaimār*	164 *kalam* and 50 *nāḻi*
Kāsas and *ōviyaṉ*	16 *kalam* and 50 *nāḻi*
i.e., in all	298 *kalam* and 26 *nāḻi*

There is thus a balance of 1 *kalam* and 74 *nāḻi* from the annual income of 300 *kalam*, which has not been accounted for in the inscription.

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[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 149.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 68-69.

[3] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 141.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

TEXT

1 Svasti[1] Śrī[1][||*]Kōk-Kōdai-Iravikkup-padinēḻām-āṇḍu Mituna-
2 ttil Viyāḻan niṟka[2] Nityavichārēśvarattu[1] taḷi-
3 yārum taḷi-adhikārarum Veṇpolināḍ-uḍaiya Kōdai-Iravi u-
4 ḷpāṭṭil-avar-uḷḷirundu śeyda Kachcham-āvadu [|*] Ukki-
5 ramaṅgalamum-Īyāṇamaṅgalamum-Śennaḍaikk[3]-iṭṭādu[|*] idi[nāṟ]-ṟā-
6 ḷvārattu kōyil pāṭṭam-aḷakkak-kaḍaviya nell-iḍaṅgaḷiyāl mu-
7 nnūṟṟuk-kala[m*] [|*] idinā-ṟṟiru[va]mirdiṉukkum-agambaḍip-pa-
8 ṇimakkaḷkum-ōrāṇḍaikku vēṇḍum-nel nūṟṟo[n]pa-
9 din kalam-irupadi nāḻi [|*] pa[ṅ*]guvilaikkum divikaik-
10 kum-eṇṇūṟṟ-aṟu nāḻi [|*] Gāndarvvikaḷku[m*] naṅgaimārkkum
11 ariykku nūṟṟ-aṟu-pattunāṟk-kalam-aiyampadi
12 nāḻi [|*] Kāṇaṉukkum-Ō[c]viyaṉukkum padin-a[ṟu] kalam-aimpadi nāḻi [|*]
13 Naṅgaimārkku U[t*]tama-maddhyama-adhamattiṉāl niyadip-paḍi āṇiya-
14 ñ koḷukkum pariśu śattirattāl-iru nāḻiy-uriyum-iru nāḻiyu nāḻi
15 uriyum [||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the seventeenth year of king Kōdai-Ravi, (*when*) Jupiter stood in (*the*) Mithuna (*rāśi*), the following transaction was made by the temple officials and the manager of the Nityavichārēśvaram, at a meeting over which Kōdai-Ravi of Veṇpoli-nāḍu presided.

(*The villages*) Ukkiramaṅgalam and Īyāṇamaṅgalam were set apart for the sacred temple expenses. Three hundred *kalam* of paddy by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* (*measure*) shall be measured in the (*temple*) verandah as *pāṭṭam* payable to the temple.

Out of this, the paddy required per annum for the sacred offerings and the servants is one hundred and nine *kalam* and twenty *nāḻi*; for *paṅguvilai* and lamps, eight hundred and six *nāḻi*; for rice to the *gāndarvikaḷ* and *naṅgaimār*, one hundred and sixty four *kalam* and fifty *nāḻi*; for the *kāṇaṉ* and the *ō[c]viyaṉ* sixteen *kalam* and fifty *nāḻi*.

The allowance in rice to (*be given to*) the *naṅgaimār* according to the high (*uttama*), middling (*madhyama*) and low (*adhama*) scales is (*respectively*) two *nāḻi* (*and*) one *uri*, two *nāḻi*, and one *nāḻi* (*and*) one *uri* by (*the measure called*) *śattiram*.

No. 38—FOUR BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTIONS

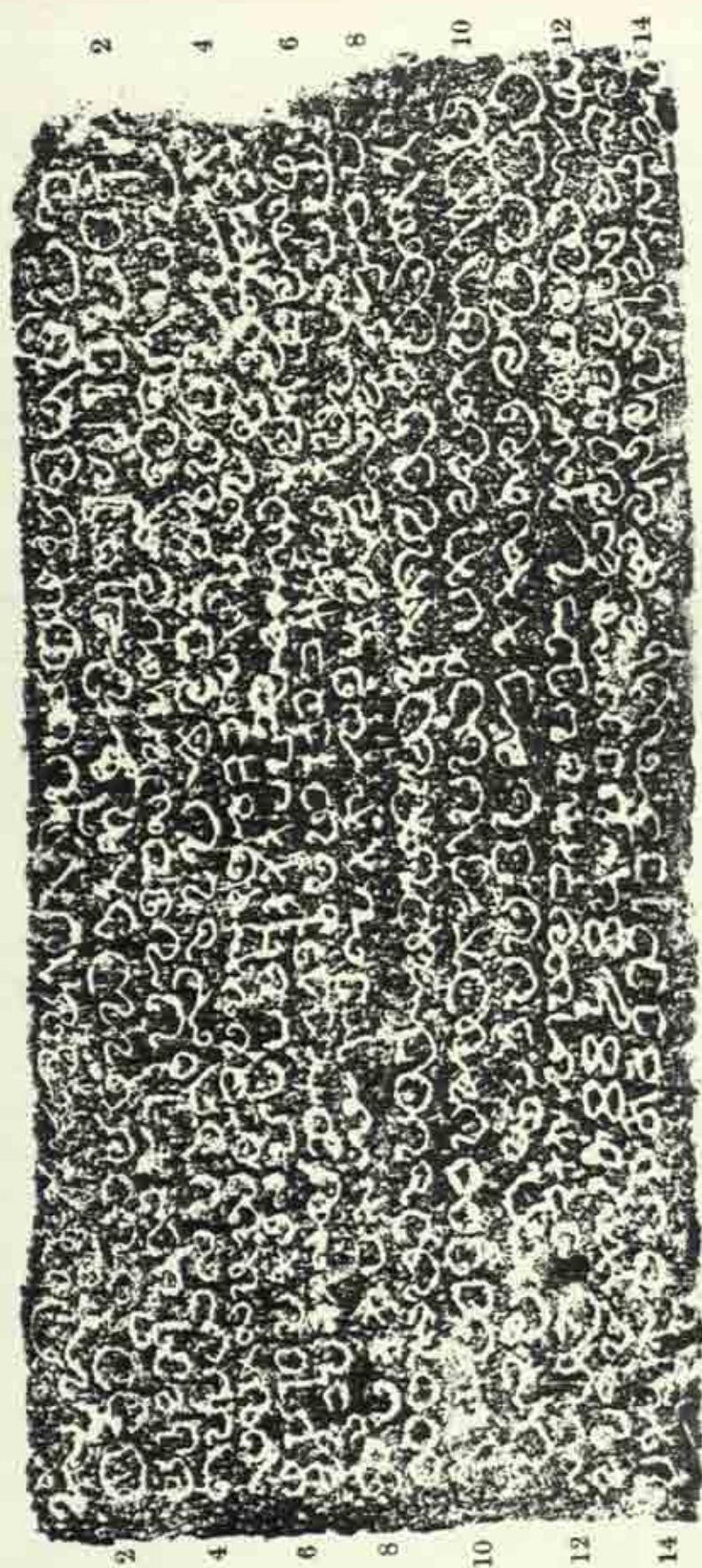
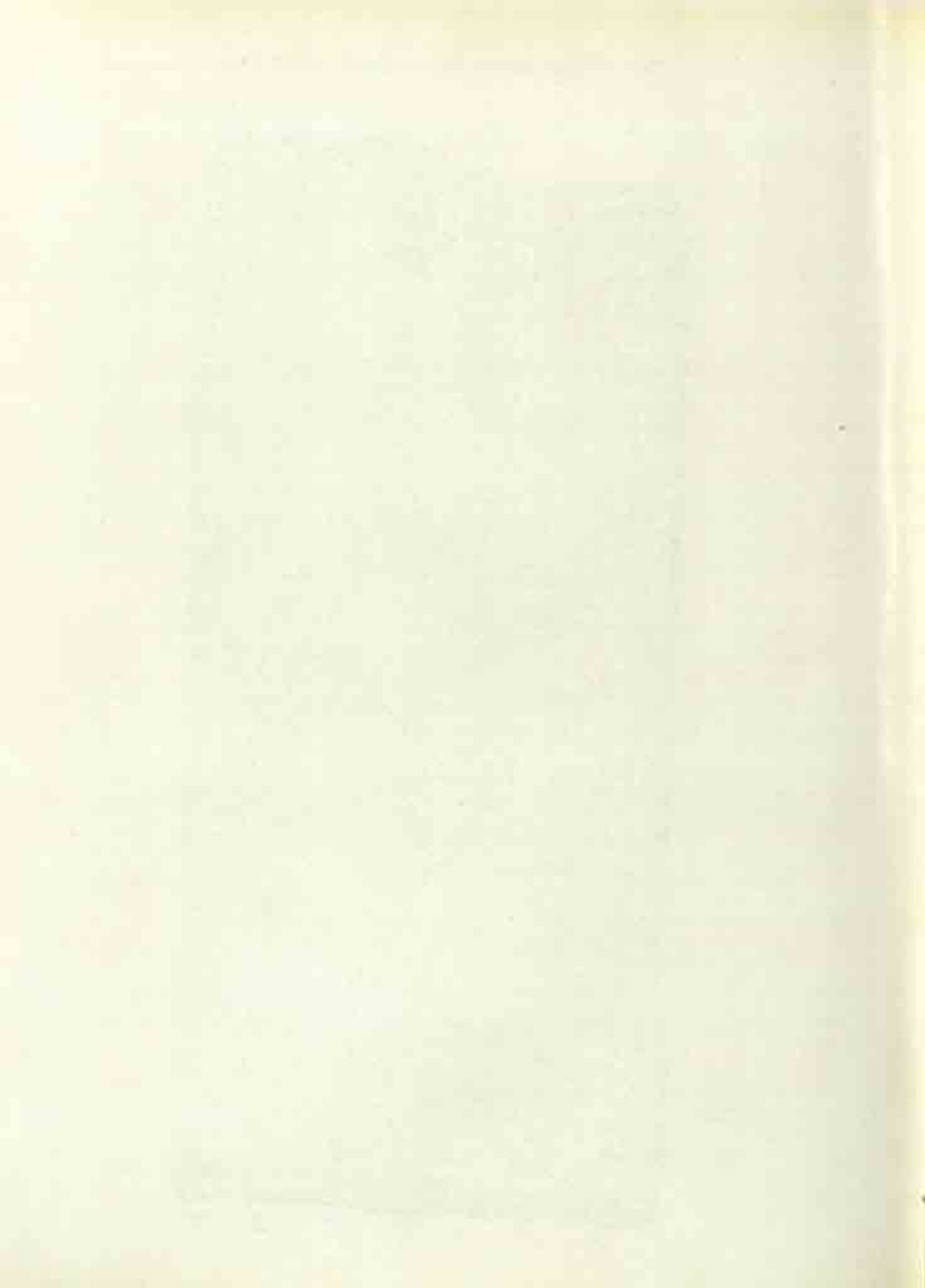
(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A. Three Buddhist Inscriptions from Uren

Uren is an old village in the western part of the Monghyr District of Bihar. It lies by the side of the railway line between the Kiul and Kajra stations on the East Indian Railway—about

[1] These words are engraved in Grantha characters.
[2] The *i* is shown with a loop at the right side.
[3] The *i* sign is engraved slightly over the letter, and not at its side.

TALI INSCRIPTION OF KODAI RAVI: 17TH YEAR

7 miles from Kiul and 2½ miles from Kajra. On the other side of the village stands the small range known as the Uren hills. About sixty years ago, L. A. Waddell visited the village of Uren which he identified, in an interesting paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXI, part i, 1892, pp. 1-24, with one of the Buddha's hermitages on the western frontier of the country of I-lan-na-po-fa-to (Hiraṇyaparvata, roughly identical with the present Monghyr District) as described by the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang.[1] He noticed a large number of inscribed images in the village as well as inscriptions, markings, sculptures and other ancient remains on the hills. But as regards the process of the loss and destruction of ancient remains from which the village was suffering at that time, Waddell observed, "the unfortunate proximity of the hill to the railway and the excellent quality of the rock (granite) have induced the railway authorities to use the hill as a quarry for road-metal and only about six years ago two of the most interesting of the rock-sculptures were in this way demolished and the fragments further broken up and carried off as ballast, and the blasting operations have now extended to within a few feet of the more important rock-sculptures and markings still remaining. Many of the inscribed statues also have been carried off from time to time by the overseers or contractors supervising the quarrying operations; one of these in particular, a Mr. S., is reported to have carried off, about thirty-six years ago, a full cart-load of the best preserved statuettes, the ultimate destination of which cannot now be traced."[2] In a foot-note to these observations, Waddell further says, "Since writing the above, I have again visited the site and find that further quarrying operations have been extensively carried on since the submission of this report to the Society. The western cliff bearing numerous *chaitya* figures has been in great part removed by blasting, only the fractured bases of a few of the *chaityas* still remaining. Also at the south-east margin of the hill, where the rock was highly polished and contained ancient markings, most of this surface has been removed by blasting."[3] It is therefore no wonder that I could not trace most of the inscriptions and other ancient remains that had been noticed by Waddell about sixty years previously, when I visited the village of Uren in January 1950. On the hills, I found only the engravings of several *stūpa* designs, one of them alone containing a line of inscription. I also examined a collection of extremely mutilated images and votive *stūpas* at the *Chaṇḍī-sthāna* in the village and another at its *Śiva-sthāna*. Some of these images were found to contain a few lines of writing at their bases. A few broken images also were noticed half buried in the ground at the side of the main road running through the village and one of these was found to bear an inscription. I took impressions of altogether fourteen image inscriptions at Uren, many of which, however, contained nothing but the Buddhist formula *ye dharmā*, etc. Two of the records refer to the reign of Rāmapāla (*circa* 1084-1126 A.C.), the Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, one of them being dated in the fourteenth regnal year of that monarch. Two of the image inscriptions at Uren were found to be written in the so-called Bhaikshukī *lipi* or arrow-head characters.

When Waddell visited Uren about sixty years ago, he observed no less than four images with inscriptions in the Bhaikshukī or arrow-head script[4] and photographs of two of them were published by him along with his paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.[5] It is possible that he himself or some other later visitor to the village carried away the images containing the two inscriptions of which photographs were published in the above journal. Thus the two Bhaikshukī inscriptions, examined and copied by me at Uren, may be the remaining two of the four such

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[1] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, 1884, pp. 190-91.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 2.
[3] *Loc. cit.*
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
[5] *Vide op. cit.*, Plate IV, Nos. 1 and 2.

records referred to by Waddell. That these two inscriptions were also not similarly carried away was possibly due to the extremely mutilated condition of the images on which they are engraved.

Of the two image inscriptions in the Bhaikshukī or arrow-head alphabet copied by me at Uren, one, found on a broken Buddhist image at the *Sima-sthāna* of the village, has one line of writing, only a few *aksharas* of which have been preserved. The other one was found by me on the base of a mutilated Buddhist image lying half buried by the side of the main road running through the village. This inscription is fortunately in a quite satisfactory state of preservation. There are altogether four lines of writing covering a space of about 1·8 inches in breadth and 9·8 inches in length. The fourth line is short and covers only about half the length of the other three lines. Each *akshara* is about ·4 inch in height.

The most important feature of the inscription is its **palaeography**. C. Bendall, who first discovered the alphabet employed in the epigraph under discussion in certain manuscripts from Nepal and fully described it,[1] was inclined to identify it with the Bhaikshukī *lipi* mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as being used in Udunpūr in Pūrvadēśa (probably the Uddaṇḍapura-vihāra located at modern Biharsharif near Patna) and as being "the writing of Buddha," probably meaning thereby that it was prevalent among Buddhist *Bhikshus* or monks.[2] The alphabet is characterised by the use of arrow-head marks usually at the top of the letters and, in some letters, also at the sides. Bühler therefore described this script as "the arrow-head alphabet."[3] Bendall and Bühler believed that the script is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of Brāhmī retaining South Indian features in some letters and Northern characteristics in a few. An image inscription from Gayā, written in this alphabet but showing wedges instead of arrow-heads at the top and, in some cases, at the sides of the letters, was published by Bendall in 1890.[4] Some years ago Dr. N. P. Chakravarti edited an inscription written in the Bhaikshukī or arrow-head alphabet, which comes from Kara about 41 miles from Allahabad.[5] Another inscription in the same script is said to have been noticed on an image of Jambhala which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but that epigraph is as yet unpublished.[6] I edit below three out of the four Uren inscriptions referred to by Waddell as written in the Bhaikshukī or arrow-head script, the first from my own impressions and the second and third from the photographs published by that scholar.

The **characters** of these inscriptions closely resemble those found in the manuscripts as reproduced in Bühler's Table VI, columns xviii-xix; but there are some slight variations. In the first epigraph, among initial vowels, we have *a* (line 3), *ā* (line 1) and *ē* (line 3). Among these, *ā* differs from the form of this letter in the manuscripts in having its lower loop and curve not fixed below the upper body of the letter. Of the consonants, *p* has a curved base and an arrow attached to its left limb as in the Kara and Gaya inscriptions. The forms of *m* and *s* are not distinguishable. *N* has been written differently in lines 2 (cf. *dhammāṇām*) and 3 (cf. **śamaṇō*). The marks of interpunctuation are the usual single and double *daṇḍa*; but, at the

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[1] *Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, pp. 111 ff., and those of the Tenth Oriental Congress, part ii, pp. 151 ff.

[2] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Part i, p. 173.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 60; Palaeographic Table VI, columns xviii-xix.

[4] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78. There are some mistakes in Bendall's transcript of this epigraph. It actually reads (1) *Śrī-Dharmmasamuda-hita* || *Śrī-Vra(Bra)hma-putra-saṁgha-pa-* (2) *lāla-Śrī-rāja-Kaṇḍaka* *pālita-patra-Āhanana-* (3) *Rāṇya dēya-dharmmō-yam* | R. D. Banerji edited the same inscription in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 133 ff. without noticing that it had been previously published. It is now preserved in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

[5] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 37-39.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 37, note 4. The note is based on a statement of R. D. Banerji in his paper referred to above. My attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum have proved unsuccessful.

end of lines 3 and 4, we have a *visarga*-like sign placed before the double *daṇḍa*. This no doubt forms part of the stop and the whole sign apparently indicates a full-stop.[1] The palaeography of the second and third inscriptions closely resembles that of the first epigraph. As suggested by the palaeography of other records of the locality, the inscriptions belong to the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. They may be roughly assigned to a **date between the ninth and the twelfth century, preferably to the latter half of this period.**

The **language** of the inscriptions is Pāli which is, however, greatly influenced by Sanskrit. The use of the palatal sibilant and the subscript *r* (cf. words like *prabhavā*, *śrī*, *prati*, °*śamaṇō*, *dēśēti*, etc.) is a peculiar feature of the orthography of these records and go in favour of the above observation. Interesting from this point of view is also the Sanskrit *vibhakti* in the word °*pālasya* in line 4 of the first epigraph. The word *dhammāṇām* (line 2 of the first epigraph) stands midway between Sanskrit *dharmāṇām* and Pāli *dhammānaṁ*, while *tēśāṁ* stands in similar relation to Sanskrit *tēshām* and Pāli *tēsaṁ*.

The text of all the three epigraphs is the same; but the second inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* which is not traceable at the commencement of the two other records, while the first inscription ends with an additional reference to the person responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which it is engraved. The first sentence of the three inscriptions reads: *bhagavā āvusō pañichchasamuppādaṁ dhammaṁ dēśēti*, "Brethren, the Lord expounds the doctrine of the chain of causation." The word *āvusō* was often used as an address by the priests to Buddhist lay worshippers. Whether the reference to the preaching of the Lord, *i.e.*, the Buddha, may suggest that the images on which these records were incised represented the Buddha in the preaching attitude or *vyākhyāna-mudrā* cannot be determined. The doctrine of *Pañichchasamuppāda*, as is well known, is the formula embodying the Buddha's solution of the great problem of the origin of evil. It is one of the most fundamental and characteristic doctrines of his teachings.[2] It is said that "from error springs *karman*, from *karman* springs consciousness, from consciousness springs the organised being, from the organised being spring the six organs of sense, from the six organs of sense springs contact, from contact springs sensation, from sensation springs desire, from desire springs attachment, from attachment springs continued existence, from existence springs birth, from birth spring decay and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair." The origin of evil is here traced back to error or ignorance which is no doubt the ignorance of the truth, *i.e.*, the four great truths of the Buddhists, *viz.*, "suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, the path leading to the cessation of suffering."[3]

The second sentence of our inscriptions is: *pañichchasamuppannānaṁ cha dhammānaṁ yō nirōdhō*, "also the destruction of the conditions arising from preceding causes [is taught by the Lord]." This refers to the destruction of the five "elements or attributes of being" such as form, sensation, perception, discrimination and consciousness.[4] These two sentences appear to be represented in the first inscription as a verse. The metre may be regarded as an irregular form of *Āryā*.

The above is followed in the inscriptions by the well known Buddhist formula in the *Āryā* metre: *yē dhammā hētu-ppabhavā hētuṁ tēsaṁ tathāgatō avacha* (or *avadat*) | *tēsaṁ cha yō nirōdhō ēvaṁ-vādī mahā-samaṇō* || "The Lord spoke of the conditions which arise from a preceding cause as well as of their cause. The great teacher has also said about their destruction." But this formula practically repeats what is already said in the previous two sentences. The subject

[1] Cf. the Madras Museum plates of Narēndradhavala edited above, p. 45 and plate.

[2] See Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s. v.

[3] Ibid., s. v. *ariya-saccaṁ*.

[4] Ibid., s. v. *nirōdhō*, *khandhō*, etc.

of the first two sentences is the lord's preaching about the chain of causes and the destruction of the conditions arising from causes, while the formula also speaks of the cause of the conditions arising from it and their destruction. The *nirōdhō* of the *hētu-ppabhavā dhammā* is the same as the *nirōdhō* of the *patichchasamuppannā dhammā*.

So far the three inscriptions offer practically the same text. But the first epigraph adds to the above text the following passage: *Śrī-Pratinava-Śrādatapālasya*. There is little doubt that we have here a reference to the person who was responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which the inscription is engraved; but the expression *śrādatapāla* is rather unusual and may be a mistake for *śrāvitapāla*. The word *pratinava* means "fresh" or "new" and *śrāvita* may have been intended to mean "religious instruction."

Inscription No. 1

TEXT[1]

1 Bhagavā āvusō ppa(pa)tichchasamuppādaṁ dhaṁmaṁ dēśēti | Ppa(pa)tichchasa-
2 muppamānaṁ cha dhaṁmāṇāṁ yō nirōdhō || yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā tēsāṁ hē-
3 tuṁ tathāgatō avacha [| *] tēsaṁ cha yō nirōdhō ēvaṁ-vādī maha- śāmaṇō [:||]
4 Śrī-Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)tapālasya :||

TRANSLATION

Brethren, the Lord teaches the doctrine of origination as a necessary result from an antecedent cause. The cessation of the conditions having its origin in a preceding cause [is also taught by the Lord]. The sentient being (the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a preceding cause. The great ascetic (the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction. [This image is the gift] of the illustrious Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)tapāla.

Inscription No. 2

TEXT[2]

1. [Siddham ||][3] Bhagavā āvusō patichchasamuppādaṁ dha[mmaṁ]
    dēsēti [| *] patichchasamuppannāna[ṁ] cha dha[mmā][naṁ yō nirō*]-
2. dhō | yē dhammā hētu-[pra][bha*]vā tēsāṁ hētuṁ tathā[gatō*] avacha |
    [tēsāṁ cha yō] [nirōdhō evaṁ*]-vādī maha-śśramaṇō || o ||

Inscription No. 3

TEXT[4]

1. Bhagavā āvusō patichcha-samuppāda[ṁ*] dhamma[ṁ*] dēsēti [| *]
    Patichchasamuppa[nnā]na[ṁ*] cha dhammāṇa[ṁ*] yō nirōdhō |
    yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā [tēsāṁ] [hētuṁ*]
2. tathāgatō avacha | tēsāṁ cha yō nirōdhō ēva[ṁ*]-vādī maha-śśamaṇō || o ||

B. A Buddhist Inscription from Maldah Museum

About the middle of April, 1950, the Government Epigraphist for India received for examination impressions of some inscriptions copied by the Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology. The inscriptions belong to the B. R. Sen Museum at **Maldah** in West Bengal. While examining the impressions under instructions from the Government Epigraphist for India, I found that one

[1] From impressions.
[2] From the photograph published in *J A S B*, Vol. LXI, 1892, Part I, Plate IV, No. 1.
[3] Expressed by a symbol.
[4] From the photograph published in *J A S B*, *loc. cit.*, No. 2.

A: No. 1: On a broken Buddhist image at Uren

B: A Buddhist inscription from Malda Museum

of them is written in the interesting Bhaikshukī or arrow-head script employed in certain Buddhist inscriptions from Uren which had been the subject of my study only three months earlier and have been dealt with in the first part of this paper. At my request, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly permitted me to edit the inscription for this journal.

No information was available to me about the exact findspot of the inscription. It is reported to be engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddhist deity Avalōkitēśvara-Lōkanātha now preserved in the B. R. Sen Museum, Maldah, with the exhibit number M. M. R. 110. It is very probable that the image was collected from a village in the Maldah District. The inscription is written in four lines which are divided into two halves, each containing two lines. The upper half is subdivided into four parts, apparently due to exigencies of space on the pedestal of the image in question, while the lower half has three subdivisions. The letters are of the same small size as in the Uren inscriptions written in the same script.

As already observed, the **characters** belong to the class called the Bhaikshukī or arrow-head alphabet known to have been used by the Buddhist monks of the Magadha region in Eastern India in the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. Although al-Bīrūnī seems to confine the use of the Bhaikshukī script to the monks of Uddandapura, identified with modern Bihar in the Patna District, the discovery of the Kara inscription in the Allahabad District of the U. P. and that of the present one in the Maldah District of West Bengal appear to suggest a wider distribution. The letters employed in the inscription under discussion closely resemble those of the Uren inscriptions, although there are certain palaeographical peculiarities in the present record that are not noticed in the latter. We have here no confusion between the forms of *m* and *s*, the loop of the latter being put a little lower than that of the former. *Ch* has, however, two different forms, one of which having no appreciable distinction from *v* (cf. *āchāryya* in line 1; *evaṁcha* in line 3; *cha*, *Lōkanātha* in line 4). There is no marked difference between the sign for medial *i* and medial *ī*. Medial *ō*, joined with the consonant by a vertical stroke, as in *mō* (line 2) and *rō* (line 4), is interesting. The different forms of *p*, already noticed by scholars,[1] are to be observed in °*pālita*° in line 2 and °*prabhavā* in line 3, one of the forms differing very little from *d*. *B* and *v* are indicated by different signs. The initial vowels *a*, *ā* and *ē* occurring in the inscription resemble the forms of these letters as found in the Uren inscriptions.

The **language** of the inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Pāli. Its orthography closely resembles that of the Uren inscriptions. It may be noted that *y* preceded by *r* has been duplicated.

The second part of the inscription consisting of lines 3-4 reproduces the celebrated Buddhist formula, *Yē dhammā*, etc., also quoted in all the three Uren inscriptions. Like, however, the interesting additional passage referring to the monk who was responsible for the installation of the image in question in the first of the three Uren inscriptions, we have in the present record information regarding a Buddhist monk whose *dēya-dhamma* the image of Avalōkitēśvara-Lōkanātha bearing the epigraph was. This section says that the image was the meritorious gift of *Bhadanta* Buddhapālita. The word *bhadanta* (also *bhanta* and *bhaddanta*) is well-known from Pāli literature to have been used as an honorific epithet (cf. English *Reverend*, *Venerable*, etc.) or as an address in cases concerning Buddhist monks, although there is difference of opinion in regard to its derivation. I am inclined to trace it to Sanskrit *bhavat*; but some scholars think that it is derived from a word like *bhadr-ānta*, *i.e.*, "one who is the foremost of the noble," while others suggest that its root lies in the expression *bhaddaṁ tē* or *bhadraṁ tē* (literally, "let there be good to you") with which the monks greeted every one paying homage to them.[2]

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[1] Bühler, Table No. VI, columns xviii-xix, line 35.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, Volume I, pp. 80, note 1; 223, note 6. The early Prakrit form of the word, *bhamta*, is found in the Bairat inscription of Aśoka. The form *bhaddanta* seems to be influenced by the conception of its derivation from *bhadr-anta*. The word may be compared with Sanskrit *atra-bhavat* and *tatra-bhavat*.

An interesting fact about the monk Buddhapālita is recorded in line 1 which says that he was a *śrī-Bhakōkkā-sāṅghīya-āchāryya*, *i.e.*, a teacher belonging to the Bhakōkkā *saṅgha*. The word *saṅgha* here appears to refer to a particular community of Buddhist monks styled Bhakōkkā to which Buddhapālita belonged. Unfortunately I have not come across the name Bhakōkkā.[1] It is not impossible to suggest that it was a local community of monks belonging to a monastery in the present Maldah region of West Bengal. Whether the Bhakōkkā community of Buddhist monks had anything to do with the celebrated Mṛigasthāpana monastery,[2] apparently situated in the same area or its neighbourhood, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT[3]

Part I

1 [A] Śrī-Bhakō- [B] kkā-sāṁghīya- [C] āch[ā]ryya- [D] bhadanta-
2 [A] Buddhapā- [B] litasya dē- [C] ya-dharh- [D] mō=yaṁ |

Part II

3 [A] Yē dhammā hē- [B] tu-prabhavā tēsāṁ [h]ētum Tathagatō a- [C] vacha |
4 [A] tēsāṁ cha yō [B] n[i]rōdhō evaṁ-vādī maha-ś[r]ama- [C] ṇō ||

TRANSLATION

Part I

This (*i.e.*, the image bearing the epigraph) is the religious gift of the Venerable Buddhapālita who is a teacher pertaining to the illustrious Bhakōkkā community.[4]

No. 39—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANTASAKTIVARMAN ; YEAR 28

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

These copper plates were received for examination in 1934 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mylapore, Madras, from the **Government Museum, Madras**, and noticed by him as C.P. No. 24 of 1934-5. The plates were sold to the Museum by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on them as follows : " No information is forthcoming regarding the place or history of their discovery. The plates which are rather thin, measure 6¾" by 2⅜" and bear a ringhole of about 7/16" in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring and the **seal** that must have accompanied the grant are now missing. The plates have four faces of writing in all, the first and the third plates are slightly corroded, so much so that there are some holes in the body of these plates and their right bottom corners have been partly eaten away. ...... the grant is itself a palimpsest written over a previous charter, the letters of which though completely effaced are partly and faintly visible in a few places. It must also be remarked at the

[1] The name Bhakōkkā, which reminds us of that of the Pakokku monastery about 30 miles from Mandalay in Upper Burma, may be of foreign origin.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 69 f. For a Chinese monastery near it, see *loc. cit.*

[3] From an impression.

[4] For the translation and explanation of Part II of the inscription, see above, p. 224.

same time that the erased writing does not appear to have been of a more archaic variety than the present inscription."[1]

I edit the record here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the southern class of alphabets. Some of them are written in a cursive style. The majority of the characters employed in the record, barring those in cursive style, can roughly be placed in the 5th century A. C. for the reason that while they appear more developed than those found in the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman[2] of the 4th century A.C., they are more or less of the same period of development as those of the Brihatprōshṭhā grant[3] and the Dhavalapōṭa plates of *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman which are of the 5th century A.C.[4] They also closely resemble the alphabet of the Bobbili[5] and the Kōmarti[6] plates of *Kaliṅgādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman. All these charters have been placed approximately in the 4th-5th century A.C. Those letters in our grant which are cursive, such as *l*, *n*, *kri*, *jñā*, *jā*, *su* and *pu*, show somewhat developed forms. This, in my opinion, may be due to the very cursive style of the writing.[7] The occurrence of both early and later forms of the same letters in one and the same record[8] or in charters of one and the same king[9] is not unusual, the best explanation for it being the tendency to cursive writing which the scribes developed. It should be remarked, however, that the way in which the letters *l*, *n* and *kri* of our inscription are written is for the first time met with among the early Kaliṅga grants in the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman[10] and the Gōdāvarī copper-plate grant of Pṛithivimūla,[11] both of which are placed in the sixth century A.C. The presence of such forms in our grant assignable to a date about half a century earlier need not be considered as anything irregular. Attention should be drawn, however, to the dissimilarity that exists in respect of the letters *t* and *n* between the script of our record and that of the newly discovered Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman[12] who, as shown in the sequel, appears to be identical with the ruler who issued the present plates. Whereas in the Andhavaram plates *t* is angular (being two-pronged) and *n* is looped, in the present plates they are formed in the reverse way, *t* being looped and *n* without such a loop but having a curve at the left as found in the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman[13] of the 6th century A.C. This difference may not be considered as irregular in our grant since the looped *t* and the unlooped *n* occur in grants of the 5th century A.C., for example, in the Sāsanakōṭa plates of Western Gaṅga Mādhavavarman[14] and in the Śālaṅkāyana grants generally.[15] Further, the looped *t*, as found in our grant, and the unlooped *t* as in the Andhavaram plates occur in one

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[1] *ARSIE*, 1934-5, part II, item 2.

[2] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff. and plate ; Vol. XXV, p. 239.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 133 and plate.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff. and plate.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 142 and plate.

[7] Some of them are formed peculiarly ; the medial *ā* is attached to *jā* and *jñā* at the topmost prong of the consonant *j* which is unusual, since this vowel mark is usually attached to its middle prong.

[8] Ahadanakaram Plates of E. Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana (V), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 186 and plate.

[9] The Kōmaṭibōḍa and the Ritthapur plates issued by the same king Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka and drafted by one and the same individual, however, differ in their characters indicating the former to be rather earlier. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 12.

[10] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 281 and plate.

[11] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and plate.

[12] C. P. No. 4 of 1951-52. Above, p. 177.

[13] Above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 51.

[14] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 238.

[15] Pedavēgi plates of Nandivarman II, *JAHRS*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 94 ; above, Vol. XXV, plate facing p. 46.

and the same inscription, *viz.*, the Gurzāla Brāhmī inscription of the 3rd-4th century A.C.[1] so that in so far as those two letters are concerned, the looped and unlooped forms are not of much consequence in the matter of palaeographical dating. In addition to the above peculiarities, our charter exhibits other features which are not seen in the Andhavaram plates, although in phraseology both grants are almost alike. One such feature of our grant is the mention of two *dūtakas* in place of the *ājñapti* and another is its faulty orthography as compared with the correct Sanskrit in which the Andhavaram charter is composed.

The **orthography** of the inscription, as already remarked, abounds in errors. Incorrect writing, for example, *pta* for *tpa* in line 1, *pārisvē* for *pārśvē* in line 3, *taitrīya* for *taittirīya* in line 6, *bhaviśiya* for *bhavishya* in line 9, *kumārāmātau* for *kumārāmatyau* in lines 17-18 may be ascribed to the ignorance of the scribe. An instance of incorrect syntax is found in line 7. Non-observance of *sandhi* is found in *Mahārāja Anantaśaktivarmmā* (line 3). The use of *b* for *v* is noticeable in *Barāhavattanyām* (line 3) and *barsha* (line 14); and of *v* for *b* in *valādhikṛita* for *balādhikṛita* in line 18.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. Except the imprecatory verses, the whole inscription is in prose. The phraseology of the inscription is almost similar to that obtaining in the Andhavaram plates of the same ruler, but contains some such phrases as are not found in the latter. For instance, the passage *dharmma-kkrama-vikkramāṇām-anyatama-yōgād-avāpya mahim=anuśāsatām* (lines 10-11) is not found in the Andhavaram plates but finds place in our grant as also in a few other charters of the period such as the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant[2] and the Dhavalapēṭa plates[3] of Umavarman and the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman.[4] The **date** of the record is given at the end of the charter as year 28, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The **numerals** *20* and *8* occur in this connection.[5]

The plates are issued by *Mahārāja* **Anantaśaktivarman** from his capital **Siṅghapura.** They record the royal gift of a village called Sakunaka situated in Āvi-pārśva of (*the district of*) Varāhavartanī, as an *agrahāra*, to two Brāhmaṇa brothers, Nāgaśarman and Durgaśarman of the Kātyāyana *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*. The king is described as *Kaliṅgādhipati*, as belonging to the Māṭhara *kula* and as one who obtained his body, kingdom and prosperity through the grace of his father, (who was) a great devotee of the *deity* (*paramadaivata-Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-śarīra-rājya-vibhavaḥ*). To my knowledge, the form in which this epithet occurs, embodying, as it does, such elaborate expression of deep devotion to one's father is found only in one other grant, *viz.*, the Andhavaram plates cited above. In all other early charters where the king's devotion to his father (*bappa*) is recorded, whether in Pallava, Śālaṅkāyana, or in the early Kaliṅga charters other than the two cited above, the terms are simpler like *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ*, *Bappa-pāda-bhaktaḥ* or *pitṛi-pāda-bhaktaḥ*, even the epithet *bhaṭṭāraka* sometimes being dropped.[6] The other epithet *paramadaivata* applied to *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* in the present grant needs some comment: it is here applicable to *Bappa*, while in the Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman[7] this epithet applies to the issuer of the grant himself, *i.e.*, Chaṇḍavarman. Usually, the grants that contain this epithet, as far as I have examined, prefix it in a compound either to *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* or, as in some cases, to the name of the overlord as whose feudatory the issuer of the grant figures. Instances of the former are available in the Kalinga grants including the present charter and those

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 125 and plate.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 133 ff. and plate.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff and plate.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff. and plate.

[5] [The symbol read as *8* more probably stands for *6*; see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 36.—Ed.]

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 4 (Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman).

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 142.

of the latter in the Damodarpur plates[1] of the Gupta kings, the Patiakella[2] and the Soro plates of Śambhuyaśas.[3]

To assess the exact significance of *paramadaivata* and its variants *paramadēvatādhidaivata*, and *paramagurudēvatādhidaivataviśēsha*, one may cite, by way of comparison, similar epithets, *viz.*, *paramabrahmaṇya*, *paramasaugata*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, etc. In the last example, the import of the term is clear. It signifies paramountcy. The others have also been considered as indicative of paramount status.[4] The latter assumption, however, appears to be doubtful. For these terms which mean 'a great devotee of the gods,' 'a great devotee of gods and super-gods,' 'a great devotee of the *Brāhmaṇas*' and 'a great devotee of Sugata' should be taken to indicate only the religious devotion or persuasion of the ruler concerned and not as signifying any political paramountcy that he wielded. This will become clear on an examination of the instances where the epithets are used without the additional title of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. In such cases, the particular person concerned was certainly not holding any paramount status. One such instance has been pointed out by Dr. Chhabra, namely that of Nāgabala and Bharatabala of the Bamhanī plates.[5] They are both described as *paramagurudēvatādhidaivataviśēsha*, but not as *paramabhaṭṭāraka* ; and the record gives other indications to prove that really they were not paramount. Another instance is provided by the Soro plates of Śambhuyaśas wherein his father (*bappa*) is called *paramadaivata* but not as *bhaṭṭāraka*. As Mr. N. G. Majumdar has remarked, Śambhuyaśas was only 'enjoying a sort of independent status.' In fact, even in the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, wherein Śambuyaśas also figures, the person referred to as *paramadēvatādhidaivata* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka* under whom Śivarāja ruled seems to be a third person different from both Śivarāja and Śambhuyaśas, as these epithets are not applicable to Śambuyaśas as has been wrongly assumed;[6] for, he is introduced in the record with the simple title of *Paramamāhēśvara* and as the ruler of Tōsali. Evidently Śambhuyaśas was the immediate overlord of Śivarāja and both were apparently subordinates of yet another paramount ruler alluded to by the titles *paramadēvatādhidaivata* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. One curious feature about the occurrence of the title *paramadaivata*, 'the great devotee of the gods,' is that it is rarely found applied to the ruler actually issuing the grant, but that it is applied usually to his predecessors, father (*bappa*) or overlord, as the records cited above would show.

Mahārāja Anantaśaktivarman, describing himself as Lord of Kaliṅga, issues the present grant from his capital, Siṅghapura. The title *Kaliṅgādhipati* held by him is partly justified by the fact that his capital Siṅghapura (Siṁhapura) was well known as one of the chief cities of Kaliṅga mentioned in quite a number of early Kaliṅga grants and in early Buddhist literature.[7] Other cities in Kaliṅga which also served as capitals of kings describing themselves as lords of Kaliṅga were Pishṭapura,[8] Sārapalli,[9] Dēvapura,[10] Dantapura[11] and lastly Kaliṅganagara. Although these cities were far from one another (Pishṭapura being the southernmost situated on the Gōdāvarī, and Siṁhapura being the northernmost in Chicacole *tāluk*), it would appear that the lordship over Kaliṅga could be claimed from any of these cities fixed as capitals. The village Sakuṇaka granted by Anantaśaktivarman was situated in Varāhavartanī, a well-known territorial division of Kaliṅga.[12]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 285.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, p. 199.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, p. 202 and Vol. XXVII, p. 136.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 136.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 202 : See *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 287, text lines 3-4.

[7] B. C. Law : *Geography of Early Buddhism* (1932), pp. 7, 64.

[8] Bāgālu plates of Saktivarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

[9] Chicacole plates of Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 48 and plate.

[10] Siripuram plates of Anantavarman, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 47 and plate.

[11] Jirjingi plates of Indravarman, above, Vol. XXV, p. 281 and plate.

[12] See below, p. 234.

What is of more than passing interest in the record is the mention of the name of the king's family as *Māṭhara kula*. Besides Anantaśaktivarman of our grant, two others, *viz.*, his namesake of the Andhavaram plates and *Kaliṅgādhipati* Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates claimed to belong to this family. The latter, in addition, styles himself Vāsishṭhīputra. Since Māṭhara was a *gōtra rishi*,[1] we have in the case of these chiefs an instance of a royal family named after a *gōtra rishi*.[2] That Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates also bears the metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra reminds one of the Sātavāhana and Ikhāku practice in this regard,[3] although the mention of both father-kinship and mother-kinship by Śaktivarman is quite unique. It is interesting to find a reference to the Vāsishṭha *kula* as the family to which two other kings of Kaliṅga are stated to have belonged, *viz.*, *Mahārāja* Guṇavarman and *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman, the grandfather and father respectively of Anantavarman, lord of Kaliṅga, the author of the Śriṅgavarapukōṭa[4] and the Siripuram plates.[5] Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates mentions his descent from both paternal (Māṭhara) and maternal (Vāsishṭha) *gōtras* and he also enjoins first upon his *gōtrajas* to protect his charity and next upon the other kings (*anyē rājānaḥ*).

In what lineal relationship our Anantaśaktivarman stood to the Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates, both being of the same Māṭhara family, has already been discussed, and it has generally been assumed that, as the palaeography of the two grants differs by about a century, Śaktivarman was the grandfather. The possibility of an Anantavarman intervening between them as the father has been stressed, it being assumed that the father's name is perhaps indicated in the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman which is the appellation of the king of our grant, who was perhaps christened only as Śaktivarman after his grandfather.[6] That this genealogical construction is very possible is further substantiated by the evidence afforded by the Andhavaram plates of Ananta-śaktivarman. On a comparison of the text, script and other particulars of this record with those of the present plates, it has been rightly surmised that the issuers of the two records are one and the same.[7] In the Andhavaram charter a passage occurs in the form of preamble to the donation made by the king. It relates that since the gift-village had already been granted by Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda, he (Anantaśaktivarman) only regranted it to the same Brāhmaṇa families (*asty=asmipa-yath-ōkta-dharmm-ānushṭhāna-vijita-trivishṭap air=Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pādaiḥ nānā-gōtra-charaṇēbhyō brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ=pūrvva-datta ity=asmābhir=api*, etc.). Here the person referred to as *Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* (with the honorific plural)[8] was doubtless an ancestor of Anantaśaktivarman. He was a king (*bhaṭṭāraka*) and was referred to by the respectful appella-

[1] In the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, there is mention of Maṭhara as a *gōtra rishi*. Evidently *Māṭhara* and *Maṭhara* are identical, or the former was descended from the latter.

[2] The kings of the Ānanda family (*Ānanda-maharshi-vaṁśa-samudbhūtāḥ*) and the Śālaṅkāyanas of the Telugu country may be considered as other such families.

[3] Among the Ikhākus there are metronymics Vāsishṭhīputra and Māṭharīputra. Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff. See also *Early History of the Andhra country*, pp. 44 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 56.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 47.

[6] *ARSIE*, 1934-5, part II, item 2.

[7] Above, p. 177.

[8] In a similar way, Viśākhavarman, a ruler of Kaliṅga in the 5th-6th century A. C., refers to his father (*bappa*). In the Koroshaṇḍā plates of this king, he is stated to have made the gift of a village to a number of Brāhmaṇas for the purpose of increasing the merit of his father who was in heaven (*asmad-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāṁ suralōkam=aprachyutānāṁ bhūyaḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāya*), above, Vol. XXI, p. 24, text lines 3-4.

tion of *Āryaka*. By his practice of *dharma* he had even conquered the celestial beings.[1] Although this term *āryaka* should generally be understood as one of respect, yet in some inscriptional cases there is reason to interpret it as grandfather, much in the same way as *bappa* meant father. Fleet was the first to think so.[2] Yet in the inscriptional instances,[3] which are not many, the manner in which it occurs leaves some ambiguity as to whether the term meant father, grandfather or simply a respectable person. In the Rithapur plates of Bhava[da*]ttavarman[4] it is recorded that Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka was favoured by *āryaka* (*āryyaka-pāda-prasād-ānugṛihīta*). The context here leaves it doubtful whether by *āryaka*, Arthapati's father is referred to, whether his grandfather is meant as Dr. Sircar has assumed,[5] or whether it alludes to some 'respectable people' as the editor of the plates Y. R. Gupte translates the term. Similarly in the Halsi plates of Kadamba Mṛigēśa,[6] this king is stated to have built a temple of Jina 'through devotion for the king, his *āryaka*' (*sv-āryyakē nṛipatau bhaktyā*). Dr. Fleet, who has edited the record, translates *āryaka* by 'father, who was dead (sic).' In a literary passage occurring in the *Chīvaravastu*,[7] the word *āryaka* is used obviously in the sense of father. None-the-less, so far as inscriptions go and as Fleet has also pointed out, *āryaka* may be understood to stand for grandfather just as *bappa* meant father. A piece of inscriptional evidence, which may be pressed into service here to clinch the issue, is provided by a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Prakrit inscription.[8] In this, the words *āyaka* and *ayikā* are used to describe the relatives of the donatrix who mentions, besides, her *pitu*, *mātu*, *mātula*, etc. Evidently *āyaka* and *ayikā* here meant grandfather and grandmother respectively. Its editor, Dr. Vogel, too, interprets the terms that way.[9] From the foregoing discusssion, it may safely be assumed that Āryyaka-Śaktibhaṭṭāraka of the Andhavaram plates was the grandfather of Anantaśaktivarman and identical with *Kaliṅgādhipati* Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates. While the latter issues his charter from Pishṭapura, the grandson is found to have fixed his capital at Siṁhapura in the north. Since both were *Kaliṅgādhipatis*, the change of capital need not be considered as any extension of territory effected by the grandson over and above what the grandfather had already acquired. Moreover the object of Śaktivarman's grant was Rākaluva in the Kaliṅga *vishaya*, the same as Rāgōlu

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[1] The conception that the kings of the earth conquer those of the heaven by deeds of piety, if not by deeds of valour, is profusely illustrated in Gupta inscriptions, especially those occurring on their coins. Some of the legends on their coins read like—

Apratirathō vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitair=divaṁ jayati (archer type of Samudragupta).

Kshitim=avajitya sucharitair=divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ (Chandragupta II).

Gām=avajitya sucharitaiḥ Kumāraguptō divaṁ jayati (Kumāragupta I).

The idea seems to be a very old one. Vālmīki put it in these words :

Rājā tu dharmēṇa hi pālayitvā
mahāmatir=daṇḍadharaḥ prajānām ||
avāpya kṛitsnāṁ vasudhāṁ yathāvad
itaś=chyutaḥ svargam=upaiti vidvān ||
(*Rāmāyaṇa, Ayōdhyākāṇḍa*, canto 104, verse 76)

I am obliged to Dr. Chhabra for the above references. See his article on *Chandragupta prathama kī advitīya suvarṇa mudrā* (A Unique Gold Coin of Chandragupta I) in the Hindi journal *Kalānidhi*, Vol. II, pp. 113 ff. (For its version in English, see *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 15 ff.) Also see *JRASB*, Letters III (1937), Num. Sup. XLVII, pp. 109-10 ; Allan : *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, etc., pp. 1 ff.

[2] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 198 n.

[3] I am thankful to Dr. Chhabra for drawing my attention to the instances cited here.

[4] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, text line 24.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 13.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 24, text line 8.

[7] Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 138.

[8] Above, Vol. XX, p. 22, Ins. F. line 2.

[9] I may add here that later, when this article was going through the press, I happened to come across the word *ayyaka* (Skt. *āryaka*) in certain Jataka stories (*e.g.* Nos. 352 and 542 of Fausboll's edition). Everywhere it stands for 'grandfather.'

near Siṁhapura. Śaktivarman and his grandson Anantaśaktivarman of the Māṭhara family were thus presumably paramount rulers of Kaliṅga during the 4th-5th century A.C.

We have now to determine the political status and the approximate period of some other kings of Kaliṅga who, as can be judged from the palaeography of their charters, flourished in the 5th century. These were *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, his namesake who issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates, and *Kaliṅgādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmarti plates. It has been stated above that the characters of our grant resemble Umavarman's grants. If we accept this proposition, the exact priority or posteriority of our Anantaśaktivarman to *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman should be determined. In regard to Umavarman of the two charters cited above, what Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has said[1] may be accepted, *viz.*, that the kings of both the grants are identical, although the Dhavalapēṭa plates were not issued from Siṁhapura and the king therein is not called *Kaliṅgādhipati*, both details being present in the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant. And this Umavarman's proximity to Anantaśaktivarman in point of date is further attested to, not only by the palaeographical resemblance, but also by another crucial evidence, *viz.*, that the composer of the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman, *Daṇḍanāyaka* Mātṛivara, was also the composer of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant wherein he is decribed as the son of Haridatta.[2] Yet this does not solve the question as to whether Umavarman preceded or succeeded the other Kaliṅga ruler. However, the following considerations tend to show that Umavarman should have come only after Anantaśaktivarman. While Anantaśaktivarman calls himself a *Kaliṅgādhipati* in both his grants, dated 14th and 28th regnal years, Umavarman was not a *Kaliṅgādhipati* when he issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates from Sunagara but assumed that title and changed his capital to Siṁhapura, too, when he made the grant of Bṛihatprōshṭhā, in his 30th regnal year. Hence Umavarman was not a *Kaliṅgādhipati* to start with, whereas Anantaśaktivarman was the lord of Kaliṅga from the very beginning of his career, having inherited the kingdom from his father, a fact which is made clear by his epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-śarīra-rājya-vibhava*. This circumstance precludes the possibility of Umavarman having become *Kaliṅgādhipati* or of his having fixed his capital at Siṁhapura before Anantaśaktivarman's accession and of having caused a sort of interregnum in the Māṭhara lordship over Kaliṅga.[3] Until evidence is found to the contrary, it may, therefore, be assumed that Umavarman, who did not belong to the Māṭhara family, acquired the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* and lordship over the Kaliṅga kingdom, as well as over the city of Siṁhapura by conquest,[4] or otherwise, from Anantaśaktivarman after the latter had ruled it peacefully for at

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 134. There was another *Mahārāja* Umavarman who issued the Tekkali plates (C. P. No. 13 of 1934-5), who belonged to the same century and was ruling over a part of Kaliṅga. Since the seal of his grant bears a different legend from the one on the two charters cited above, and as he was not a *Kaliṅgādhipati* like Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, he seems to be a different king.

[2] The composer of the present Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman was a different person, *viz.*, *Talavara* Arjunadatta.

[3] There is some evidence which seems to show that Anantaśaktivarman was engaged in some military expedition in or about the 14th year of his reign as pointed out by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 178). This ruler issued his Andhavaram plates in his 14th regnal year from a military camp at Vijayapura (*kaṭaka*-[illegible]-*Vijayapurāt*). Andorappa, the gift-village mentioned in this record, is doubtless Andhavaram which lies within a distance of only 10 miles from Siṁhapura, modern Singupuram near Śrīkākulam. There is, therefore, some ground for the assumption that this military expedition might have resulted in the capture of Siṁhapura by Anantaśaktivarman from some enemy. Or, in the alternative, Anantaśaktivarman might have been proceeding from Siṁhapura, which was already his capital, against the same enemy. If this enemy was *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman who issued his Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant from Siṁhapura in his 30th regnal year, one may doubt if Anantaśaktivarman's Andhavaram plates were issued subsequent to the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman's 30th regnal year. In such a case we have to postulate that an interregnum in the Māṭhara rule over Kaliṅga (from capital Siṁhapura) was caused by *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 134. Mr. R. K. Ghoshal advances here the view that the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant seems to have been issued by Umavarman on the occasion of some notable military success achieved by him at the expense of some local ruler.

least 28 years. The view that *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman may not have been altogether unrelated to his political predecessors of the Māṭhara family is not improbable if we compare the seals of his grants with those issued by Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman. The legend on the seals of the Andhavaram plates of the latter and on those of Umavarman's two grants is in four lines, ending with the name of the king in the genitive case.[1] In the same form is found the legend on the seal of the Rāgōlu plates, too, which is, however, in two lines and ends with the king's name likewise in the genitive case.

This similarity in the seals of the above three kings is noteworthy since in regard to the seals of the other kings of Kaliṅga who immediately followed them, *viz.*, Chaṇḍavarman and Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman, and Umavarman of the Tekkali plates, the legend is different and it reads *pitṛibhaktaḥ*. These 'Pitṛibhakta' kings, as they may be tentatively designated, were evidently of a different stock from the Māṭharas and were again different from the family of Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant. With the evidence now at our disposal, it is obviously incorrect to call all the kings of Kaliṅga from Śaktivarman down to Viśākhavarman as of one and the same family, Māṭhara or Pitṛibhakta.[2] *Kaliṅgādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili plates seems to have succeeded *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavaraman not long after, since it is found that the composer of his record was Rudradatta, son of Mātṛivara. The latter, as pointed out above, had composed both Anantaśaktivarman's Andhavaram plates and Umavarman's Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant.[3] In phraseology the grants of all the three rulers show affinity. Thus the passage *dharmma-kkrama-vikkramāṇām-anyatama-yōgād-avāpya*, etc., is found in our grant as well as in the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman. *Shaṭtriṁśad-agrahāra-sāmānyam*, etc., is common to both the Bobbili plates and the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant. In the scheme of early Kaliṅga chronology, the Māṭharas preceded a certain *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman, of unknown dynasty, who was himself closely followed by the 'Pitṛibhakta' kings led by Chaṇḍavarman.[4]

As already observed, the present record mentions two *dūtakas* in place of *ājñapti*. Evidently the task of the *dūtaka* and that of the *ājñapti* were similar, *viz.*, that of executing the royal gift.[5] In the Andhavaram plates of the king no specific person is mentioned as the *ājñapti*, the task having been entrusted to the *mahādaṇḍanāyakas* as the record states. In the present grant, however, two *dūtakas* are mentioned, Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta by name. Both are described as *kumārāmātyas*. But Śivabhōjaka is given the additional epithets of *Mahābalādhikṛita* and *Daṇḍanātri*.[6] The latter was thus a more dignified official, being both a generalissimo and a judge. The grant is stated to have been written by *Dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita Talavara* Arjunadatta. An *amātya* Arjunadatta is stated to have written the Rāgōlu plates issued by Śaktivarman whom we have considered as the grandfather of Anantaśaktivarman. It may not be improbable that

[1] The legend on the seal of the Andhavaram plates is highly damaged. But that it contained the name of the king in the genitive case and the whole legend was in four lines may be safely assumed.

[2] *Early History of Andhradeśa* (1942), pp. 387-8.

[3] Contra: *ARSIE*, 1934-5, part II, item 1, wherein Mr. C. R. K. Charlu considers that there were two persons of the name of Mātṛivara, and that Mātṛivara son of Haridatta of Umavarman's Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant was a later descendant of Mātṛivara, father of Rudradatta of the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman. But there is really no need to postulate two Mātṛivaras as has been pointed out by B. K. Ghoshal (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 133 f.n. 4).

[4] The scheme of chronology of these kings which is proposed in *Early History of Andhradeśa*, pp. 387 ff., appears faulty and I am unable to accept it for various reasons.

[5] Fleet, *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 100 n.

[6] [From the wording of the record, one may apply the titles *Mahābalādhikṛita* and *Daṇḍanātri* even to both *Śivabhōjaka* and *Vasudatta*. Yet, I am inclined to connect the first with the former and the second with the latter: *Kumārāmātya Mahābalādhikṛita* Śivabhōjaka and *Kumārāmātya Daṇḍanātri* Vasudatta. Besides, *Daṇḍanātri*, in my opinion, is a military rank like *Mahābalādhikṛita*, though inferior to it. *Daṇḍanātri* may be equal to *Sēnāpati* and *Mahābalādhikṛita* to *Mahāsēnāpati*.—Ed.]

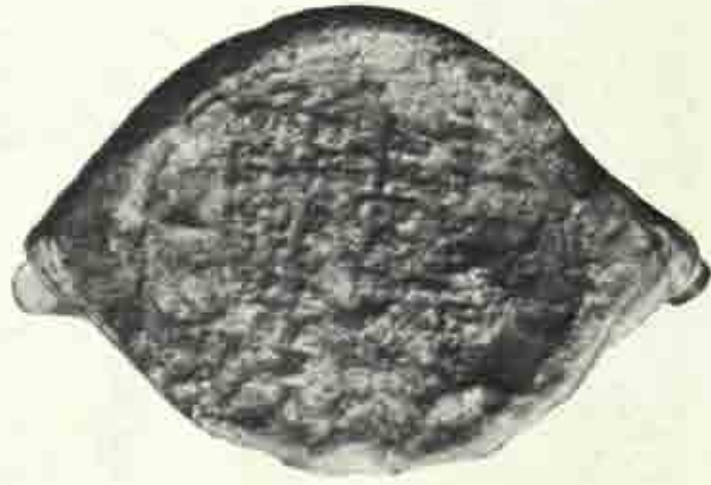
Talavara Arjunadatta of Anantaśaktivarman's present grant was a grandson of *Amātya* Arjunadatta.[1] That a purely civil officer, *viz.*, *Dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita*, that Arjunadatta of the present record was, had also the title *talavara*, which means 'a noble person,' is interesting. This office is mentioned in some Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Prakrit inscriptions and also in the Allūru Brāhmī epigraph.[2]

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Siṅghapura, the capital of the king, occurs in many other records of the Kaliṅga kings and has already been located at Siṅgupuram[3] near Chicacole (Śrīkākuḷam) in the present-day *tāluk* and district of the same name. Śakuṇaka, the donated village, which is stated to be in Āvi-pāriśva (*in the district*) of Varāhavarttanī, finds mention as Śakunagrāma in the Andhavaram plates of Gaṅga Anantavarman[4] as one of the villages situated on the boundary of a village (name not clear) in Varāhavartanī. Śakunagrāma is in this record described as touching other villages like Dīrghavāṭa and Siṃhivāsi. The last two may be identified with Dirghāsi and Sindhuvāḍa in the same *tāluk*. Śakuṇakagrāma of our grant must lie somewhere in the neighbourhood of these villages in the same *tāluk*. I am unable to establish at present its exact identification with any modern village in this locality. But that the territorial division Varāhavartanī should be located in this and the adjacent *tāluk* of Tekkali is more than certain; for, a number of villages mentioned as situated in this ancient division in some E. Gaṅga grants are all identifiable with their modern representatives in the Tekkali and Chicacole *tāluks*. The following table illustrates this.

Name of the village as in the inscription.	Modern name.	Taluk.	Reference.
1 Rōhaṇaki	Rōṇanki, hamlet of Siṅgupuram.	Chicacole . . .	Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 62.
2 Navagrāma	Naogam	Tekkali . . .	Ibid, p. 67.
3 Siddhārthaka	Siddhantam . . .	Chicacole . . .	Above, Vol. XIII, p. 213, and Vol. III, p. 127.

In the late E. Gaṅga inscriptions, the territorial division Kōlavartanī is mentioned and Krishna Sastri considered the division as being the same as Varāhavartanī since *kōla* is a synonym of *varāha*.[5] Sten Konow located this division roughly along the course (*vartanī*) of the Varāhanadī which rises in the Gōlkoṇḍa (Gōlugoṇḍa) Hills to the north of Narasapatam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Vatāda.[6] Mr. G. Ramadas states that it is probably the region between the Vaṁśadhārā and the Nāgāvalī.[7] Both these locations are approximately correct, since the modern Chicacole and Tekkali *tāluks* are situated in this area. The derivation of its name from *varāha* 'boar,' is interesting as there existed another territorial division called after *krōshṭu*, 'jackal,' *viz.*, the Krōshṭukavarttanī.[8] Presumably the areas were so named owing to profusion of boars and jackals in them. I am unable to identify Āvipāriśva in which Śakuṇaka lay. If *pāriśva* is a mistake for *pārśva*, then the village or locality was called simply Āvi. The name, however, seems to be non-Sanskritic.

[1] *ARSIE*, 1924-5, part II, item 3.
[2] *Ibid.* Above, Vol. XX, p. 7 n. and *ARSIE*, 1924, part II, item 1.
[3] Above, Vol. XII, p. 4.
[4] C. P. No. 8 of 1951-52.
[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 185, n. 5.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 149.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 127.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 196 and n.

Seal of Dhavalapeta Plates of Maharaja Umavarman

From a Photograph

1722.

Seal of Andhavaram Plates of Anantasaktivarman

From a Photograph

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Svasti [| *] Vijaya-Siṅghapurāpta (t-Pa)ramadaivata-Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasā-

2 d-āvāpta-śarīra-rājya-vibhavaḥ[2] Māṭhara-kul-ālaṅkā(ṅka)rishṇu-Kaliṅgādhipa-

3 ti-Śriman-Mahārāja[3]-Anantaśaktivarmmā Ba(Va)rāhavarttanyā Āvi-pāriśvē

4 Sakuṇaka-grāma(mē) sarvva-samavētān=ku(n-ku)ṭambinā(naḥ) samājñāpayati [| *] a-

5 sty=ēsha-grāmō=smābhi ā(r=ā)tmanaḥ puṇy-ā(ṇy-ā)yur-yyaśō-bhivṛiddhayē[4] amnai

Second Plate : First Side

6 Kātyāyana-sagōtrāya Taitri(ttirī)ya-sabrahmachāri-brāhma-

7 ṇa-Nāgaśarmmaṇē Durggaśarmmaṇābhyō dvau bhrātarau[5] ā-chandra-tāraka-

8 pratishṭham=aggrahāraṁ kṛitv=ātisṛishṭaḥ [| *] tad=ēva[ṁ*] viditvā yu-

9 shmābhir=yyath-ōchita-maryya(ryyā)day=ōpasthāna[ṁ*] karttavyaḥ(vyam) [| *] bhavisya (shya)ta=cha

10 rājñō vijñāpayati dharmma-kkrama-vikkramāṇām=anyatama-yōgā-

Second Plate : Second Side

11 d=avāpya mahīm=anuśāsatām pravṛittakam=imaṁ=dāna-dharmmam=anupa-

12 śyadbhiḥ[6] ēshō=grahārō=nupālya[ḥ] [| *] bhavati(nti)ch=ātra Vyāsa[gī]tā[ḥ*] ślōkā[ḥ*] [| *] Ba-

13 hubhir=bbahudhā dattā vasudhā vasudhādhipai[ḥ*] [| *] yasya yasya

14 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [|*] Shashṭhi-ba(shṭi-va)rsha-sahasrā-

15 ṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ [| *] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva na-

Third Plate

16 rakē vasēt [||] Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [| *] mahī-

17 m=mahimatā[ṁ] śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam=iti(m [||*]=iti [| *]) dūtan ku-

18 mārāmātau(tyau) mahāva(ba)lādhikṛita-daṇḍanāyṛi-Śivabhōjaka-

19 Vasudatau(ttau)[6] || Saṁvatsaram 20 9[6] Pha(Phā)lguṇa(na)-śukla-paksha-daśa[myām li-]

20 khitam dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita-[ta*]lavar-Ārjunadattēna ||

No. 40—NAGARI PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III ; SAKA 1151 AND 1152

(*3 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In November 1949, I received a set of inscribed copper-plates for examination from Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa through Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar. The plates, which were thickly covered with verdigris, were properly cleaned and good impressions of their inscribed sides were prepared in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. After having completed the

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[1] From impressions.

[2] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

[3] Read *Durggaśarmmaṇē chābhyāṁ bhrātṛibhyām*.

[4] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

[5] For interpretation, see above p. 223 and n. 6.

[6] [See above, p. 228, n. 5.—Ed.]

examination of the inscription from both the original plates and the impressions, I personally carried the plates to Cuttack, where I had to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1949, and handed them over to Mr. Acharya. At Cuttack I came to learn that the plates belonged to Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, then Chief Minister of Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription I requested Mr. Mahatab in March 1950 to be so good as to permit me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I also requested Mr. Mahatab to supply me with details of the discovery of the plates, which could be incorporated in my paper on the subject. In a letter, dated the 15th March, 1950, Mr. Mahatab kindly agreed to my editing the inscription and also furnished me with the following story of its discovery. "The set of plates," Mr. Mahatab wrote to me, "was recovered in a village called **Nagari** about eleven miles from the town of Cuttack. The villagers were sinking a well and the copper plates were found about six feet below the surface level. As soon as the villagers found the set out, somehow it struck them to present the plates to me. They could have easily disposed them of and got a good sum as the value of the copper; but instead they came all the way and presented the plates to me in my office. I offered to pay them Rs. 100 which too they declined and expressed the desire that the amount should be spent for some public work in their village. Recently I went to the village. Near about it there are traces of ancient structures. Probably it was at one time a prosperous town as the name *Nagari* of the village implies." I am very grateful to Mr. Mahatab for his kindness in allowing me to publish the Nagari plates. Thanks are also due to the villagers of Nagarī whose good sense saved the plates from being lost to the students of Indian epigraphy and history.

The **set** consists of **five plates** each measuring 12·6 inches by 7·9 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a **seal**, resembling those attached to other imperial Gaṅga records, is soldered. The thickness of the ring is ·7 inch and it passes through a ring-hole which is 1 inch in diameter. The seal, which is 3·5 inches in diameter, has the form of an expanded lotus or a radiating sun-dial and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull, caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper left of the bull are found the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a dagger pointed downwards and a *ḍamaru*. To the right of the bull are similarly found a *triśūla* and an *aṅkuśa* or a *chāmara*. In front of the bull there is an emblem possibly representing the solar orb. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is written on the inner side only, the rest being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 156 lines of writing. The first side of the third plate has 17 lines, the first sides of the fourth and fifth plates 19 lines each and the second side of the fifth plate only 11 lines. All other inscribed sides have 18 lines each. The writing is well-preserved with the exception of a few slightly damaged passages on the second side of the last plate. The *aksharas* are deeply incised and measure about ·4 inch in height. The plates alone weigh 596 *tolas* while the weight of the ring and the seal is 111 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the class usually termed proto-Bengali, although a more appropriate name of the script ought to be Gauḍī.[1] Many of the letters have developed Bengali forms of the thirteenth century ; but there are a few traces of Oriya (*cf.* medial *i* sign in *khi* in line 4, *ri* in line 44 and *ni* in line 94) and Dēvanāgarī (*cf.* medial *ō* sign in *dhō* in line 41 and medial *u* sign in *bhu* in line 104) influence. An interesting fact about the palaeography of the inscription under discussion is that there are many cases in which different *aksharas* are indicated by the same or similar signs. Thus there is absolutely no appreciable difference between *ṭū* and *ṭūa*, between *tva* (*cf.* also cases where it looks like *ty*) and *ttha*, and between *dga* and *dga* (*cf.* also *ṅga* which has only an additional loop at the top right end). *Hu* has the ordinary sign for medial *u* in a few cases (*cf.* line 95) ; but it is often indistinguishable from the sign for *hna* (*cf.* lines 11, 12, 18, 19, 69, 78, etc.).

[1] For the literary style, dialect and script of Gauḍa or Eastern India, see *A. I. O. C. Summary of Papers* Lucknow, 1951, p. 177.

Similar is the case with *tu* and *ta* (*cf.* lines 54, 64, 66, 69, 71, 74, 114, 128, etc.). In some cases *n* is not distinguishable from *v* (*cf.* *yasy-āna* in line 109). The sign for medial *ī* often does not rise much above the top *mātrā* of the consonants and somewhat resembles the *ā-mātrā* (*cf.* *lakshmī* in line 1). It is of course expected that *ō* should be indicated by the sign for *o*. Of initial vowels, the inscription under discussion employs *a* (lines 60, 66, 82, 96, 97, 121, 123, 134, 146), *ā* (lines 25, 50, 89, 120), *i* (lines 9, 10, 36, 37, 47, 64, 67, 69, 87, 105, 123, 132, 133), *u* (line 123), *ṛi* (lines 144, 145), *ē* (lines 16, 56, 75, 81, 90, 103, 140, 141) and *ō* (line 1). Of final consonants there are *t* (line 15), *n* (lines 29, 62, 79, 85, 126, 130, 140, 145) and *m* (lines 4, 10, 11, 20, 27, 35, 41, 43, 45, 48, 53, 61, 67, 89, 111, 116, 146, 150, 151, 153). The half-nasal sign called *chandra-bindu* is employed in writing *Ōm* in line 1. Double *daṇḍa* as a mark of interpunctuation is usually joined at the bottom. In some cases the *anusvāra* looks like the superscript *r*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. With the exception of only one, all the eighty verses of the introductory portion of the epigraph are found also in the copper-plate records of the successors of the king who issued the charter under discussion.

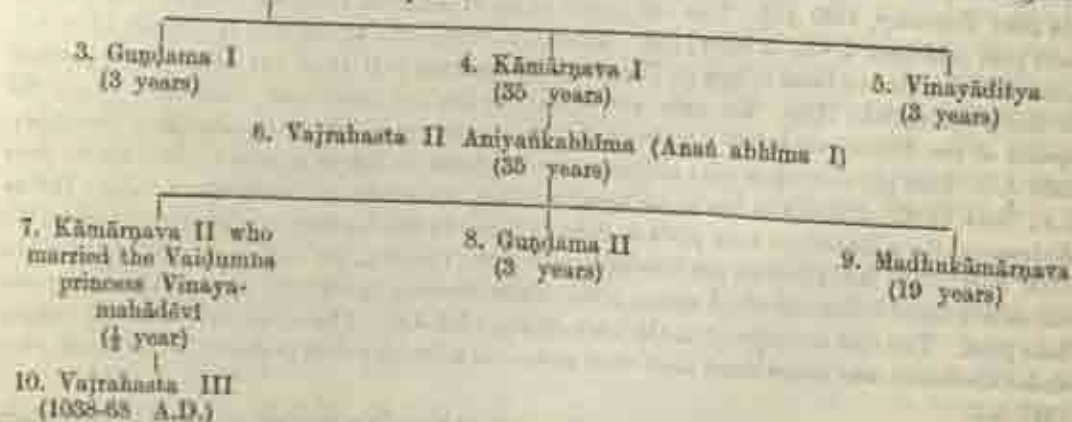
As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the occasional reduplication of certain consonants in conjunction with *r*. A common mistake in the record is the confusion between *ś* and *s*. Interesting is also the spelling of words like *śrēyāsi* (for *śrēyāṁsi*) in line 1, *payāsi* (for *payāṁsi*) in line 79, *vaṁśa* in lines 5 and 10 and *vaṁsa* in line 83 (for *vaṁśa*), *tāmvra* (for *tāmra*) in line 142, *siṁgha* (for *siṁha*) in line 132, etc. *Ṛi* is once indicated by *ra* in line 144. In a large number of cases final *m* followed by a consonant has not been changed into *anusvāra*, while in a few it has been substituted by the *anusvāra* wrongly (*cf.* lines 102, 137). It has been usually joined with *v* in wrong *sandhi* (lines 40, 48, 53, 150, 151, 152).

The inscription contains **several dates** on which different gifts of land were made by the king responsible for the charter, although the exact date when the charter was issued is not mentioned. Lines 122-23 refer to the *Mīna-saṅkrānti* on Saturday, Chaitra śud 9, in the Śaka year counted by *chandra* (1), *ishu* (5) and *rudra* (11) which indicate, according to the well known principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ*, the Śaka year 1151. The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd February, 1230 A.C. Line 126 speaks of a gift made on Thursday, Māgha badi 6 in the next year (*abd-āntarē*), *i.e.*, in Śaka 1152. This date corresponds to the 26th December, 1230 A.C. Lines 134-35 refer to a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Mārgaśīrsha śudi 15 in the same year (*asminn-ēv-ābdē*), *i.e.*, in Śaka 1152. The date corresponds to the 21st November, 1230 A.C. Line 137 speaks of the *Makara-saṅkrānti* no doubt in the same year falling on the 26th December, 1230 A.C. Line 142 refers to a solar eclipse on the *Karkaṭak-āmāvāsyā* apparently in the same year (*i.e.*, Śaka 1152), although it has to be admitted that, according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the solar eclipse took place in Śaka 1152 not on the *Karkaṭak-āmāvasyā* (Thursday, the 11th July, 1230 A.C.) but on the *Vrishabh-āmāvasyā* (Tuesday, the 14th May, 1230 A.C.). The last date is found in line 146 which speaks of the *Makar-āmāvasyā* on Sunday apparently in the same Śaka year. This date corresponds to the 5th January, 1231 A.C. The actual date when the charter under discussion was issued must have come sometime after this date probably in the same year 1231 A.C.

The prose portion of the inscription in lines 122-49 records a number of grants of land made by the celebrated Gaṅga monarch **Anaṅgabhīma III** (circa 1211-38 A.C.) in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas. As already indicated above, this part of the charter is preceded by no less than eighty verses (with a prose passage between verses 6 and 7), seventynine of which are found quoted with slight variations in some later records of the family. These verses describe the genealogy of the Imperial Gaṅga family up to the reigning monarch. The resemblance of our text is the closest

with the corresponding part of the copper-plate charters[1] of Narasiṁha II (*circa* 1278-1305 A.C.), great-grandson of Anaṅgabhīma III. Of the two Puri copper-plate grants[2] of Narasiṁha IV (*circa* 1379-1414 A.C.), the one styled B agrees more closely with our text than that styled A. It has to be noticed that the verses describing the activities of the successors of Anaṅgabhīma III up to Narasiṁha II are similarly found quoted in the records of Narasiṁha IV. In spite of the fact that we have as yet not secured copper-plate grants of all the imperial Gaṅga rulers, it is clear from the records at our disposal that each of these later Gaṅga monarchs quoted in their charters the introductory portion of the records of his predecessor and added to them some new verses describing his own activities. That this custom must have been introduced after the days of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.C.) is shown by the fact that the verses cannot be traced in the introduction of the charters issued by that monarch and his predecessors.[3] In the absence of any copper-plate grant of any of the Gaṅga monarchs ruling between Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and Anaṅgabhīma III, it is indeed difficult to determine as to who among them was actually responsible for the composition of the earlier part of the genealogy copied in later records. It may, however, be pointed out that, in the whole genealogy as found in so many records, only the description of Kāmārṇava (*circa* 1147-56 A.C.), the immediate successor of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, gives astronomical details about the date of the king's accession. This fact singles him out amongst the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in the genealogy under discussion and may suggest that it was the poet at his court who composed the earlier part of the genealogy that was copied in the copper-plate grants of his successors.

The mythical genealogy from the moon to Kōlāhala-Anantavarman given in a prose passage between verses 6 and 7, in lines 12-16, of our record was drawn on the basis of the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. We know that the records of Vajrahasta III, grandfather of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, offer the following genealogy :—

In the Gaṅga family belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra* ;

[1] Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 233 ff. Unfortunately the text published by N. N. Vasu is not free from mistakes.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 130 ff.

[3] *Cf.* such records as the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 40-48, 113-22, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-76) and the Narasapatam, Nadagam and Madras Museum plates of his grandfather Vajrahasta III (above, Vol. XI, pp. 147-58, Vol. IV, pp. 183-93, Vol. IX, pp. 94-98). Only verse 14 of our record appears to have been copied from Chōḍagaṅga's grants. Verse 15 is found not only in the charters of Chōḍagaṅga but also in those of his father and grandfather.

The same genealogy was copied in the earlier copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga such as the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1003 (1081-82 A.C.).[1] There is nothing suspicious about this genealogy. But the Korni plates of Śaka 1034 (1112-13 A.C.)[2] and the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 (1118-19 A.C.)[3] give a more elaborate genealogy, the beginning of which is practically the same as found in the later records of the family including the grant of Anaṅgabhīma III under discussion. This later genealogy traces the origin of the family to the god Vishṇu through his navel-born son Brahman, his mind-born son Atri, his eye-born son Moon, his son Budha, Budha's descendants Purūravas, Āyus, Nahusha, Yayāti and Turvasu[4] and a host of apparently imaginary personages from Turvasu to Guṇārṇava who is the progenitor of the family according to the earlier account but is represented here as Guṇārṇava II and is assigned a reign-period of 27 years.[5] Names of a certain Kōlāhala, founder of Kōlāhalapura in the Gaṅgavāḍi *vishaya* in Mysore, and his successors, some of whom are said to have migrated to Kaliṅga, are cleverly inserted before the reference to Guṇārṇava. There is some confusion in the description of the sons of Guṇārṇava; but the two accounts, earlier and later, tally with each other from Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma I, grandfather of the great Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.). It is impossible to believe that Vajrahasta III made mistakes in recounting the names of his immediate predecessors and that his grandson Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga had more reliable information about them. It has to be noticed that even the name of the father of Vajrahasta III is wrongly given in the records of his grandson. I have therefore no doubt that whatever is new in the later genealogy and is conflicting with the earlier account is absolutely unreliable. It seems that Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma I (also called Anantavarman like his grandson), who apparently was the issuer of the Mandasa plates of Śaka 917 (995 A.C.) and the Pondura plates of the Gaṅga year 500 (996-98 A.C.) and ruled in the period circa 982-1016 A.C.,[6] was the founder of the family's greatness and that there was little authentic information about his immediate predecessors up to Guṇārṇava, progenitor of the family, at the disposal of the court poets of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The genealogy from the god Vishṇu to this Guṇārṇava was no doubt entirely fabricated. The fabrication was, however, dependent on several factors. In the first place, its basis was the Ātrēya *gōtra* and the status of the Brāhmaṇa[7] claimed by the Gaṅga emperors. As the Pallavas belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* claimed to have descended from the sage Bharadvāja, these Gaṅgas forged a genealogy tracing their descent from their *gōtrarshi* Atri. The second factor seems to be a desire to claim relationship with the Gaṅgas of Mysore, in whose tradition the city of Kōlāhalapura, mentioned in the genealogy under discussion, finds an important place. Another factor was apparently the desire to claim descent from the celebrated Chandra-vaṁśa or lunar dynasty of epic and Purāṇic fame and, unlike the case of the old Chandra-vaṁśī kings, from the god Vishṇu himself. We know that the earlier Gaṅgas were all Śaivas, being staunch devotees of the god Śiva-Gōkarṇēśvara worshipped at the

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[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 40-48 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-65. One set of the Vizagapatam plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 172-76) tallies with these earlier records in respect of this and other early characteristics noticed below, although its date was read as Śaka 1057 (1135-36 A.C.). I have doubts that, in the date of this inscription, the word *kara* (2) was wrongly written or read as *sa(śa)ra* (5) and that the date should probably be Śaka 1027 (1105-06 A.C.) instead of Śaka 1057 (1135-36 A.C.).

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 113-24.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-72.

[4] These names were taken from the epic and Purāṇic traditions.

[5] *Cf.* Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 451-53; below p. 240, note 2.

[6] See *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21.

[7] According to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj, which describes Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's war with Gaṅga Bhānu III (*circa* 1352-78 A.C.), the Rāis of Jājnagar (*i.e.*, the Gaṅga kings of Orissa) were Brāhmaṇas (Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 497). That the claim for the Brāhmaṇa status was not regarded seriously is suggested by the Kshatriya name-ending *varman* preferred by Bhānu II and Narasiṁha IV (*J. B. A. S. B.*, L., Vol. XVII, p. 21). The Sōmavaṁśīs also claimed the Ātrēya *gōtra* and descent from the Moon.

top of the Mahēndragiri in the Ganjam District. Like his predecessors, Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is also called a *paramamāhēśvara* (devout worshipper of Mahēśvara or Śiva) in his earlier records, *viz.*, the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of 1081-82 A.C. But the Korni plates of 1112-13 A.C. describe him both as a *paramamāhēśvara* and as a *paramavaishṇava* (devout worshipper of Vishṇu), while the Vizagapatam plates of 1118-19 A.C. omit the title *paramamāhēśvara* altogether and represent Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga as a devotee of Vishṇu alone. It is very interesting to note that these later records refer to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga's conquest of the Utkala country which must have indicated the dominions of the Sōmavaṁśis including the Puri-Cuttak region.[1] This event, which took place earlier than 1112-13 A.C., seems to have had something to do with the change of the king's religious faith from Saivism to Vaishṇavism. As will be seen below, one of the achievements of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, as described in the introductory portion of later Gaṅga copper-plate charters, including the record under discussion, was the construction of the great temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha at Puri. In any case, the genealogy tracing Chōḍagaṅga's descent from Vishṇu seems to be concocted after he had been initiated to the Vaishṇava faith.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *siddham* and with the *praṇava* written as *Ō*. Verse 1 is in adoration to the goddess of prosperity, while the following verse speaks of her husband, the god Vishṇu. Verse 3 describes how the god Brahman sprang from the navel of Vishṇu; how the sage Atri was produced by Brahman (from his mind) and how the Moon was born from Atri's eyes. Verse 4 describes the greatness of the Moon, progenitor of the Chandravaṁśa, and verses 5-6 with a prose passage refer to the glories of the Moon's descendants up to Kōlāhala who is said to have also been called Anantavarman. Verse 7 speaks of Gaṅgavāḍi ; and Anantavarman (Kōlāhala) is said to have become the king of this land. It is further said that the descendants of this king became famous under the name of Gaṅga. Verse 8 says how Sarapura, the capital of Kōlāhala-Anantavarman's kingdom, came to be known as Kōlāhala (or more fully Kōlāhalapura) and how a number of kings ruled there in succession. Verse 9 suggests that Kōlāhala-Anantavarman had several (probably six) sons of whom the eldest Mārasiṁha succeeded him, while the latter's younger brothers left the country with a view to conquering other territories. Verse 10 says how these wandering brothers, the fifth of whom was called Kāmārṇava, reached Kaliṅga and fought with the people of that country. Verse 11 speaks of the conquest of the Kaliṅga country apparently by the Gaṅgānvaya indicating Kāmārṇava. Verse 12 says that Kāmārṇava became a *vaṁśa-kartṛi*, 'the progenitor of a royal family' and that his descendants became kings of renown. Verse 13 introduces Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.) as sprung from the above Kāmārṇava (*cf. tasmāt* in line 26), although the real relationship is no doubt that Vajrahasta was a descendant and not a son of this Kāmārṇava. As already indicated above, this part of the genealogy is based on that found in the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, although there is some modification and omission of details.[2] The

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[1] See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300-07.

[2] According to the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, Kōlāhala was succeeded by his son Virōchana, in whose lineage, after 81 kings had ruled at Kōlāhalapura, came Vīrasiṁha. This king had five sons, *viz.*, Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasiṁha, and Vajrahasta. We are told that Kāmārṇava gave over the kingdom to his paternal uncle and set out on *digvijaya* with his four brothers. He came to Mount Mahēndra where he worshipped Gōkarṇasvāmin, through whose favour he received the bull crest and the insignia of sovereignty. He then took possession of the Kaliṅga country after defeating Bālāditya and ruled from Jantāvura for 36 years. His brother Dānārṇava succeeded him and ruled for 40 years, while the other brothers, *viz.*, Guṇārṇava, Mārasiṁha and Vajrahasta, were assigned respectively the Ambavāḍi *vishaya*, Sōḍā *maṇḍala* and Kanṭakavartani. Dānārṇava's successors were: his son Kāmārṇava (50 years), his son Raṇārṇava (6 years), his son Vajrahasta (15 years), his younger brother Kāmārṇava (19 years), his son Guṇārṇava (27 years), his son Jitāṅkuśa (15 years), his brother's son Kaliyugāṅkuśa (12 years), his father's brother Guṇḍama (7 years), his younger brother Kāmārṇava (25 years), his brother Vinayāditya (3 years), his son Vajrahasta (35 years), his son Kāmārṇava (½ year), his brother Guṇḍama (3 years), his step-brother Madhukāmārṇava (19 years), his son Vajrahasta (1038-68 A.C.). *Cf.* this with the genealogy found in earlier records and quoted above.

MGIPC—S1—8 DGA/52—29-4-53—450.

freedom with which the later poet handled the genealogy found in the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, as indicated by the present case, is possibly another argument in favour of its fabricated nature. As we have suggested above, much of this account is fabricated, and the genealogy found in the records of the time of Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.) and of the earlier years of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is much more reliable.

Verses 14-15 describe the greatness of **Vajrahasta** who is called 'lord of **Trikaliṅga**'. Verse 16 speaks of Vajrahasta's queen Nāṅgamā and his son **Rājarāja I** born of her. Verses 17-18 deal with Rājarāja and his chief queen (*agra-mahishī*) Rājasundarī.[1] The following 15 verses (verses 19-33) describe the achievements of [Anantavarman] **Chōḍagaṅga**, son of Rājarāja and Rājasundarī. Verse 20 deals with his learning in various subjects, while the next verse refers to his great prowess. Verse 22 says that Chōḍagaṅga levied tribute from the whole land between the **Gaṅgā** (Bhāgīrathī) and the **Gautama-Gaṅgā** (Gōdāvarī). Verses 23-24 again refer to Chōḍagaṅga's prowess. According to verse 25, Trilōchana-vibhu was bound in agreement with the Gaṅga (*i.e.*, Chōḍagaṅga) saying that no hero could venture to conquer him. Trilōchana may of course indicate the god Śiva ; but the reference may also be to an enemy captured in battle by the Gaṅga king. Verse 26 speaks of Gaṅgēśvara's (*i.e.*, Chōḍagaṅga's) victory over the king of **Utkala**, which led to his obtaining *dharaṇi*, *i.e.*, new territories no doubt in the Utkala country. We have elsewhere[2] discussed the history of the Sōmavaṁśīs who were ruling in Utkala comprising the Puri-Cuttack region about this time. The Utkala king defeated by Chōḍagaṅga was possibly a successor of the Sōmavaṁśī ruler Uddyōtakēsarin (circa 1060-85 A.C.). According to verse 27, Chōḍagaṅga built a temple for the great god Purushōttama, as the earlier kings were afraid to take up this great task, while the next verse seems to suggest that the temple was built on the sea-shore. It is rightly believed by scholars[3] that these two verses refer to the erection of the great temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha at Purī on the shores of the Bay of Bengal by king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. As we have seen above, this Gaṅga king, like his predecessors, was at first a Śaiva, but later became a Vaishṇava, and that the annexation of the Purī region to his empire may have had some thing to do with this change in his religious faith. The language of verse 27 seems to suggest that the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha had been in worship at Purī for many years before the conquest of that region by Chōḍagaṅga, but that the Śaivite Sōmavaṁśīs, who were supplanted from Utkala by the Gaṅgas, had neglected the erection of a temple for the Vaishṇavite deity. It seems that like Mīnākshī at Madura, Bālājī-Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirupati, Vindhyavāsinī near Mirzapur, Kāmākhyā near Gauhati and many other gods and goddesses worshipped in different parts of India, Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī was originally worshipped by the local aboriginal people but was later on gradually accommodated in the orthodox Brahmanical pantheon.[4] The identification of this deity with the Brahmanical god Vishṇu is, however, apparently earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century when Chōḍagaṅga conquered the Utkala country. Verse 29 refers to the hunting excursions of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and the next verse to his victory over the king of Mandāra in a battle that took place on the banks of the Ganges. The walls and gates of **Āramyā**, the capital city of the **Mandāra** king who fled from it, are said to have been destroyed

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[1] She was a Chōḷa or Chōḍa princess. Her father was king Rājēndra Chōḷa (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1100). Her son's name *Chōḍagaṅga* points to the latter's claim to both Chōḷa and Gaṅga blood. Chōḍagaṅga is sometimes called Virarājēndra-Chōḍagaṅga (Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga*, p. 126) apparently after his maternal grandfather. Thus Rājasundarī's father was actually Vīrarājēndra Chōḷa (circa 1063-70 A. C.).

[2] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 76-82 ; Vol. XXII, pp. 300-07.

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, pp. 328-31.

[4] The *Utkala-khaṇḍa* (chapters VII-VIII) section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Vishṇu-khaṇḍa*, section 11) clearly says that Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī was originally worshipped by the aboriginal Śabara people in secret in an inaccessible forest on the Nīlāchala and that the priest of king Indradyumna of Avanti, who popularised the god, received informations regarding the deity and his worship from a Śabara named Viśvavasu.

by the Kaliṅga forces. Mandāra has been identified by scholars with Garh Mandaran and Āramyā with Arambag both in the Hoogly District of West Bengal.[1] Verse 31 speaks of the heaps of gold that the Gaṅga king used to grant to the people in distress and of the burning of the capitals of his enemies. Verse 32 says that Chōḍagaṅga reigned for 70 years. We know that Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was crowned in the Śaka year 999 (17th February 1078 A.C.),[2] although he may have actually occupied the throne sometime earlier after his father's death, and, as we shall presently see, his immediate successor was crowned in Śaka 1069 (1147-48 A.C.). Thus Chōḍagaṅga actually ruled for 70 years between Śaka 999 and 1069 (1078-1147 A.C.). Verse 33 refers to Chōḍagaṅga's queen Kastūrikāmōdinī and the next three verses to his son **Kāmārṇava** *alias* Kumāra from that queen. Verse 37 says that Kāmārṇava's coronation took place in the Śaka year measured by the Nandas (9), the seasons (6), the sky (zero) and *chitra* which is a mistake for *chandra* meaning the moon (1). According to the dictum quoted before, this date comes to Śaka 1069. It has to be pointed out that the same verse, as quoted in the later records of the family, reads *vēda* (4) instead of *nanda* (9). Consequently it was so long believed by scholars that the coronation of Kāmārṇava took place in Śaka 1064 possibly as a regent and that his extremely old father may have arranged then to transfer the active duties of kingship to him.[3] Since the record under discussion is the earliest document containing the verse giving the date of Kāmārṇava's coronation, it appears that the original reading was *nanda* which was later made *vēda* by an error of one of the copyists. The suggestion is again supported by the fact that the latest recorded date found in the epigraphs of Chōḍagaṅga's time is Śaka 1069 and that the earliest record of his successor Kāmārṇava is dated in Śaka 1070.[4] Verse 41 refers to a ceremony of the Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna* performed by king Kāmārṇava and verse 43 says that he ruled for ten years, *i.e.*, during Śaka 1069-78 (1147-1156 A.C.).

Verses 44-45 speak of Indirā who was the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty and was another queen of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Indirā's father, mentioned as a king, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Verse 46 introduces the king of kings **Rāghava** who was the son of Chōḍagaṅga by Indirā. King Rāghava's glory is described in verses 47-52. His claim of the status of a Brāhmaṇa is probably suggested by his comparison with Paraśurāma in verse 49. Verse 52 says that Rāghava ruled for fifteen years, *i.e.*, during Śaka 1078-1092 (1156-1170 A.C.).

Verse 53 introduces king **Rājarāja II**, another son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga by the queen Chandralēkhā. The next five verses describe the glory of king Rājarāja II who is said in verse 58 to have ruled for twenty-five years. This has to be regarded as the number of *Aṅka* years which, deducting according to rule the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years, would be equal to twenty-one actual years.[5] Consequently the king actually ruled in Śaka 1092-1112 (1170-90 A.C.). The following five verses (verses 59-63) deal with Rājarāja's younger brother and successor **Aniyaṅkabhīma** (Anaṅkabhīma or Anaṅgabhīma II) who is said, in verse 63, to have reigned for ten years, which, regarded as *Aṅka* years, would be equal to eight ordinary years. This king therefore ruled in Śaka 1112-19 (1190-97 A.C.). Verse 64 introduces Vāghalladēvī, chief queen of Anaṅgabhīma II, and the next verse king **Rājarāja III** who was the son of Anaṅgabhīma II

[1] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 380 ; *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 168.

[2] Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1090.

[3] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 467-68 , 472.

[5] The use of the *Aṅka* reckoning is known from the time of Chōḍagaṅga ; but, in mentioning the number of years in a reign in the introductory part of the genealogy in later imperial Gaṅga records, it is introduced here for the first time. According to the rules, established by M. Chakravarti (*J. A. S. B.*, 1903, p. 100), (1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) should be omitted from the actual years to get the number of *Aṅka* years ; (2) the last *Aṅka* year of one king and the first of his successor fell in the same year ; and (3) the year begins on Bhādrapada *sudi* 12.

and Vāghalladēvī. Verses 65-70 describe the glory of king Rājarāja III who is said to have ruled for seventeen years apparently of the *Aṅka* reckoning, corresponding to fourteen actual years. Thus the king ruled in Śaka 1120-33 (1198-1211 A.C.).

Verse 71 speaks of Malhaṇadēvī who was descended from the Chālukya dynasty and was the queen of Rājarāja III. The name of this queen is found as Sadguṇadēvī in the grant (B) of Narasiṁha IV no doubt due to an error of one of the copyists. The reading *Maṅkuṇadēvī* in the record of Narasiṁha II preferred by N. N. Vasu, however, is quite clearly *Malhaṇadēvī* as in our epigraph. It is only natural to expect that the queen's name has been correctly spelt in the present charter issued by her son. Verses 72-80 describe king **Anaṅgabhīma III**, who issued the charter under discussion, as the son of Rājarāja III from Malhaṇadēvī. Verse 77 of our record, which seems to have been dropped from later copies, seems to refer to the ceremony of the Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna* performed by the king. Verse 79 refers to his celebration of the Tulāpurusha *mahādāna*. This verse also refers to the numerous gifts of land made by the king in favour of the Brāhmaṇas. The claim is supported not only by the present charter, but also by the description of the king as found in the Oriya chronicle called *Mādalā Pāñji*.[1] Later copper-plate records of the family add one verse to this description of Anaṅgabhīma III, saying that he ruled for thirty-four years, which regarded as *Aṅka* years would be equal to 28 actual years. He thus ruled in Śaka 1133-60 (1211-38 A.C.).[2]

The above introductory section of the inscription in verse is followed by a prose portion giving details of the several grants of land made by the illustrious Anaṅkabhīma-rāutta-dēva, *i.e.*, king Anaṅgabhīma III, in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. The king is called *Rāutta* (from Sanskrit *Rājaputra* in the sense of a prince, nobleman or horseman) also in some other records and the title is also known to have been used by some, if not all, of his successors.

We have elsewhere[3] shown that the title indicated a subordinate ruler and that Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III and some or more probably all of his successors adopted it because, as rulers of the Gaṅga empire, they considered themselves mere deputies of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī, whom they regarded as the real lord of the dominions. It has been shown definitely that, like the present Mahārājas of Purī, at least Anaṅgabhīma III and his great-great-grandson Bhānu II (circa 1305-1327 A.C.) considered themselves servants of the god,[4] but that, as the title *Rāutta* or *Rāuta* is known to have been assumed by some other later rulers of the imperial Gaṅga family, it is very probable that all the later imperial Gaṅga monarchs claimed the same relation with the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī to whom the empire must have been formally dedicated. Whether the ruler responsible for such dedication was Anaṅgabhīma III himself cannot be definitely determined until further evidence is forthcoming. It should, however, be noticed that he is the earliest imperial Gaṅga monarch who is so far known to have assumed the subordinate title *Rāutta* and claimed theoretically at least to have been a feudatory of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha.

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[1] Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

[2] M. Chakravarti believed (*op. cit.*, p. 117) that the death of Anaṅgabhīma III and the accession of his son Narasiṁha I took place in Śaka 1160. But that the events may have occurred some time later is suggested by the Liṅgarāj temple inscription of Narasiṁha I dated in Śaka 1163 and in his fifth *Aṅka* (or fourth actual regnal) year. See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 121-23. The point, however, cannot be settled finally unless further evidence is forthcoming. It is possible that in some inscriptions the *Aṅka* years of a reign were confused with the actual regnal years of the ruler in question.

[3] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53.

[4] In inscriptions, the empire of Anaṅgabhīma III is mentioned as *Purushōttama-sāmrājya* (the dominions of Purushottama) while Bhānu II is represented as a feudatory of Purushottama or Jagannātha (called *Rā-ādidēva* in one case). See *J. R. A. S. B.*, L., Vol. XVII, p. 21.

The details of the grants of Anaṅgabhīma III recorded in the present charter throw some additional light on the religious activities of this Gaṅga monarch. There are altogether seven grants detailed in the charter, of which three are mentioned together, and they may be analysed as follows.

1. On the occasion of the *Mīna-saṅkrānti* on Saturday, Chaitra śudi 9, in Śaka 1151 (*i.e.*, on the 23rd February, 1230 A.C.), king Anaṅgabhīma III, while he was apparently taking a sacred bath in the waters of the **Mahānadī** between the temples of the gods Chitrēśvara and Viśvēśvara at the **Abhinava-Vārāṇasī** *kaṭaka* (city of or camp or residence at 'New Banāras') granted twenty *vāṭīs* of land at **Pūraṇagrāma** in the **Sāilō** *vishaya* to a Brāhmaṇa named Śaṅkarshaṇānanda-śarman. The grant is said to have been made in connection with a number of gifts of land made by the king on the occasion of a *dāna-sāgara* performed by him according to the recommendations of the *Mahābhārata*. The donee Śaṅkarshaṇānandaśarman was a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda and belonged to the Ghṛitakauśika *gōtra*. The grant was made a permanently revenue-free gift for the *prīti* or favour of the god Purushōttama.

According to Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, a *vāṭī* of land in Orissa is equal to twenty *mānas*. A *māna* seems to be otherwise called *bighā* and is said to be equal to twenty-five *guṇṭhas* at Cuttack.[1] A *guṇṭha* (measuring "121 square yards or the fortieth part of an acre" in some places) is regarded as sixteen *biswas*, while a *biswā* is said to be one-twentieth of a *bighā*. This seems to show that a *vāṭī* is sometimes regarded as equal to 12½ acres of land. But there seems to be varying areas of the *vāṭī* prevalent in different parts of the country and there may have also been difference between the areas of a *vāṭī* of the present day and that recognised by the Gaṅga kings of Orissa in the thirteenth century A.C. This is possibly suggested by the fact that the *Pramōda Abhidhāna*, an Oriya dictionary published in 1942, regards a *māna* as equal to one acre of land and a *vāṭī* as equal to 20 acres.

2. On Thursday, Māgha badi 6, in the following Śaka year, meaning Śaka 1152 (*i.e.*, on the occasion of the *Makara-saṅkrānti* on the 26th December 1230 A.C.) the king, while he was taking a sacred bath in the same river (Mahānadī), granted a township covering thirty *vāṭīs* of land to the same Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkarshaṇānandaśarman. This grant was made in connection with a number of others made during the month by the king according to the recommendations of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. Of the thirty *vāṭīs* of land granted, twenty *vāṭīs* of corn land lay in the above-mentioned **Pūraṇagrāma**, while ten *vāṭīs* of homestead land were in **Jayanagaragrāma**. Both the villages were situated in the same Sāilō *vishaya* probably in the vicinity of each other. The township contained four houses resembling royal residences and endowed with walls, *mukha-maṇḍapas* and *madhya-maṇḍapas*, and also thirty other houses inhabited by a number of citizens. The inhabitants of the township included a number of merchants such as a perfumer, a worker or dealer in conch-shells, a splitter of wood (*pāṭakāra*), a goldsmith and a brazier or a worker in bellmetal. Their names were Vāpuli, Nārāyaṇa, Dāmōdara, Mādhava, Chitra, Sōma, Vālhu, Kēśava, Mahādēva, Narasiṁha and Śivu. There were the sellers of betel (*tāmbūlika*) named Mahānāda, Sōmā and Iraṇḍu, the florist named Manā, the maker of or dealer in sugar (*guḍika*) named Mahādēva, the milkmen named Dāma and Gabhī, the weavers named Nāgu and Jagāi, the oilmen named Gaṇū and Sunyā, the potters named Arjuna and Visā, and the fishermen (*Kaivarta*) named Rājū, Vāsū and Padma. There were also a barber, some craftsmen and a washerman. This interesting list of the people of different castes inhabiting an Oriya township of the thirteenth century throws considerable light on the Orissan social life in that age. The grant of the township was made a permanently revenue-free gift for obtaining the favour of Lord Purushōttama.

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[1] That 1 *Vāṭi* or *Vāṭikā* was equal to 20 *mānas* and 1 *māna* to 25 *guṇṭhas* in the age of the imperial Gaṅgas is known from the Alalpur plates of Narasiṁha II to be edited in a future issue of this journal.

3(*s*). In the same year, meaning Śaka 1152, while the king was taking a bath in the Mahānadī on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Mārgaśirsha sudi 15 (*i.e.*, on the 21st November 1230 A.C.), he granted eighteen *vāṭis* of land in the said **Pāraṇagrāma** to a Brāhmaṇa named *Dīkshita* Rudrapāṇiśarman. The grant was made in connection with other grants of land made by the king according to the recommendations of Bṛihaspati. The donee Rudrapāṇiśarman belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The area of 18 *vāṭis* of land is referred to here as a *gō-charman*. Originally *gō-charman* may have indicated that area of land which could be covered by the hides of cows slaughtered in a sacrifice and which was granted to the priests as sacrificial fee. But the expression is differently interpreted by later authorities. According to Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*,[1] it indicated a piece of land large enough to be encompassed by straps of leather from a single cow's hide. The *Parāśara-saṁhitā*[2] and *Bṛihaspati-saṁhitā*[3] appear to suggest that the *gō-charman* was that area of land where one thousand cows could freely graze in the company of a hundred bulls. According to the *Vishṇu-saṁhitā*,[4] the area of land, sufficient to maintain a person for a whole year with its produce, was called a *gō-charman*. There is a more specific determination of the area of the *gō-charman* in the *Saṁhitās* of Śātātapa[5] and Bṛihaspati,[6] according to which it was ten times a *nivartana* which was the area of 300 × 300 square cubits (about 4⅔ acres). Unfortunately the area of the *nivartana* also is not the same with different writers. Even according to a variant reading[7] of Bṛihaspati's text referred to above, the *nivartana*, regarded as one-tenth of the *gō-charman*, was the area of 210 × 210 square cubits (about 2¼ acres). Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvatī*[8] speaks of the *nivartana* as 200 × 200 square cubits in area (about 2 acres). Elsewhere[9] we have pointed out that the *nivartana* is 240 × 240 square cubits (about 3 acres) according to the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* (II, 20), but only 120 × 120 square cubits (about ¾ acre) according to its commentator. All these differences were mainly due to the varying length of the cubit and the measuring rod, of which there were no recognised standards.[10] But the very basis of the measurement of the *gō-charman* was in many parts of the country apparently vague and uncertain. Since 18 *vāṭis* of land is quite a large area, the *gō-charman*, mentioned in our record as an equivalent to that area, seems to be that recognised by such authorities as Parāśara referred to above. It may be pointed out that Bṛihaspati, who supports Parāśara in one passage, is actually mentioned in our record in this connection.

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[1] Vaṅgavāsī ed., I, 30, 23 : *Vallīvī śiva-tantubhiś charma-rajju . . . . . ēkēna gō-charmaṇā kṛitayā rajjvā ākrānta-bhūr=gō-charma-mātrā.*

[2] Calcutta ed., XII. 43 : *gavāṁ śataṁ vṛishaś=ch=aikaṁ yatra tishṭhaty=a-yantritam | tat-kshētraṁ daśa-guṇitaṁ gō-charma parikīrttitam ||*

[3] Vaṅgavāsī ed., verse 9 : *Śa-vṛishaṁ gō-sahasraṁ tu yatra tishṭhaty=a-tandritam | bāla-vatsa-prasūtānāṁ tad gō-charma iti smṛitam ||*

[4] Vaṅgavāsī ed., V. 179 : *Ēkō=py=ēkaṁ yad=utpannam varsh[aṁ] vartayatē phalam | gō-charma-mātrā sā kshauṇī stōkā vā yadi vā bahu ||*

[5] Vaṅgavāsī ed. (*Ūnaviṁśati-saṁhitāḥ*) : *daśa-hastēna daṇḍēna triṁśad-daṇḍaṁ nivartanam | daśa tāny=ēva gō-charma dattvā svargē mahīyatē ||*

[6] *Loc. cit.*, verse 8 : *daśa-hastēna daṇḍēna triṁśad-daṇḍā nivartanam | daśa tāny=ēva vistārō gō-charm=aitan=mahāphalam ||*

[7] Cf. Vijñānēśvara's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I, 210 : *sapta-hastēna daṇḍēna triṁśad-daṇḍair=nivartanam*. See also *Śabdakalpadruma-pariśishṭa*, p. 100. The *Prāṇatōshaṇī-tantra*, Vasumatī ed., p. 106, ascribes the verse to the *Svarōdaya-ṭīkākāra*.

[8] Calcutta ed., I., 6 : . . . . . *hastā daṇḍō daśabhiś=cha vaṁśaḥ* | *nivartanaṁ viṁśati-vaṁśa-saṁkhyaiḥ kshētraṁ chaturbhiś=cha bhujair=nibaddham ||*

[9] *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 330 note.

[10] See my paper on the *Kulyavāpa*, etc., in the *Bhārata-kaumudī*, Part II, pp. 943-45.

3(b). Likewise in the same year on the occasion of the *Makara-saṅkrānti* (December 26, 1230 A.C.), the king granted in accordance with the recommendations of the *Āditya Purāṇa*, five *vāṭis* of land, apparently in the same village of Pūraṇagrāma, to the *Āhitāgni* Brāhmaṇa Sōmapālaśarman of the Rāthītara *gōtra*.

3(c). Likewise in the same year, on the occasion of the installation of the god Purushōttamadēva, the king granted two *vāṭis* of land apparently in the same village of **Pūraṇagrāma** to the Brāhmaṇa *Āchārya* Chandrakaraśarman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*.

The three grants, mentioned together as one gift in a single sentence, were made permanently revenue-free gifts for obtaining the favour of the god Purushōttama.

All the donees of the grants previously mentioned were students of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda. The amount of land granted to the Brāhmaṇas was altogether fifty-six *vāṭis* in the village of Pūraṇagrāma. This land was bounded in the west, north and east by well-defined boundaries and in the south it ran up to a locality called or a tree known as Nalita. Out of the fifty-six *vāṭis* of land, two *vāṭis*—one *vāṭī* of corn land and one of homestead land—were allotted to the *śāsan-ādhikārin* Gaṅgādhar-ārya (Gaṅgādhar-āchārya ?) of the Pūtimāsha *gōtra* and an equal area of land was also allotted to the *tāmra-śilpin* (copper-smith) Mahānāda who was apparently the engraver of the plates and received the land as fees or perquisite. *Śāsan-ādhikārins* of the Pūtimāsha *gōtra* are also known from later records of the family. In one case, the *śāsan-ādhikārin* is represented as the writer of the document. He seems to have been the keeper of records and used to receive a plot of land for writing a charter.[1]

4. Apparently in the same year (Śaka 1152), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the *Karkaṭak-āmāvāsyā* (*Vṛishabh-āmāvāsyā* on the 14th May, 1230 A.C. ?), while king Anaṅgabhīma III was on a pilgrimage to **Purushōttama-kshētra** (*i.e.*, Purī) on the shores of the south Tīrtharāja (*i.e.*, the Southern Ocean), he granted five *vāṭis* of land in the said Pūraṇagrāma in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Āchārya Agnichit* Kāyadēśarman, who belonged to the Kātyāyana *gōtra* and was a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda, and of some other Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras* who were *ṛitviks* and students of the Ṛigvēda and other Vēdas. The names of these *ṛitviks* were Dhṛitikara, Ananta, Viśvēśvara, Yajña, Siddhā, Śaṅkara, Mādhava and Pṛithvīdhara. This grant was made as a part of the Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna* ceremony celebrated by the king and referred to above in verse 77 of the introductory part of the inscription. It is said that, of the five *vāṭis* of land, three *vāṭis* were granted to the *Āchārya* (Kāyadēśarman) and the remaining two *vāṭis* to the *ṛitviks*. The land was made a permanently revenue-free gift.

5. Apparently in the same year (Śaka 1152), when the king was standing before the god Purushōttamadēva at **Abhinava-Vārāṇasī** on the occasion of the *Makar-āmāvāsyā* on Sunday (5th January, 1231 A.C.), he granted four *vāṭis* and eight *māṇas* (*i.e.*, 4⅔ *vāṭis*) of land covered with barley, wheat and sugarcane crops situated in the village of **Vilāsapuragrāma** in the **Kuddiṇḍā** *vishaya* to the Brāhmaṇa Dēvadharaśarman who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and was a student of parts of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda and the Kauthuma branch of the Sāmavēda. The grant was made in connection with a *dāna-sāgara* celebrated by the king in accordance with the recommendations of the *Vishṇudharma* (*i.e.*, the *Vishṇudharmōttara*). The land was made a permanently revenue-free gift for obtaining the favour of the god Purushōttama.

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[1] Cf., e.g., *asmin Gaṅgānarasiṁhapura-śāsanē Pūtimāsha-gōtrāya Ṛigvēd-āntarvēda-Śākalaśākh-ādhyāyinē* ... *śāsan-ādhikāra-vyavasthitāṁ vāṭik-ārddhaṁ* ॥ 0 ॥ ... in *JASB*. Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 256. Note the mistakes in the published transcript. See now *J. K. A. S. B.*, L., Vol. XVII, pp. 33-39.

It is not known why the grants made in favour of different donees were entered into a single record, especially when the lands were situated in two separate *vishayas*. The above details of the seven grants, three of which are mentioned together, are followed by the imprecatory and benedictory verses, eight in number (verses 81-88). The record ends with verse 89 which says that Nappana composed the *ślōkas* of the *praśasti*. As indicated above, this man appears to have copied the verses relating to the predecessors of Anaṅgabhīma III from an earlier record and composed only the verses describing the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III himself.

The details of the seven grants show that six of them were made when the king was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-*kaṭaka*, which is no other than the present Cuttack (*Kaṭaka*), chief city of Orissa. As the contraction of the name *Satyabhāmā* was both *Satyā* and *Bhāmā*, so was the contraction of *Purushōttama-purī* both *Purushōttama* and *Purī* and of *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka* both *Vārāṇasī* and *Kaṭaka* (Cuttack). One of the grants was made when the king was at Purushōttama-kshētra or Purī on the shores of the southern ocean, *i.e.*, the Indian Ocean. Very interesting is the reference to the king making a grant while standing before the god Purushōttama at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, *i.e.*, modern Cuttack, on the 5th January 1231 A.C. and to the installation of the said Purushōttama apparently during the Śaka year 1152 (1230-31 A.C.) by king Anaṅgabhīma III. We know that the temple of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī was constructed by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and the god was being worshipped there for a long time before the days of Anaṅgabhīma III. There is thus no question of Anaṅgabhīma III installing the god Purushōttama at Purī. The god Purushōttama installed by Anaṅgabhīma III must therefore be the god of the same name at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or Cuttack before whom the king was standing to make a grant of land on the 5th January 1231 A.C. There is little doubt that the temple for this deity at Cuttack was completed and its installation took place in Śaka 1152 (1230-31) shortly before the 5th January, 1231 A.C. We know that the *Mādalā Pāñji* or the chronicle of the Purushōttama-Jagannātha temple at Purī attributes the construction of the Purī temple to Anaṅgabhīma III and not to its actual founder Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. This confusion may be due to the fact that Anaṅgabhīma III, as is now known, actually built a temple for a god of the same name at Cuttack. That Anaṅgabhīma III is represented as the most important Gaṅga monarch in the same chronicle may be due to the fact that it was this king who dedicated the empire to the god and became famous as the most ardent royal devotee of Purushōttama-Jagannātha. The idea underlying the installation of a substitute of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī at Cuttack is apparently the same that inspired Śivājī to install a substitute of his patron deity, the goddess Bhavānī of Tuljapur near Osmanabad in the present Hyderabad State, in his newly built fort at Pratāpgarh near Javli.[1] Apparently the Gaṅga king wanted to live constantly in the company of his patron-deity at his residence at Cuttack. It is to be noticed that, during the time of Anaṅgabhīma III or sometime before his accession, the Gaṅga monarchs, who had been originally ruling from Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Chicacole District), transferred their headquarters to Cuttack.

An interesting reference to the god Jagannātha (*i.e.*, Purushōttama-Jagannātha) worshipped by the kings of Jājnagar (*i.e.*, the imperial Gaṅga rulers of Orissa) in their fort at Banāras (*i.e.*, Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or the present Cuttack) is found in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj.[2] According to this work, Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi led an expedition against the kingdom of

[1] J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 32.

[2] See Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, pp. 312-15. There is another account of the Jājnagar expedition of Sulṭān Fīrūz in the *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī* (cf. *J. R. A. S. B.*, L., Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 57-77). The author of this work, although he does not explicitly mention Purī, seems to have confused the Jagannātha of Cuttack with his namesake at Purī.

Jājnagar about 1360 A.C. when it was under the rule of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (*circa* 1352-78 A.C.). The Sultān is said to have occupied Banārasī (Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka) when the Gaṅga king fled from the city. In connection with this expedition, the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* says : "It is reported that inside the Rāi's fort (*i.e.*, the Gaṅga king's fort at Banārasī or Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka), there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannāth and to which they paid their devotions. Sultān Fīrūz in emulation of Maḥmūd-i-Sabuktigīn, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently placed it in an ignominious position."[1] From this account we come to know the fate of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha installed by Anaṅgabhīma III at Cuttack and worshipped there for about 130 years from 1230 to 1360 A.C.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the city of Kōlāhala in Gaṅgavāḍi is usually identified with modern Kolar in East Mysore. Gaṅgavāḍi was the name of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. In a wide sense Kaliṅga was the whole of the coast land between the Vaitaraṇī and the Gōdāvarī, while in a narrower sense it indicated roughly the present Purī, Ganjam and Chicacole Districts. In the present record, however, the name Kaliṅga seems to be applied to the original Gaṅga kingdom round the capital city of Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam) in the Chicacole District, as the Purī region in the dominions of the Sōmavaṁśīs seems to be referred to as lying within the Utkala country. There is difference of opinion as regards the location of the country called Trikaliṅga of which some kings are said to have been the overlords. Some writers are inclined to take it to mean the three parts (northern, central and southern) of the Kaliṅga country, while others prefer to take it as indicating three contiguous territories in the Kaliṅga region such as Kaliṅga, Utkala and South Kōsala. A third group of writers suggests that Trikaliṅga was the name of the tract of rather jungly land lying between Kaliṅga and South Kōsala.[2] The location of Utkala and Mandāra has already been discussed. Originally Utkala was the coast country lying between the river Kapiśā (modern Kānsāi) running through the Midnapur District and the Kaliṅga country in the Purī-Ganjam region. But the present inscription, as already indicated above, appears to locate the Purī temple in Utkala, probably intended to signify the dominions of the Sōmavaṁśīs in lower Orissa, which were conquered by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The extension of a country no doubt varied in accordance with the expansion of the dominions of its rulers. The location of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, which was the place of residence of the Gaṅga kings after they had removed their headquarters from Kaliṅganagara and which is no other than the modern Cuttack, has been already discussed. It has also been noticed that the Southern Ocean is referred to in the record as *dakshiṇa-tīrtha-rāja*, *i.e.*, the best of the Tīrthas in the south, the word *tīrtha* here meaning either "a sacred place of pilgrimage" or "waters." That Purushōttama-kshētra on the shores of this southern *tīrtha-rāja*, mentioned in the inscription, is no other than modern Purī has likewise been pointed out above.

The different pieces of land granted by king Anaṅgabhīma III as recorded in the charter were situated in Pūraṇagrāma and Jayanagaragrāma in the Sāilō *vishaya* (district) and Vilāsapuragrāma in the Kuddiṇḍā *vishaya*. The Sāilō *vishaya*, also known from other later Gaṅga records, is no doubt the present Sāilō Pargana in the Cuttack District, and the township, covering thirty *vāṭis* of land and situated in Pūraṇagrāma and Jayanagaragrāma, may actually be represented by the present village of *Nagarī*, literally meaning 'a township,' which is about eleven miles from Cuttack and is the findspot of the charter under discussion.

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[1] Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

[2] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 450, note 8.

TEXT[1]

[*Metres* :—Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40, 41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 66 *Sragdharā* ; verses 7, 23, 49, 65 *Mālinī* ; verses 8, 13, 34, 38, 39, 44-46, 51, 59, 68, 75, 79-80, 88 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 12, 16, 18, 19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62, 63, 69-71, 77, 81-87, 89 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 14, 17, 35, 72 *Upajāti* ; verse 47 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate

1 [Siddham||][2] Ō [||*] Lakshmī-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam-adaḥ śrēyāṁsi(yāṁsi) dāśishṭha(shṭu) vaḥ prasphūrjjan-nakha-raśmi-kēsara-saṭam=bhāsvan-nakh-ālī-dala[m](lam |)

2 vinpashṭam=prativimvi(mbi)ta[ḥ*] praṇamanaiḥ krīḍ-āparādh-ōdbhavaiḥ Kṛishṇō yan-nakha-dīptishu bhramaratān=da(n=dha)ttē sa Lakshmī-priyaḥ || [1*]

3 Kshīr-āvdhō(bdhē)r=mmathitāt=sūr-āsura-gaṇaiḥ prādṛi(du)rbhavanti Ramā Śambhu-Brahma-Purandara-prabhṛitishu prakhyāta-kīrttishv=api | paśyatsv=Amva(mbu)ja-nābham=ī-

4 tam=avṛiṇōl-lōka-tray-āhlādinam bhṛiṅg-ālī sahakāram=ēti hi vanē phullē=nya-śākhiny=api || [2*] Tan-nābhī-sarasīruh-ōdbhava-Vi-

5 dhēr=Atrir=vva(r=bba)bhūv=āmutaś=Chandraś=chandrikayā prakāśi(śi)ta-jagat=sambhūtavān=nētrataḥ | trailōkya-grasan-aikadaksha-timira-grāsitva-sāmyē=

6 pi yō lakshma-vyājī dadhat=tamaḥ prativapuḥ sūyy-ā(ryy-ā)dhikō nirmmalaḥ || [3*] Śrīdēvī-sōdartvād-amṛita-su(sa)khatayā kalpa-vṛiksh-ānujatvā-

7 [=lōk-ānandaṁ vidhātē timira-visha-haraḥ sarvva-dai(dē)v-aikabhōgyaḥ | tat-tat-saṁsargga-lābhā[t*] tad-anugata-guṇakaṁ[3] sv-āṅga-nishṭhan=da-

8 dhānaḥ svasy-aitan=nirmmalatvaṁ jagati vijayatē darśayan=nūnam=induḥ || [4*] Vaṅśē(Vaṁśē) tasya nṛip-ēśvarāḥ samabha[va*]n-tē(nis-tē)-

9 shān=guṇāch=chha(ś=chha)mlasaḥ prōtpha(tphu)llā iva yat=purāṇa- pathagā= tatr=āpi nō sammatāḥ | tat-tat-kāvya-patha-śritā-

10 s=tri-bhuvanē mūrttin=dadhānā iva bhrāmyant=īva sa-chēlanāḥ śruti-gṛihē viśramya viśramya cha || [5*] Pratyēkam(kaṁ) śaśi-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-

11 bhūpati-bhuja-vyāpāra-saṅkīrttanam(naṁ) karttuṁ=kaḥ kshamatē kshitau va(ba)hu-mukhō yatr=Ārjjunasy=aiva hi | dōrddaṇḍ-ārjjita-kīttī(rttī)-varṇṇana-

12 paran=tad=bhāratam=prābhavat=tasmād=āhvaya-mātram=ādi-nṛipati-śrēṇi[ḥ*] kramā=l(l=li)-khyatē || [6*] tathā hi Chandrād=Vu(d=Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)dhāt=Puru(rū)ravāḥ[4] [||*]

13 tasmād=Āyuḥ[5] | tatō Naghu(hu)shaḥ | tatō Yayātiḥ | tatas=Turvvasuḥ | tatō Gāṅgēyaḥ | [tatō*] Virōchanaḥ | tat-sutaḥ Saṁvē(Saṁvē)dyaḥ | tatō

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[1] From the original plates and their impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read *guṇaṁ* for the sake of the metre.

[4] Some other later Gaṅga records make Purūravas the son of Anala and grandson of Budha, although the relationship indicated by our record is supported by ancient Indian literature.

[5] Some records wrongly read Vāyu in place of Āyuḥ.

14 Bhāsvān | tatō Dattasēnaḥ | tata[ḥ*] Saumyaḥ | tatō=svadattaḥ | tataḥ Saurāṅgaḥ | tasmād=Vvi(d=Vi)chitrāṅgadaḥ[1] | tat-sūnuḥ |[2] Śāradhvajaḥ[3] |

15 tatō Dharmaśīlā[4] | tataḥ Parīkshit | tatō Jayasēnaḥ | tat-sutō-pi Jayasēnaḥ[5] | tatō Vṛishadhvajaḥ | tataḥ Śaktiḥ | tataḥ Pra-

16 galtaḥ[6] | tataḥ Kōlāhalaḥ | sa ēv=Ānantavarm=ābhavat | Dhana-kanaka-samṛiddhō Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prasiddhaḥ sakala-vishaya-bhūpa(ta)ḥ sva-

17 rggi-vagg-ō(rgg-ō)pabhōga(gya)ḥ | tad-adhipatir=ath=ādyō=nantavarmmā nṛipēndraḥ samabhavad=iti ru(rū)ḍhā Gaṅga-nāmnā tad-ādyāḥ || [7*] Kōlāha-

18 laḥ samara-mūddhni(rddhni) tatō nṛipāṇām bhūtō yataḥ Sarapuram-cha tadīyam=atra | Kōlāhal-āhvayam=abhūt-sura-sadma-tulyam=tas[m]i-

Second Plate: First Side

19 n-kramēṇa[7] patibhir=vva(r=bba)hubhir=vvu(r=bba)bhūvē ||[8*] Rājyaśrī-bhṛiti Mārasiṁha-[8] nṛipatau jē(jyē)shṭhē kim=atr= āsmahē dōr-ddaṇḍ-ārjjita-bhūtal-ōtthita-Ramā-ka-

20 ṇṭha-grah-ānandinaḥ || ( ) kiñ=ch=āsmākam=iyam bhuj-āsi-latikā saṁvēshṭatām(tāṁ) vairiṇām(ṇāṁ) kaṇṭh-āraṇyam=iyañ=cha kīrtti-latikā dyām=naḥ samā-

21 rōhatu|[|9*] Bhrāmyadbhir=vvijigīshayā kshiti-talam(lē) kv=āpi dvishad-vanditaiḥ kv=āpi dvēshi-kula-pramādhi(thi)bhir= api prāptāḥ Kaliṅgāḥ kila |(|) taiḥ

22 Kāmārṇṇava-pañchamair=nṛipa-varair=yyudhhañ=Kaliṅgaiḥ samam[9] prāptaṁ drashṭum=iv=ārṇṇavād=udagamat=kūrmm-āvatārō Hariḥ || [10*] Kṛi(Kā)rmma-svāmini sā-

23 kshiṇi tri-nayanē tasmin=Mahēndrañ=gatē Gōkarṇṇē=pi mahōdadhau viyati vā sūryyē tath=ēndāv=api | Kāliṅgīm=bhuvam=āharad-bhuja-va(ba)lād=a-

24 ny-ōpabhuktāñ=ch=ēvam[10] Lakhmā(kshmā)=ch(ñ=ch=ā)ty-ē(ty=a)tha kā sta(stu)tir=vvada tahē(tō) Gaṅg-ānvayasy=āhavē || [11*] Tatr=āsīd=vaṁśa-kartt=āsau Kāmārṇṇava-mahīpatiḥ | yasy=ai-

25 tē putra-pō(pau)tr-ādyā rājānaḥ khyāta-vikramāḥ || [12*] Śāstr-ārtha-nishṭhita-matir= dvishad-anta-kārī sarvv-ārthi-vargga-paritōshaṇa-hētu-varggaḥ | ā-

26 chāva(ra)tō=pi muni-puṅgava-mārgga-chārī tasmād=abhūn=nṛipa-varō bhuvi **Vajrahastaḥ** || [13*] Na nāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=pi sa vajra-hasta-

27 s=**Trikaliṅga**-nāthaḥ | kō Vajrahastād=aparaḥ pṛithi(vyām(pṛithivyāṁ) vajram=patad= vārayitum(tuṁ) samarthaḥ || [14*][11] Vyāptē Gaṅga-kul-ō-

28 ttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē śaśi(śi)-prāyēṇ=āmalinēna yasya bhuvana-prahlāda-sampādinā | sindūrair=ati-

[1] Some inscriptions read Chitrāṅgada instead of Vichitrāṅgada.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] The first *akshara* of this name is often found to be ś, ś and s. Śāradhvaja is a famous name in the epics and the Purāṇas.

[4] The name has been read in one record as Mādhavī.

[5] In some records Jayasēna's son is called Vijayasēna.

[6] Read *Pragalbhaḥ* and note how the word is written in line 78 below. In line 87 the word has been written as in the present case. In some records Pragalbha is mentioned as the father of Śakti.

[7] An extra hook of ṇ wrongly incised at the right of the superscript r has made ṛ-kra look like *kkra*.

[8] In some inscriptions the name has been read as Nārasiṁha.

[9] A sign of superscript r had been incised above sa and then erased.

[10] Read 's=*chēvaṁ*.

[11] Verse 14 is found in some records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga while the following verse is found in the records of Vajrahasta III, his son Rājarāja I and the latter's son Chōḍagaṅga.

i,

ii,a.

ii,b.

38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54

iii,a.

56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70

29 sāndra-paṅka-paṭalaiḥ kumbha-sthalī-paṭṭakēshv=ālimpanti punaḥ punaś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān || [15*] Mahishī

30 Naṅgamā tasya Pārvvatī=īva Pinākinaḥ | tasmāt=tasyām=abhūd=vīrō **Rājarājō** mahīpatiḥ || [16*] Sa rāja-rājō dvijarāja-kāntir=bhuja-

31 ṅga-rāj-ānana-varṇṇya-kīrttiḥ [|*] śrīmattay=ādhaḥkṛita-rājarāja[ḥ*] sva-vikrama-nyakkṛita-dēvarājaḥ ||[17*] Tasy=āgra-mahishī rājñō nāmnā

32 yā Rājasa(su)ndarī | Lakshmīr=Nnārāyaṇasy=ēva Chandrasy=ēva cha Rōhiṇī ||[18*] Tatas=tasyām=abhūd=dēvaś=**Chōḍagaṅgō** narēśvaraḥ|(|) kshōṇī-

33 bhṛid-garvva-vichchhityai(ttai) divi=Indrāt=kuliśaṁ yathā ||[19*] Dhātrī tasya Sarasvatī samabhavan=nūnan=na chēt=pītavān tat-sāraśva(sva)tam=ā-

34 ryya-vā(bā)laka-tamaḥ śrī-Chōḍagaṅgaḥ payaḥ | tādṛig=vēda-matiḥ kathan=nipuṇatā śāstrēpu(shu) tādṛik=va(k=ka)than=tādṛik=kāvya-kṛitiḥ katham=pariṇati[ḥ*] śilpēshu

35 tādṛik=va(k=ka)thamm(tham)|| [20*] Kshōṇīm(ṇī) dikpāla-sē(śē)shām=ayam=akṛita pada-dvand[v]am=ētasya vairi-kshmābhṛich-chūḍā-śrīy=āptam(ḥ) stutir=iti kiyatī Chōḍagaṅg-ēśvara-

36 sya | n[ū]nam=pūrṇṇaḥ sudhāṁśuḥ para-nṛipa-dhavala-chchhatra-va(ba)ddhy=āpaharttā mām=ity=aṅgasya vṛiddhi[ṁ*] tyajati yata iva trasta-chittaḥ pravīrāt|| [21*] Gṛihṇāti

Second Plate ; Second Side

37 sma karam=bhūmēr=g**Gaṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōḥ** | madhyē prāyatsu vīrēshu prauḍhaḥ prauḍha-atishā(striyā) iva || [22*] Pratibhaṭa-kara-śastra-vyūha-

38 ta-sv-āṅga-niyya(ryya)d-rudhiram=avani-nishṭhan=nō bhavēd=yān=tad=ēva(yat=tad=aiva) | nija-kara-dhṛita-śastra-chchhinna-bhinn-āṅgam=ētān=akṛita dharaṇi-śaryyā(yyā)-

39 n=dvandva-yuddhēshu Gaṅgaḥ || [23*] Yat-tējaḥ-paribhūta-śatru-nagara-prōdbhūta-dhūm-ōdgamair=bhūyaḥ Khāṇḍava-dāha-śaṅki-manasō dēvāḥ ksha-

40 ṇam=bhā(m=bhī)ravaḥ | svar-ṇṇī(r-ṇī)tād=asi-dhārayā ripu-gaṇād=vṛittāntam=ākarṇṇya cha prauḍhim tasya nuvanti Gaṅga-nṛipatēr=bhītim=vi(tīm vi)hāya dhruvam

41 || [24*] Krōdh-ōdyad-dvipa-mēgha-vṛindini madaḥ(da)-srō(srō)tasvatī-durggamē chañchat-khaḍga-taḍit-prabhāvatī nadan-nārācha-vajr-ōdayē | ma(ya)t-sainyē jalad-āga-

42 ma-pratimadhan jēttu(tu)m=pravartēta kaḥ śūrō=p=īti vadana=Trilōchana-vibhur=vva(r=bba)ddhō=munā saṅgarē || [25*] Nirmmathy=**Ōtkala**-rāja-sindhu[1]m=aparan=Ga-

43 ṅg-ēśvaraḥ prāptavān=ēkaḥ kīrtti-sudhākaram=pṛithutamal=la(maṁ la)kshmīn=dharaṇyā samam | mādyad-danti-sahasram=aśva-niyutam(taṁ) cha[2] ratnāny=asaṁkhyāni

44 vā tat-sindhōḥ kim=imam=prakaṭam=athavā vra(bra)mas=tad=unmāthinaḥ || [26*] Pādau yasya dhar=āntariksham=akhilan=nābhiś=cha sarvvā diśaḥ śrōtrē nētra-

45 yugam(gaṁ) rav-Indu-yugalam=mūddh=ā(rddh=ā)pi vā dyaur=asau | prāsādam=Purushōttamasya nṛipatiḥ kō nāma karttuṁ kshamas=tasy=ē-

46 ty=ādya-nṛipair=upēkshitam=ayaṁ=chakrē=tha Gaṅg-ēśvara[ḥ] || [27*] Lakshmī-janma-gṛiham=payōnidhir=asau sambhāvitasya sthitir=nō

47 dhāmni śvaśu(śu)rasya pu(pū)jyata iti kshīr-āvdhi(bdhi)-vāsā[d*] dhruvam | nirvviṇṇaḥ Purushōttamaḥ pramuditas=tad-dhāma-lābhād=Ram=āpy=ētad-bhartṛi-gṛi-

[1] A visarga had been here incised and afterwards erased.

[2] Omit cha for the sake of the metre.

48 ham(ham) varam=pitṛi-gṛihāt=prāpya pramōd-ānvitā || [28*] Tvaṅ=kūrmm-ādhipa nischalā tvam=api bhōḥ(bhō) vyālēndra dhairyyam=va(ryyam va)ha tvam pṛithvi sthiratām=bhaja

49 tvam=adhunā vra(bra)hmāṇḍa gāḍham=bhava | śrī-Gaṅg-ādhipa-va(ba)ddha-siṁha-visarad-ghōshā jagad-vyāpinō diṅ-nāgēshu bhayāch=chalatsu jagati ka-

50 mpēnda(ta) vā ya(ya)t-kramāta(māt) || [29*] **Āramyā-nagarāt**=Kaliṅgaja-va(ba)la-pratyagra-bhagn-āvṛiti-prākār-āyata-tōraṇa-prabhṛitayōrṁ[1]-Gaṅgā-taṭasthāt=tataḥ | Pā-

51 rth-āstrair=yyudhi jajja(rjja)rīkṛita-namad-Rādhēya-gātr-ākṛiti[r*]=**Mmandār-ādri**-patir=ggatō raṇa-bhuvō Gaṅg-ēśvar-ānudrutaḥ || [30*] Vra(Bra)hmāṇḍād=va(ba)hir=asya kī-

52 tti(rtti)-yaśasā liptan=na vā bhāvinē dattaś=ch=ārthi-gaṇāya hēma-nichayaḥ saṅkalpinō(nē) vā va(ba)hu | nirddagdh-āri-pa(pu)rā=cha bhāvita-navas=tasya pra-

53 tāpair=ṇṇa(r=nna) vā kim=vā(kiṁ vā) nō kṛitavān=asau stuti-padam(daṁ) śrī-Chōḍagaṅg-ēśvaraḥ || [31*] Varpā(rshā)ṇām(ṇāṁ) saptatim=vī(tiṁ vī)raḥ kshōṇī-sambhōgam=ācharat | di-

54 ṅ-nāyakāt=pra(n=pra)tihārān=vidhāy=āśām sarvvataḥ || [32*] Kip=prā(m=prā)ptā mahishī tapōbhir=atulaiḥ śrī-Chōḍagaṅgēna sā dēvai stutya-guṇai=vvi(r=vvi)bhū-

Third Plate; First Side

55 pi(shi)ta-vapuḥ Kasū(stū)rikāmōdinī | n=ā-Vishṇuḥ pṛithivīpatiḥ prabhavat-īty=asmina(smin) Harau vā bhuvō raksh-ārthan=dhṛita-janmani svayam=a-

56 sau Lakshmī[ḥ*] prasūt=āthavā || [33*] Tasyān=tatō=jani jagat-tritay-aika-vīraḥ **Kāmārṇṇa-vas**=tri-jagad-ēka-vadānya ēshaḥ | sūryyam pratāpa-vibhava(vē)-

57 na jagat-prasiddhaḥkīrttiḥ(rttyā) śaśāṅkam=adharīkṛitavān=viśuddhyā |[|34*] Gaṅg-ēśa-sūnōr=vvivu(bu)dh-āśrayasya dṛipya[d*]-dvishad-vaṁśa-vibhēdi-śaktēḥ [| *]

58 Kāmārṇṇavasy=āsya Kumārakatvaṁ na nāmataḥ ka(kē)valam=arthatō=pi || [35*] Prāpy=ōdayaṁ śaśāṅbha(ṅka)sya vaddha(rddha)tān=nāma vāridhiḥ | varddhatē kīrtti-cha-

59 ndrō=yaṁ chitraṁ=Kāmārṇṇar-ō(v-ō)dayē || [36*] **Nand-arttu-chyō(vyō)ma-chitra-**[2] **pramita-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē din-ēśē chāpa-sthē**=nya-grah-aughē va(ba)lavati ri-

60 pushu prakshayaṁ prāptavatsu | asmin=mūrddh-ābhishiktō nṛipavara-tanayē sarvdha(rvva)-lōk-aika-nāthē śrīmat-Kāmārṇṇāva(ṇṇav-ē)śē jagad=abhavad=i-

61 dan=tat-tad-ānanda-pūrṇṇama(ṇṇam) || [37*] Kshīr-ārṇṇavād=ajani chandra-kal=ēti vārttā Kāmārṇṇavāt=tu sakal-ēndu-divākar-ābham | kīrtti-pratāpa-

62 mithunaṁ sahachāri lōkē dṛishyaty=ahō para-nṛipān=anurāga-śūnyān || [38*] Yasy=āsi-nirdda-lita-vairi-karīndra-ku-

63 mbha-nirmukta-mauktika-phalāny=asṛig-ukshitāni | Kāmārṇṇavasya ripu-saṁhati-hētv=akāla(lē) sandhyā-prabh-āpta-bha-gaṇā

64 iva bhānti yuddhē[3] || [39*] Dṛipyad-vairi-chamūr=mmayā kavalitā n=aivam=may=āsvādit=ēty=anyōnyaṅ=kalahē tu nirṇṇaya-vi-

65 dhau khaḍga-pratāp-ēchchhayā | mādhyasthaṅ=gamit=ēva nirmmalatarā kīrttir=yyadīyā vra(bra)vīmy=ālōchy=ēha mahadbhir=ity=upagatā

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[1] Read *prabhṛititō Gaṅgā°*.

[2] Read *chandra* in place of *chitra*. Other records read *Vēda-ritu-vyōma-chandra* instead of *Nanda-ritu-vyōma-chitra*.

[3] *Y* is written here as in modern Oriya.

66 dhātu[ḥ*] śruti v=ādarāt || [40*] Asrākshīt=sa hiraṇyagarbham= aparam[1] lōkam-mahēśaḥ pur=ēty-arthō=yaṁ vivadanti yē cha vadana-vrātas-tadīyō=dhu-

67 nā | ruddhō yat-tu hiraṇyagarbham-akarōt-Kāmārṇṇav=ēśas=tataḥ sampanna[ṁ*] janitaṁ jagad-yata iha pratyakshataḥ prāṇinām || [41*] Sa-

68 pt=āmbhōdhin-vahanti kshitir=atitaralā nāga-kūrmm-ēśvarāṇāṁ sāhāyyaṁ[2] vāñchhat=īyaṁ tad-api punar=ayaṁ-kalpitas=tatra bhāraḥ | dhā-

69 tā Kāmārṇṇav-ākhyaḥ sa tu nija-tulanā[ṁ*] nirjjayat=svarṇṇa-bhārair=bhūyō bhūyas=tu-(=tu)lāyām sthita iti dharaṇēr=bhāra-vā(bā)hulyam-ā-

70 ptama(ptam) || [42*] Hṛisha(shṭa)-pushṭa-jan-ākīrṇṇaṁ vidvaj-jana-manōrama[m*] | daś-āvdī-(bdī)m-akarōd-rājyaṁ Kāmārṇṇava-mahīpatiḥ || [43*] Śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-nṛipatē-

71 r-mmahishā(shī) tatō=nyā tasy=ēndirā ravi-kul-ōdbhava-rāja-putrī | y=ādy=āpi dhātur=upam=ājani sundarīṇāṁ s=ēyaṁ sudhāṁśu-

Third Plate ; Second Side

72 vadanā svayam=ēva jātā || [44*] Yad-ru(d-rū)pa-śīla-gati-varṇṇanayā prasiddhā dṛishṭānta-bhū[r*]-ggirisut=ēty=ativāda-dōshaḥ | n=āsty=ēva chaṇḍa-ruchi-kāma-

73 harō yad=atra tām-Indirām=udavahad=bhuvi Chōḍagaṅgaḥ || [45*] Tasyām=tataḥ samajani kshitinātha-nāthaḥ śrī-**Rāghavaḥ** para-dhanēśvaru(ra)-darpa-

74 mardi[yat-paṭṭa-va(ba)ndhana-vidhi-śravaṇa-pradhūtāḥ sarvvē nṛipā[ḥ*] sva-hṛidi kampam=avāptavantaḥ || [46*] Śrī-Rāghavē rājani chitram=ētat=tējō-vihī-

75 naḥ kshitipāla-varggaḥ | tat-pāda-sēvā-kṛita-dāha-siddhir=mitrībhavaty=ēva samasta ēshaḥ || [47*] Prauḍh-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prācha-

76 ṇḍyam-antarbhava[d*]-dōr-ddaṇḍ-ōpamiti-pragalbha-vishaya-prāgbhūtavān=Arjjunaḥ | sampraty=āhā(ha)va-raṅga-saṅgata-ripu-śrēṇī-śiraḥ-kanduka-krī-

77 ḍ-āsa(sa)kta-bhujaḥ śarāsana-bhṛitāṁ chitr-ōpamā Rāghavaḥ || [48*] Jagati Paraśurāmaḥ prādurāsī[d*] dvitīyaḥ kimu ripu-kula-hantā

78 sv-ājñay=āchchhanna-lōkaḥ | kshiti-vitaraṇa-dīksh-āsakta-hastaḥ pratāpād=api daśa-śata-vā-(bā)hur=yyasya śatru=vvi(r=vvi)nāśī || [49*] Bhēdam bhēda-

79 m=arāti-kuñjara-ghaṭāḥ kshōṇīdhra-paṅkti[ṁ] raṇē pāyaṁ pāyam=asṛik-payāṁsi(yāṁsi) va(ba)hudhā śrī-Rāghav-āsiḥ kshaṇāt | śu-

80 bhraṁ śubhram=iv=ōdvaman=vijayatē kīrti-pratānam=paraṁ chandraṁ chandrikayā pra-pūrṇṇatamayā sadasēvyamān-ākṛitima(tim) || [50*] Du-

81 rggēshu dāva-dahanaḥ kshitibhṛitsa(tsu) vajra[ṁ*] mādyat-karīndra-ghaṭanāsu cha siṁha ēshaḥ | vidvēshi-bhūmipatayō ni-

82 vasanti yatra śrī-Rāghavaḥ kshitipatir=vvitata-pratāpaḥ || [51*] Śrī-Rāghava-dharādhīśaḥ kshōṇīnātha-śirōmaṇiḥ | akarōd rājyam=avdā(bdā)nā-

83 m=uddāmō daśa pañcha cha || [52*] Tasya śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-kshiti-valaya-patēr=vvaṁsa(r=vvaṁśa)-santāna-vallī-kanda-śrī-Chandralēkhā spha(sphu)ṭam=Aditir=iva prēyasī

84 Kasya(śya)pasya | tasyām=uddāma-dhāma-kshayita-dinamaṇir=yya(r=jja)jñivān **Rājarājō** rājanya-kshōda-kēlī-tilakita-mahima-vyāpta-dikva(kcha)kra-

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[1] Read °aparē lōkē. The anusvāra looks like the superscript r in this case. Some versions read °m=aparē lōkē...pur=ēty=adyāpiham (or, °adyāpitam) pravadanti.

[2] Jya was at first incised in the place of yya.

85 vāhaḥ || [53*] Tasmin dig-vijaya-prayāṇa-rasi(si)kē samrambha-śumbhach-chamū-saṁkshuṇṇa-kshiti-chakra-pāṁsu-paṭala-prāgbhāravaty=amva(mba)rē | bhū-saṁrēpa(śpa)-

86 rēṇa ghṛiṇā-vaśād=dinamaṇēr=uchchaiḥ p[ra]taṁ sapta(pti)bhiḥ svabhyastaṁ[1] sura-sindhu-rēṇa dharaṇī-paṭṭē rad-ōdghaṭṭanam || [54*] Chōḍagaṅga-narēndrasya sūnu-

87 r=uddāma-vikramaḥ | Rājarāja iti khyātas=Trikaliṅga-mahīpatiḥ || [55*] Viśvaṁ krōḍayati pragalta(lbha)-yaśaś(śi) prālēyaśaila-tvishi[2] yad-yad-yādṛi-

88 g=abhūta(d=a)bhūta-sadṛiśaṁ santaḥ samākarṇṇyatām | dhātrī paṭhati liṅgati svar-ava-(cha)laḥ prāsādati tvad-yaśō diṅ-nāthāḥ pratimanti yasya pari-

89 taḥ śrēhva(śrēyaḥ)-pada[ṁ] śṛiṅgati || [56*] Ānandaṁ vidadhāti chētasi bhu(bha)vat-kīrttir=gguṇa-grāhiṇaḥ sūtē dōhalam=arthinaṁ(naḥ) sumanasā(sāṁ) śrī-Rājarāja dhruvam [|*]

Fourth Plate ; First Side

90 s=ēyaṁ karuṇa-pathaṁ samētya hṛidayē śalyāyatē vairiṇaḥ sv-ātm-ēchchh-ānuvidhāyinān=na hi nijō bhāva[ḥ*] kvachid=dṛiśyatē || [57*] Ētasyām=bhuvi pañcha-viṁśa(viṁśa)ti-sa-

91 māḥ kshmāpāla-lakshmīdhavaḥ kṛitvā jitvara-chāpa-chañchala-bhujā-dambhōlir=urvvī-patiḥ | rājyaṁ prājya-yaśas-tushāra kiraṇa-śrēṇī-raśā(sā)d=āsanād=udgachchha-

92 t-puruhūta-gīta-charita-śrī-Rājarājō nṛipaḥ || [58*] Tasy=ānujō nṛipati-rāja-padē=bhishiktaḥ ś-ākti-priyaḥ parimit-ādinṛipa-praśastiḥ | pṛithvīpatiḥ ka-

93 li-mal-ōjjhita-dhamma(rmma)-śuddhaḥ kāryya-kshamaḥ prabhur=asāv=**Aniyaṁkabhīmaḥ** || [59*] Vīr-ādhishṭhita-saṅga[r-ā][3]dri-śikharē śaṅkha-śva(sva)n-āśāsitē kunt-ōdbhi[nna]-nadē(bhē)-

94 bha-kumbha-vigalan-mukt-āvalī-puñjitē | harshād=ugra-nija-pratāpa-dahanē khaḍga-śruchā vidvishāṁ rājñām=ānana-paṅkajāni nṛipatir=ggatv=ānayad=yaḥ śriya-

95 ma(m) || [60*] Kshīr-ādhvē(bdhē)r=amṛita(tā)t=sur-āsura-bhuja-vyāpāra-vikshōbhitāch=chandrasy=ārddham=abhūt=tad=apy=adhiyayāv=īśānam=ēkaṁ kila | chañchal-vā(bā)-hu-va(ba)lēna saṅgara-bhuvi

96 tvat-khaḍga-dhārā-jalā[t] jātas=tv=ashṭadigīśvarāt=pṛi(n=pṛi)thu-yaśaś-chandraḥ samāliṅgati || [61*] Yat-prayāṇa-samudbhūta-rajaḥ-sampūritē=mva(mba)rē | abhū[d*]=dviradarājasya dhū-

97 li-mada-chitā tanuḥ || [62*] Daśa varshāṇi vīrē=sau nirjjit-ārāti-maṇḍalaḥ [|*] Anaṅkabhīma-bhūpālō dharitrīṁ samupālayat[4] || [63*] Prauḍh-ānarggala-vikra-

98 maḥ kula-gṛihaṁ yō daṇḍa-nīti-śriyaḥ saty-āchāra-vihāra-chāru-charitaḥ puṇy-aika-pārā-yaṇaḥ |(|) tasy=āsīd=Aniyaṅka-

99 bhīma-nṛipatēr=addh-ā(rddh-ā)ṅga-lakshmīḥ svaya[ṁ]* sachhasy=ātiśayēna paṭṭa-mahishī Vāghalladēvī bhuvi || [64*] Tulita-pitṛi-guṇ-aughaḥ sūnu-

100 r=āsīd=amushyā niratiśayita-tējā yauvan-āvāpta-rājyaḥ |(|) praṇata-nṛipati-chūḍā-ratna-rōchiḥ-piśaṅgīkṛita-charaṇa-sa-

101 rōjō **Rājarājō** nṛipālaḥ || [65*] Yasy=ōdyad-vāji-vṛinda-prakhara-khura-puṭ-āghāta[5]-nirdhā-(rddā)rit-ōrvvī-sambhūtam=bhūribhāsvat-kara-nikara-mahaḥ syūta-sāndra-pra-

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[1] The anusvāra here looks like a superscript r.
[2] Kshi was originally incised in place of kri.
[3] Rā had been at first omitted and afterwards somehow indicated.
[4] The halanta mark is placed below ya.
[5] The ā-sign of ghā had been at first omitted and was later indicated by a short stroke.

iii,b.

iv,a.

SCALE: ONE-HALF

B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. No. 3977 E'36-499'52

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

iv,b.

110 112 114 116 118 120 122 124 126

v,a.

128 130 132 134 136 138 140 142 144

102 yāṇō(ṇam |) vi-tīrṇṇaiḥ karṇṇa-tāl-āhatibhir-avirat-ōnmatta-sēnā-gajānām=ashṭānām[1] ḍiggajānāṁ mukha-paṭa-talanām=ādadhē dhūli-jālaṁ(lam) || [66*] Yasmina(smin) śāsati

103 śāsit-āmara-gaṇaiḥ samyaka(myak) samudr-āmva(mba)rā[ṁ*] pṛithvīm pārthiva-puṅgavē naya-guṇaiḥ śrī-Rājarājē nṛipē | chakraṁ Mādhava ēva taikshṇyam=ullōkaṁ kan-

104 kshōyakē chintanaṁ śāstr-ābhyāsa-vidhau vidhau cha jaḍatā kālō kali(lē)ḥ śrūyatē || [67*] Yat-kīrtti-dugdha-jaladhir-bhuvan-āntarālaṁ samplāvya du(dū)ratara-mu-

105 tchchha(chchha)litaḥ sa bhāti | tārā-gaṇāḥ sphū(sphu)ṭa-ruchō gaganē samantāt-sūkshm-ātisūkshma-taralā iva viprushanti || [68*] Tyāgē sau(śau)ryyē cha satyē cha

106 Karṇṇ-Ārjjuna-Yudhishṭhiraiḥ [| *] sadṛiśō=yam-mahāvīrō Rājarājō narādhipaḥ || [69*] Rājarājō narapatir=ddaśa sapta cha vatsarāna(rān |) bhuvi rājya-śri-

107 yaṁn(yaṁ) bhuktvā svā-rājyāya pratasthivāna(vān) ||[70*] Chālukya-kula-sambhūtā vēlā saundaryya-vāridhēḥ [| *] nāmnā Mahlaṇadēv-īti[2] mahishī tasya bhūpatēḥ || [71*]

108 Tasyām-abhūd-adbhuta-vikrama-śī(śrī)ḥ śrīmī(mā)n=ayaṁ bhūbhṛid-**Anaṅkabhīmaḥ** | virājatē kīrtti-sudhā-taraṅgai[r*]-dhautāsu [di*]g-bhittishu yat-praśasti(ḥ*) ||[72*]

Fourth Plate ; Second Side

109 Yasy-ānarggala-dōr-vvilāsa-laharī-lāvaṇya-vairi-vraja-tkra(kra)ndat-paura-vadhū-vilōchana-payaḥ-pūrair-ddharā danturāma[3] | kiṁ cha tyāga-taraṅga-

110 bhaṅgi-ki(ka)lanaiḥ pāthō-dhiyā n=ōtsavād-vrīḍā-vakrita-kandharaḥ sa bhagavān-manyē purāṇō muniḥ || [73*] Kas-tvam-bhōḥ kalir=asmi(smi) kiṁ=nu

111 vimanāḥ kasmai nivēdy-ātmanaḥ śōk-āmbhōdhim-apāharāmi kalayā ki[ṁ*] vētsi nō māṁ Harim | yady-ēvaṁ-kalay=āsmadā-

112 na[4]-samay-ōtkshēpāya Gaṅg-ānvayē jātaḥ śrīmad-Anaṅkabhīma-nṛipatiḥ sō-py=arthabhūtō[5] mama ||[74*] Dhyān-[6]ānuva(ba)ndha-niviḍa-prasara-

113 pramōda[ṁ*] mādhvīka-mugdha-masṛiṇaṁ hṛiday-āravindama(ndam) | dēvaḥ purāṇa-puru-shaḥ parirabhya yasya rōlamva(mba)-ḍamva(mba)ra-kalāma(lām) ka-

114 layāñchakāra ||[75*] Lakshmī-rakshaṇa-sauvidalla(lla)-padavī[ṁ*] pratyarthi-pṛithvī-bhujām=prāg-ākarshaṇa-rajju-vaibhava-tulām=uddāmam-āma-

115 ṇḍayana(yan) [| *] saṅgrāma-sthala-kēli-tāṇḍava-kalā-pāṇḍityam=āmaṇḍayan yēn=āya[ṁ*] jagad-adbh[u]t-aika-vilasat-krīḍā-naṭaḥ

116 sāyakaḥ || [76*] Hiraṇyagarbha mā garvvam(rvvaṁ) kurushv=ēty=ēti s-ērshyayā | hiraṇyagar-bhō bhūtvā yaḥ kshmām-imām=pari(rya)pālaya-

117 ta(t) || [77*][7] Yasy-ānarggala-vikram-ārjjita-yaśaḥ-kshīr-ōda-dān-ōrmmibhiḥ dā(bhir=dā)tāraḥ kila kāma-gō-prabhu(bhṛi)tayaḥ[8]

118 prōtsāritā dūrataḥ ||(|) kiṁ-ch=āyaṁ=cha hiraṇyagarbha-kalanā-vaidagdhyam-ākarṇ[ṇ]-ayan-lajjā-lōla-chaturmmu-

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[1] The anusvāra here looks like a superscript r sign.

[2] This seems to be the correct form of the name that has been read wrongly in one record as Madhupadēvī and actually reads Nagaṇadēvī in another. Cf. prahlāda in line 28 and Vāhla in line 132.

[3] Read danturā.

[4] Read °y=āsmadīya.

[5] Better read sō=narthō°.

[6] An additional medial a sign is found with dhyā.

[7] This verse is not found in some later records giving the genealogy of the Gaṅgas.

[8] Note the same form of bhu in line 104.

119 kh-ākshi-yugalē manyē mahān padmabhūḥ || [78*] Yēn-ābhishēka-samayaḥ kalita-trayēṇa ntas-tulāpurusha-dāna-ka-

120 l-ānuva(ba)ndhaiḥ | lavdh-ā(bdh-ā)pi naḥ kshitir-amushya mudē tath-ābhūd-yādṛig-vi-(g-dvi)jāti-jana-śāsana-dāna-kēliḥ || [79*] Ākarshatā hṛida-

121 yam-ēṇa-vilōchanānām-ādhun[va]tā cha paritaḥ pratipārthivānām | arth-ānvaya-praṇayinā kṛitinām Anaṅgabhīma-pra-

122 siddhir-amunā vidadhe(dhē) nṛipēna || [80*][1] Sō-yaṁ śrīmad-**Anaṅkabhīma-rāutta-**[2] **dēvaḥ Śākāvdē(bdē) chandr-ēshu-rudra-gaṇitē Chaitra-śukla-navamyāṁ**

123 **Sauri-vārē mīna-sa[ṁ*]krāntyāṁ Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭakē** Chitrēśvara-Viśvēśvarayōr-mmadhyē **Mahānadyāṁ Sāilō-vishayē P[ū]raṇa-**

124 **grāmē** dānasāgara-bhūmi-dān-āvartta(rttē) Mahābhārat-ōktāṁ puṇyāṁ mṛida-rasāṁ viṁśati-vāṭī-parimitāṁ bhūmiṁ Ghṛitakauśika-gōtrā-

125 ya Yajurvvēd-āntargata-Kāṇva-śākh-ādhyāyi-paṇḍita-Saṅkarshaṇānandaśarmmaṇē Vrā-(Brā)hmaṇāya bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayē

126 dhārā-pūrvvakam-ā-chandr-ārk[k]am-upabhōgāy-ākarikṛitya prādāt || punar-**avd-ā(bd-ā)-ntarē Māgha-kṛishṇa-shashṭhyāṁ Guru-vārē** tasyān-nadyān-tasminn-ēva vi-

Fifth Plate; First Side

127 shayē tasmin māsa-dān-āvarttē Vāmana-purāṇ-ōktā[m*] prākāra-mukhamaṇḍapa-madhya-maṇḍapa-sahita-nṛipatigṛiha-tulya-gṛiha-cha-

128 tushṭaya-nānā-purajana-samēta-triṁśat(śad)-gṛiha-nirmmitaṁ triṁśad-vāṭī-parimita-bhūmikan-nagaran-tasmai paṇḍita-Saṅkarshaṇā-

129 nandaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayē dhārā-pūrvva-kam-ā-chandr-ārkkam-upabhōgāy-ākarikṛi-

130 tya prādāt || tasya cha Jayamaṅgaragrāmē daśa-vāṭī-parimitā vāstu-bhūmiḥ | Pūraṇagrāmē viṁśati-vāṭī-parimitā sasya-

131 bhūmiḥ || tasya pura-jana-jāti-nāmāni || tatra vaṇijaḥ gāndhika-śāṅkhika-pāṭakāra-svarṇṇa-kāra-kāṁsyikāḥ Vāpuli-Nārāyaṇa-Dāmōdara-Mādha[va]-[Chi]-

132 tra-Sōma-Vāhlu-Kēśava-Mahādēva-Narasiṅgha(ha)-Śivu-nāmānaḥ || tāmvū(mbū)likāḥ Mahā-nāda-Sōmā-I(m-ē)ṇḍu-nāmānaḥ | mālikō Manū-nāmā | gaṇ[ḍ]i-

133 kō Mahādēva-nāmā | gōpālau Dhiru-Gabhī-nāmānau | tantuvāyau Nāgu-Jagāi-nāmānau | tailikau Gaṇā-Sunyā-nāmānau | Kumbhakā-

134 rau Arjjuna-Visū-nāmānau | Kaivarttāḥ Rāju-Vāsū-Padma-nāmānaḥ | nāpitaḥ śilpinō rajakaś-cha || tathā **tasminn-ēv-āvdē(bdē)** ta-

135 syām-**Mahānadyāṁ Mārggaśīrsha-paurṇṇamāsyāṁ Guru-vārē chandr-ōparāgē** tasmin-**Pūraṇagrāmē** bhūmi-dān-āvarttē Vṛi(Bṛi)haspaty-u-

136 ktā[m*] gōcharmma-mātrām-ashṭādaśa-vāṭī-parimitām-bhūmiṁ Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Dīkshita-Rudrapāṇiśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇā-

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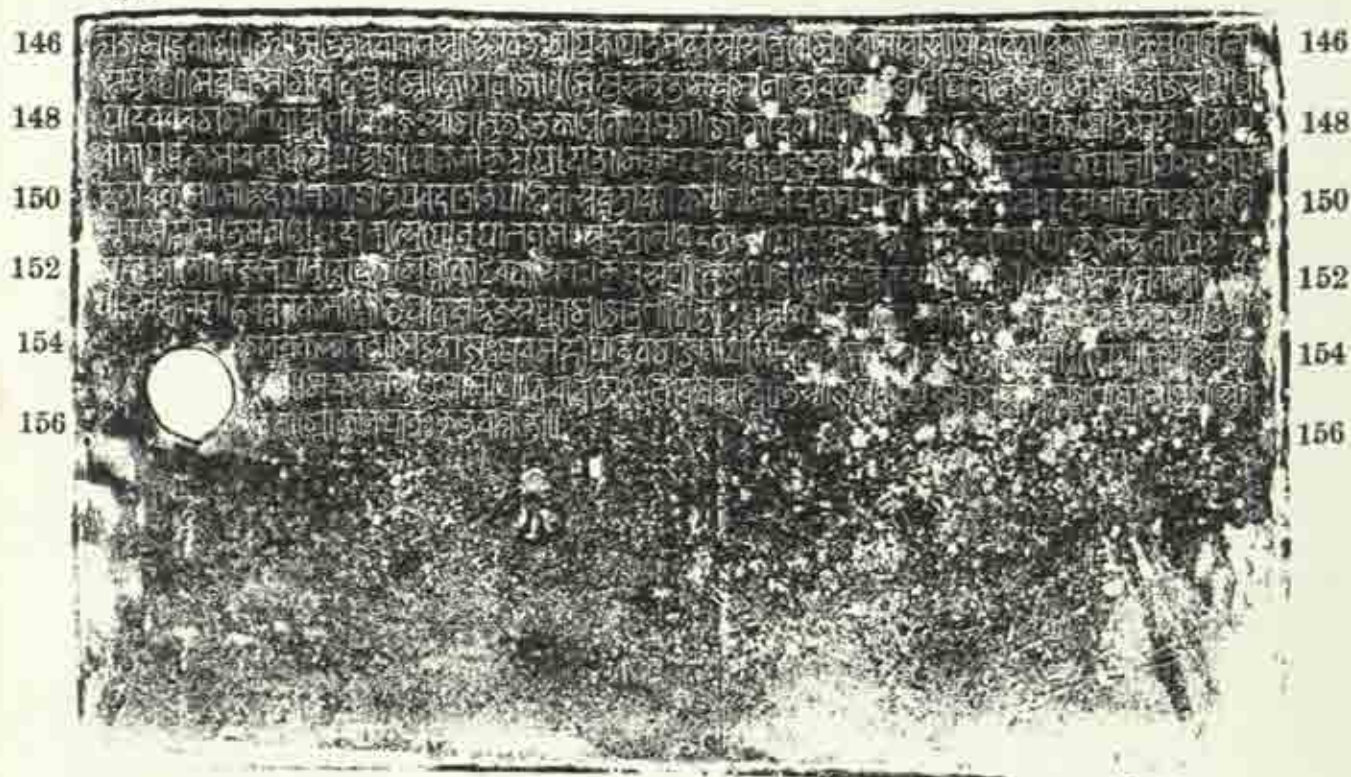
[1] The verses from the beginning up to line 122 are found quoted in the later charters of the family often with slight variations.

[2] Tta may also be read as ta; since, however, the word is from Sanskrit rāja-putra and Prakrit rāu-tta, tta seems to be intended.

137 ya tathā **Makara-saṁkrāntyām(ntyām)** Āditya-purāṇ-ōktāṁ pañcha-vāṭī-parimitām-bhūmiṁ Rāthītara-sagōtrāy[1]-āhit-āgni-Sōmapālaśa-

138 rmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya[2] tathā **śrī-Purushōttamadēvasya pratishṭhā-samayē** Kāsya(śya)pa-sagōtrāy-āchāryya-Chandrakaraśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya

139 chadvi-vāṭī-parimitām=bhūmiṁ bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayē dhārā-pūrvvakam=ā-chandr-ārkkam-upabhōgāy-ākarīkṛitya

140 prādāt || ētē Kāṇva-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ || Pu(Pū)raṇagrāmē militvā ētāḥ pañcha-shashṭhi-(shṭi)r=vvāṭyaḥ | paśchim-ōttara-pūrvva-pradēśēshu pūrvva-siddha-

141 grāma-sīm-āvachchhinā(nnā)ḥ | dakshiṇē yāvan-Nalitam || ētan-madhyē Pūtimāsha-gōtra-śāsan-ādhikāri-Gaṅgādhar-āryyasya[3] bhū-vāṭyi(ty-ē)kā gṛiha-vāṭī

142 cha || tāmvra(mra)-śilpinō Mā(Ma)hānādasy-aitadam[4] || śrī-**Purushōttama-kshētrē dakshiṇatrī(tī)rtharāja-taṭē Karkkaṭak-āmāvāsyāyām sūryy-ōparāgē**

143 tasmin-**Pūraṇagrāmē** Kātyāyana-gōtrāy-āchāryy-āgnichit-Kāyadīśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)-hmaṇāya Yajurvvēd-āntarggata-Kāṇva-śākh-ādhyāyinē nā-

144 nā-gōtra-Rugvē[5]vēd-ādy-addhyāyi-ṛitvika-Dhṛitikar-Ānanta-Viśvēśvara-Yajña-Siddhā-Śaṅkara-Mādhava-Pṛithī(thvī)dhara-sahitāya hiraṇyagarbha-mahādā-

145 n-āṅgatvēna pañcha-vāṭī-parimitām-bhūmin dhārā-pūrvvakam=ā-chandr-ārkam-upabhō-gāy-ākarīkṛitya prādāt || tatr=āchāryyasya tisrō vāṭyaḥ || ṛi-

Fifth Plate; Second Side

146 tvijāṁ(jāṁ) dvē vāṭyau | tathā **Abhinava-Vārāṇasyāṁ** bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttama-dēvasya sannidhau **Makar-āmāvāsyāyāṁ Ravi-vārē Kuddiṇḍā-vishayē Vilā-**

147 **sapuragrāmē** dāna-sāgarē Vishṇudharmm-ōktā[ṁ*] yava-gōdhūm-ākshu-santatām-ashṭa-mān-ātirikta-[chatu]r-vvāṭī-parimitām-bhūmiṁ Bhāradvāja-sagōtrā-

148 ya Dēvadharaśarmmaṇē Brāhmaṇāya Yajuḥ-Sām-āntarggata-Kāṇva-Kauthuma-śākh-aika-dēś-ādhyāyi[nē] bhaga[vata]ḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayē

149 dhārā-pūrvvakam-ā-chandr-ārkkam-upabhōgāy-ākarīkṛitya prādata(dāt) || Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-arthan-tad-rakshā-[phala-siddhayē || [ma*]d-dharmmaḥ paripālyō-yam=bhūpair=ā-cha-

150 ndra-tārakam || [81*] Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā tē para-datt=ēti pārthiva | sva-dattād-adhikam-puṇyam-para-datt-ānupāla[nē || 82 || Sva*]-dattām-para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yatā(tnā)d-raksha Yudhi-

151 shṭh[i]ra | mahīm-matimatām śrēshṭha dānāt=śrē(ch=chhrē)yō=nupālanam || [83*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundha[rām] | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ

152 saha pachyatē || [84*] Nirjjalē prāntarē dēśē śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | krishṇa-sarpā hi jāyantē yē haranti vasu[ndharām] || [85*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkam=vā(kaṁ vā) [bhūmēr=a]-

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[1] Read sagōtrāy°.

[2] H in hma in this case has the usual loop of s.

[3] Āchāryyasya may have been intended.

[4] The word aitada from dad is interesting. The passage no doubt means that, like the Stana adhikārin, the copper-smith, who engraved the plates, also received two vāṭīs or vāṭikās of land including one vāṭī of homestead land.

[5] Read °gōtra-ṛgvēd-ādy-adhyāyi-ṛitvig°.

153 py=arddham=aṅgulam | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=ābhūta-sa[m*]plavam || [86*] Śat-
nun=āpi kṛitō dharmmaḥ pā[la]nī[yō] manīshibhiḥ | śatrur=ēva hi śatru[ḥ*] syād=dharmmaḥ

154 śatrur=nna kasyachit || [87*] Mad-vaṁśajāḥ para-mahīpati-vaṁśajā vā pāpād-apēta-ma-
[nasō] [bhuvi] bhāvi-bhūpāḥ | yē pālayanti mama

155 [dha]rmmam=ida(ma)m samastan=tēshām=mayā virachitō=ñjalir=ēsha mūddhni(rddhni) ||
[88*] Tasy=ājñayā yathā-jñānam Gaṅg-ānvaya-gaṇān=prati | praśasti-ra-

156 [cha]nā-ślōkā[n*] Nappanaḥ[1] kṛitavān=kṛitī || [89*]

No. 41—RUSSELLKONDA PLATES OF NETTABHANJA ; REGNAL YEAR 26

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the beginning of May 1950, a copper-plate inscription was kindly sent to me for examination by Śrīyukta Chintāmaṇi Āchārya, M.A., LL.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University. The inscription was discovered at a place[2] near **Russellkonda** in the Ganjam District, Orissa, and reached the hands of Mr. Ananta Rath, B.A., Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School. Mr. Rath lost no time in presenting the record to the University which has recently made arrangements for collecting materials for the reconstruction of the early history of Orissa under the guidance of its learned Vice-Chancellor. I am extremely thankful to Śrīyukta Āchārya for his kindness in allowing me to publish the document. The Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School should also be congratulated for the interest he has taken in bringing the scription to the notice of students interested in the past history of Orissa.

The set consists of **three plates**, rather thin, each measuring about 9·2" in length and about 3·4" in height. They are strung together on a copper ring about ·3" in thickness and about 3·7" in diameter. The ring passes through a hole, nearly ·5" in diameter, about the middle of the left end of the plates, leaving a margin of about ·4". The two ends of the ring are secured in a small oval **seal** (about 1" in length) which is of copper. No trace of any emblem or legend can now be found on the surface of the seal. The plates are not in a very good state of preservation and show signs of corrosion and also of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. But fortunately the preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory. The inscription is written on both sides of all the three plates. All the inscribed faces of the plates are serially numbered in the left margin towards the top, although the figure 6 on the second side of the third plate cannot be seen clearly owing to the peeling off of the metal from the area in question. There are altogether 40 lines of writing. Both the sides of the first plate and the reverse of the second plate have each 6 lines engraved on them, while the first sides of the second and third plates have each 7 lines. The second side of the third plate has as many as 8 lines. The weight of the three plates is 55 *tolas*, while the ring together with the seal weighs 15 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Kaliṅga script influenced by the northern alphabet. They may be compared with the script employed in the early charters of the Śailōdbhava and Bhauma-Kara dynasties, such as the Ganjam plates[3] (dated in the Gupta year 300=619 A. C.), the Neulpur plate[4]

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[1] The name may also be read *Nappana* or *Nappana*.

[2] About the end of November 1950, I visited Russellkonda and learnt on enquiry that the plates had been received from Śrī Raghunātha Rāuta of Bāpaturaba about four miles from the town. They were preserved in Raghunātha's family as an heirloom for a long time.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 f., with plates.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 3-5, with plates.

of Śubhākara I and the Dhauli cave inscription[1] of Śāntikara I (supposed to be dated in the Harsha year 93=699 A. C.). It is interesting to note that some characteristics of the alphabet of the inscription under review are found in the 8th century records of king Mēruvarman of Chamba.[2] The inscription may roughly be assigned to the eighth century A. C.[3] The characters employed in the charter appear to be rather cursive and very often the same letter has been written in several varying forms. *S* is usually of the form found in the word *svasti* in line 1; but it is written differently in words like *sadā* (line 2) and has a third form in words like *nabhas=ta°* (line 3). In a few cases, *s* is written exactly like *m* (*cf.* the first *s* in *sahasra* in line 11). *V* is sometimes undistinguishable from *ch* (cf. *śiva, vida°* in line 2; *prasravaṇa* in line 6) and often from *n* (cf. *vitāni°* in line 3; *jana* in line 4). *N* is again written in several forms (cf. *°vaīna* in line 4; *nabha°* in line 3, *vina°* in line 7; *anu°* in line 14), and one of these is the same as that of *t*. *Bh* is usually without the loop (cf. *prabhāvaḥ sva-bhuja°* in line 9); but often it has a looped form resembling that of *n* (cf. *nabha°* in line 3; *gambhīra* in line 7). Sometimes *t* has the same form as *g* (cf. *vikshōbhita°* in lines 9-10). *D* has usually a hanging tail; but in a few cases it is without that (cf. *padāti-pad-ā°* in line 3). Medial *u* is usually a straight downward stroke below a consonant (cf. *mu* in line 5, *du* in line 6, *pu* in line 7), although sometimes it is a curve (*cf.* cases of *nu, bhu,* etc.) or its end has a short upward curve towards the left. The forms of the medial vowels in *ru* (line 11), *rū* (line 8) and *pū* (line 15) are interesting. Medial *ē* is in some cases indicated by slight prolongation of the top *mātrā* towards the left and is almost undistinguishable (cf. *nē* in lines 11, 12). Medial *ī* is usually short and does not very often come below the line of the top *mātrā*. Only in a few cases it is found to be lengthened (cf. *svīkri°* in line 32). *B* is indicated by the sign for *v*. The half *t* is used in a large number of cases (*cf.* lines 3-8, 15, 32, 33, 35, etc.). It is without the covering curve in lines 4, 16 and 39. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs *a* (lines 11, 12, 22, 25, 26), *ā* (lines 13, 24, 29, 37), *i* (lines 13-15, 37), *u* (line 40), *ū* (line 34) and *ē* (lines 21, 27). Of numerical figures, we have those from 1 to 6 used in numbering the inscribed faces of the plates. Some of them are also used in specifying the shares of the donees. It is interesting to note that the figures for *2* and *3* are written in the old fashion.[4] The figures for *4* and *5* are also of the old type. Interpunctuation marks are indicated often by a slightly curved stroke. There is a similar mark at the end of some lines (*cf.* lines 6, 10, 13, 19, 20) apparently used as a hyphen is done in English and a *daṇḍa* in certain later inscriptions.[5] The sign of the *avagraha* and that of a half *visarga* appear to be wrongly employed in lines 11 and 21 respectively.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It has an introductory verse in adoration to the god Śiva and only three imprecatory verses about the end; the rest of the record is written in prose. Among the peculiarities of **orthography**, the negligence in observing the rules of *sandhi* is often noticed. Wrong spelling in words like *Naghusha* (line 16) and wrong *sandhi* in expressions like *śivam=vā* (line 2) are also conspicuous.

The charter is **dated in the 26th regnal year** of the king who was responsible for its issue, without reference to any era or to astronomical details about the date. There is thus no clue to determine the year and the exact date of the grant. As already indicated above, palaeographical consideration would suggest a date about the 8th century A. C. or a little later.

The record belongs to the Śaiva king **Nēṭṭabhañja** of the **Drumarājakula**. It was issued from the victorious *skandhāvāra* of the king at **Vārāḍḍā** and records the grant of the village of

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 264, with plate.

[2] Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part 1, Plates XI-XII; Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 67, Plate XXII.

[3] As the Kalinga script was an artificial alphabet, the date may also be slightly later.

[4] *Cf. JASB*, 1896, Part I, Plates VIII and X, left margin.

[5] *Cf.* the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhavala (above pp. 44 ff.).

Chaṇḍūtuṅgam in the **Kāṁvērāla** *vishaya* in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. The epigraphic text, as already indicated above, begins with a verse in adoration to the god Śaṅkara, *i.e.*, Śiva. This is followed by a description of the *skandhāvāra* situated at Vārāḍḍā (lines 2-8). It is said to have been endowed with gardens, groves and bowers which were attached to certain temples. The expression *shaṇḍa-maṇḍapa* may also mean sheds for the bull attached to the temples of Śiva.[1] The population of the locality is described as fully contented and the place as free from quarrels, thieves, famines and diseases. The place is further said to be beautified by trees grown in deep glens watered by many springs and producing flowers and fruits of various kinds in great abundance. This description of Vārāḍḍā seems to suggest that it was not merely a camp but was actually the capital of Nēṭṭabhañja whether permanent or temporary.[2] The description of the *skandhāvāra* is followed by another of the king (lines 8-17) who is compared to the mighty epic kings like Raghu, Nahusha and Māndhātṛi but is not endowed with any specific royal epithet. The king is said to have been a *paramabrahmaṇya* (very friendly to Brāhmaṇas) and *paramamāhēśvara* (devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, *i.e.*, Śiva). One of the interesting epithets of the king says that Nēṭṭabhañja was born in the family of Drumarāja, while another seems to suggest that he was the inheritor of the fortune of ninety-nine past generations of kings. It seems that Drumarāja was the progenitor of the old royal family to which Nēṭṭabhañja belonged. The king's order regarding the grant in question was issued to the royal officers, to the *adhikaraṇas* (administrative offices) of that time as well as of the future (lines 18-20) and to other dependants serving in the Kāṁvērāla *vishaya*. The officials and subordinates included the *sāmanta*, *mahāsāmanta*, *rājan*, *rājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *antaraṅga*, *kumārāmātya*, *uparika* and *tadāyuktaka*. They were told (lines 20-22) that the king had granted the village of Chaṇḍūtuṅgam as a free gift and a revenue-free holding in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Kauśika *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya *charaṇa*. The names of the Brāhmaṇas and the shares of the holding allotted to each one of them were also specified in the following order (lines 23-27) : Vāsudēvasvāmin 3 shares, Gōlasvāmin 1, Ādityadēva 1, Yajñasvāmin 1, Chharampasvāmin 1, Śivasvāmin 1, a second Chharampasvāmin 1, Gōpēndrasvāmin 2, Kayārasvāmin 2, Kārkyāyaṇasvāmin 1, Bhōyisvāmin 1, Jayasvāmin 1, a second Jayasvāmin 1, and Ravichōṇasvāmin 1. Lines 28-32 suggest that the grant was actually made on behalf of the queens, Kshatridēvī and Kaivartadēvī, and the *rāja-putrī* (princess) Mēghāvalīdēvī for the easy access of the three ladies to heaven.[3] The names of the two queens are interesting as they appear to refer to the particular communities to which they belonged. If the queens of Nēṭṭabhañja belonged to the Kshatri and Kaivarta communities, we have here a glimse of the working of the social order in ancient Orissa. After the usual entreaties to the future rulers for the preservation of the grant and imprecatory verses in lines 32-39, we have the date of the document in the 26th year of Nēṭṭabhañja's reign (line 39). The charter ends with the name of the writer and that of the engraver of the plate. The writer was Vandya-Dēvabhadra and the engraver Dhārabhōgika. The correct interpretation of the designation *bhōgika*, which occurs in a large number of inscriptions, is difficult ; but the expression *Vandya* prefixed to the name of Dēvabhadra reminds one of the Vandy-ōpādhyāyas who are a section of the *Kulīna* class among the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. Although the origin of the *Kulīnas* such as the Vandy-ōpādhyāya and Chaṭṭ-ōpādhyāya is referred to a late date, we know that the name Bṛihach-Chaṭṭa is found in a Bengal inscription of the sixth century[4] and have elsehwere[5] suggested that the Brahmanical cognomens in question

[1] [The context does not justify such an inference. The expression *aneka-shaṇḍa-maṇḍap-ōpaśōbhita* simply means 'beautified by arbours and parks,' the word *shaṇḍa* meaning multitude.—Ed.]

[2] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 47-48.

[3] It is possible to think that the ladies were dead and the grant was made on the occasion of their *śrāddha* ceremony.

[4] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 351.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 498-99.

may not be so late as is usually believed. It seems probable that the epithet *vandya* applied in our record to the writer Dēvabhadra is not entirely unconnected with the origin of the cognomen Vandy-ōpādhyāya which became regular among a class of Bengali Brāhmaṇas at a later date. The tradition that these cognomens are all derived from the names of certain villages appears to be doubtful.

It is difficult to connect Nēṭṭabhañja who issued the charter under discussion with any of the four branches of the well-known Bhañja family of ancient Orissa, although in the family of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala we have actually a number of kings of the same name.[1] Our Nēṭṭabhañja seems to be earlier than even the earliest known members of the different branches of the Bhañja family. The draft of the charter under review is again remarkably different from any known record of the Bhañja family. Unlike the Bhañja inscriptions, our record does not offer any story about the origin of the royal family, nor does it refer to the places known to have been the headquarters of particular branches of the Bhañja dynasty. On the other hand, it describes king Nēṭṭabhañja as a scion of the family of Drumarāja and as representing the hundredth generation of an ancient royal family. It would thus appear that besides the king's name ending in the word *bhañja*, our record has little to connect king Nēṭṭabhañja with the Bhañja family, several branches of which flourished at a later date in Orissa. It may, however, be pointed out that, although the meaning of the Prakritic name *Nēṭṭabhañja* cannot be definitely determined, it was fairly popular in ancient Orissa as some of the Bhañja rulers are known to have assumed the same name. Whether the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala, among whom we find several Nēṭṭabhañjas, claimed any sort of relation with the earlier king named Nēṭṭabhañja who issued the Russellkonda plates can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowedge. The rise of Nēṭṭabhañja of our record, whose dominions included parts of the Ganjam District, seems to have synchronised with the decline of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda about the eastern part of the same district. It is possible to suggest that the family of Drumarāja originally enjoyed a feudatory status.

The palaeography and style of the record under review suggest that its issuer was no other than that of the Baudh plates edited rather carelessly in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff. This charter was issued by king Nēṭṭabhañja when he was staying at Navāṅgulakapaṭṭana (*i.e.*, modern Angul) in the fifteenth year of his reign. The correct reading of the concluding part of the inscription (lines 53-56) is : *Svayaṁ rājñā pradatt=ājñā śrī-Nayyēna pratēkhitam(tam)| utkīrṇṇa[ṁ] Vāddurākena(ṇa) śāsanaṁ tāmra-paṭṭakam=iti* | (||) *Samvat 10 5 Kanti[ka*]vadi 10 3.* This identification would show that the dominions of Nēṭṭabhañja included parts of the Cuttack-Dhenkanal areas in the north-east. It is interesting to note that, in the tenth century A.C., the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala ruled over the same region between the Ganjam and Baudh-Keonjhar areas of Orissa.

Vārāḍḍā, whence the charter under discussion was issued, seems to be the same as modern Bāraḍā or Bāruḍā seven miles from Russelkonda and two miles from Kuḷāḍagarh which was the capital of the Bhañja ruling family to which the post Upēndrabhañja belonged and is probably to be identified with Kolāḍa-kaṭaka capital of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali. I have not been able to identify the other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *viz.*, Chaṇḍūtuṅgam and Kāmvērāla.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : verse 1 *Vaṁśasthavila* ; verses 2, 3 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 4 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

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[1] See Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 379.

[2] From the original plates kindly lent by Sriyukta Chintāmaṇi Āchārya, Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack.

First Plate; First Side

1[1]

1 Siddham[2] Svasti [|| *] Jaṭādharaḥ khaṇḍa-śaśāṅka-śēkharaḥ kapāla-mālā(laḥ) sita-bhasma-dhūsaraḥ [|*]

2 sphuran-mahāpannaga-va(ba)ddha-kaṁkaṇa(ṇa)ḥ sadā śivam=vō(vaṁ vō) vidadhātu Śaṅkaraḥ [|| 1*][3] Dvirada-vara-

3 turaga-padāti-pad-ōddhṛita-va(ba)hala-dhavala-dhūlī-vitānikṛitaṁ(ta)-nabhas-talāt

4 jājvalyamāna-vividha-ruchira-praharaṇ-āvaraṇāt dēv-ōdyāna-va-

5 na-shaṇḍa-maṇḍap-ōpaśōbhitāt[4] hrishṭa-tushṭa-pramudita-jana-kōlāhalāt

6 kali-kalaha-ḍimva(mba)-ḍamma(ba)ra-taskara-durbhiksha-rōg-āpagatāt prasravaṇa-[5]

First Plate; Second Side

2[6]

7 jala-gambhira-kandar-ān[ta]ra-vini[ḥ*]sṛita-vichittra-pushpa-phala-pādap-ōpētāt

8 śrimad-**Vāraḍḍā**-vāsita-vijaya-skandhāvārāt kula-rūpa-śruta-guṇa-vi-

9 stara-prabhāvaḥ sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrānta-sakal-ārāti-paksha-vikshōbhi-

10 t-āpratihata-prabhāva-prasaraḥ **Drumarāja-kula**-sambhūtaḥ nava-navati-pu-[5]

11 rush-āntara-prachūrṇa[7]-rājya-santatiḥ pradāna-śūra='anēka-[8] śata-sahasra-gō-vadali-[9]

12 dhana-pradāyī anēka-tāmra-paṭṭak-āṅkita-dvija-kara-samarpita-bhuvana-talaḥ pa[10]

Second Plate; First Side

3[11]

13 para-lōka-saṁkrāmita-dhana-[ni]chayaḥ sākshā[d*]-dharma iva āchārya iva śishya[12]

14 kṛita-yuga iva vinaya iva pit=ēva cha anukampamāna[ḥ*] prajānām-upakāra-pra-

15 vṛittaḥ pūrṇṇ-ēndu-vat=saumya[ḥ*] tējasvi śarad-arka-vat sāgara iva gambhīra[ḥ*] sthira-dharmā

16 sumēru-vat Raghu-Nagha(hu)sha-Māndhāta(tṛi)-kalpaḥ parama-vra(bra)hmaṇya-parama-

17 māhēśvarō māta-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ prakaṭ-ābhidhānaḥ śrī-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēvaḥ**

18 kuśali **Kāmvērāla-vishayē** śrī-sāmanta-mahāsa(sā)manta-rāja-rājanaka-rājaputtr-ānta-

19 raṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-tadāyuktaka-mva(va)rttamāna-bhavishyad-adhikaraṇā-[13]

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[1] This figure indicates the number of the inscribed face and stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below the symbol for *siddham* in line 1.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] [The Chhoṭī Deorī stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa likewise begins with this very verse, though the reading there is slightly faulty. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 171.—Ed.]

[4] [See footnote 1 on p. 250, above.—Ed.]

[5] There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. This was apparently used as a hyphen.

[6] This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 8.

[7] The reading intended seems to be *prachyuta*.

[8] Read *śūrō='nēka*.

[9] The reading intended seems to be *bahala* or *balivarda*.

[10] This superfluous letter has a circular sign below it, which suggests that the engraver deleted it.

[11] This number of the inscribed face stands at the left margin slightly towards the left below line 13.

[12] There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. The reading intended seems to be *śishya iva*.

[13] There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line.

i,a.

2 4 6

i,b.

8 10 12

ii,a.

14 16 18

B. CH. CHHABRA

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

REG. No. 3977 E'36-499'52.

ii,b.

iii,a.

iii,b.

Second Plate ; Second Side

4[1]

20 n=anyāṁś=cha rāja-pād-ōpajīvikān=yath-ārha[ṁ*] satkṛitya samājñāpayati vidi-
21 tam=astu bhavatām(tāṁ) ētad-vishaya-saṁva(mba)dha(ddha)-**Chaṇḍūtuṅgan-nāma**-grāmaḥ[2] chatuḥ-
22 sīmā-parikshiptaḥ kar-ādāna-varjitaḥ sarv-āvā(bā)dha-parihṛitaḥ akarīkṛi-
23 tya ma(a)smābhiḥ Kauśika-gōttrāya Vājasanēya-charaṇāya Vāsudē-
24 vasvāminē 3 Gōlasvāminē 1 Ādityadēva(vāya) 1 Yajñasvami(svāminē) 1 Chharampasvami-(svāminē) 1
25 Śivas[v]āmi[nē*] 1 apara-Chharampasvāmi[nē*][3] 1 Gōpēndrasvāmi[nē*] 2 Kayārasvāmi[nē*] 2

Third Plate ; First Side

5[4]

26 Kārāyāṇasvāmi[nē*] 1 Bhō(?)yisvāmi[nē*] 1 Jayasvāmi[nē*] 1 aparaḥ(ra)-Jayasvā-
27 mi[nē*] 1 Ravichōṇasvāmi[nē*] 1 ēbhyō dvij-ōttamēbhyaḥ nānā-gōttra-charaṇēbhyaḥ
28 salila-dhārā-purassarēṇa vidhinā | rājñī Kshattridēvī Kaivarttadēvī
29 rāja-puttri(ttrī) Mēghāvalīdēvī ābhyō nṛipati-lavdha(bdha)-prasād-ānu-
30 jñābhyō dēvyaḥ[5] paralōka-gamana-pāthēya-sva-[6]svarga-gamana-sōpāna-
31 māl-ādhigataye pratipāditaḥ [|*] tad=bhavabhu(dbhiḥ) tāsām=akshayāya(yai) puṇy-ābhi-
32 vṛiddhi(ddhayē) tāmra-paṭṭaka-darśanāt yathā-kāla-phala[ṁ*] svīkṛity=ōpaḥ(pa)-[7]

Third Plate ; Second Side

[6][8]

33 bh[u]ñjānābhyaḥ nṛipa-gauravāt dharm-ānurōdhā[ch]= cha chandr[9]-ārka-kshiti-
34 samakālaṁḥ(laṁ) na kaiśchid=vighātaḥ karaṇīya[ḥ] | ū(u)ktaṁ cha dharmē(rma)-śāstrē [|*] Mā bhū-
35 d=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [|*] sva-dānāt phalam=ānantyaṁ pa-
36 ra-datt-ānupālanē |[|2*] Shashṭim=va(shṭiṁ va)rsha-saha-[10] sahasrāṇi sva[r]gē mōdati bhū-
37 midaḥ [|*] ākshēptā [ch=ā*]numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||3*] Iti kamala-dal-ā-
38 mvu(mbu)-vinda(ndu)-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha [|*] sakalam=idam=u-[dā*]hṛitaṁ cha vu(bu)-
39 dhvā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyā[ḥ*] || [4*] **Saṁvat shaṭ(ḍ)-viṁśatimē rājyē** likhita[ṁ]
40 Vandya-Dēva[bha]drēṇa[11] [| *] Utkīrita[12] D ārs-bhōgikēna[||*]

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[1] This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 20.

[2] What looks like a half *visarga* sign is found after *ma*.

[3] This name is again written below the line.

[4] This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left above line 27.

[5] The reading intended seems to be '*jñābhyō dēvībhyaḥ* or better *āsāṁ nṛipati-labdha-prasād-ānujñānāṁ dēvīnām(dēvyāḥ rāja-putryāḥ cha ?)*.

[6] *Pāthēya-sva* seems to have been used in the sense of 'money required for provisions for a journey'.

[7] There is a mark at the end of the line.

[8] This figure is faintly visible in the left margin near the beginning of line 34.

[9] *Chan°* was originally engraved.

[10] These two *aksharas* are superfluous.

[11] *Bha* is written below the line. There is a space left between the reference to the writer and that to the engraver.

[12] Read *utkīrṇaṁ*.

No. 42—JABALPUR PLATES OF MAHARAJA HASTIN; G. E. 170

(*1 Plate*)

RAJ BALI PANDEY, BANARAS

The two copper plates, bearing a royal charter which is being published here, were found in a village between Rewa and Satna in the Vindhya Pradesh by a worker in R. M. S. and were handed over to Muni Kantisagar Ji, a distinguished Jain scholar who mostly resides at Jabalpur and is interested in archaeology. Their present whereabouts are not known. He took photographs of the plates and sent one set of them to Dr. A. S. Altekar,[1] who kindly forwarded it to me for editing and publishing the charter in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The **copper plates**, as already pointed out, are **two** in number and are inscribed on one side only. They measure 8" in length and 4½" in breadth. They weigh 1½ seers each. The edges are thicker than the main sheets on which the charter is inscribed. This device was made in order to protect the letters from the rubbing of plates. But this circumstance could not prevent at least some letters from being damaged, specially on the second plate. There is a hole in the middle of the upper side of both the plates, which obviously suggests that the plates were fastened together by a ring which passed through the hole and the ends of which were joined together by a seal bearing the emblem of the grantor. The ring and the seal have, however, not been recovered. But one can see at the bottom of the second plate that there is an imprint of an oval **seal** bearing the legend *Śrīhastirājñaḥ*. No other published charter of Hastin bears a seal imprinted at this place. The present seal like the other seals of this ruler is oval in shape but its legend is rather short. On other seals the legend reads, *Śrīmahārājahastinaḥ*.

The **language** of the charter is Sanskrit. There are some mistakes due to the scribe, *e.g.*, *kul-ōpannēna* for *kul-ōtpannēna* (line 3), *kāl-ōntarēshu* for *kāl-āntarēshu* (line 17), and *suvasnrāta* for *suvasnāta* (line 22).[2] The inscription is written in prose except the verses at the end quoted from the *Mahābhārata* (lines 19-22).

The **characters** belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta script and they differ from the nailheaded letters found in the Majhagawan plates of Hastin.[3] There are only a few **orthographical** peculiarities to be noted. *Phālguna* is spelt, as in many other early inscriptions, with *ga* (line 2). The *anusvāra* in *Pañchamyāṁ* is retained and not converted into *m*, though it is followed by a vowel *a* (line 3). The *anusvāra* in *aryāṁ* is converted into *n* before *d* (line 3). *N* is used instead of *anusvāra* in the word *vaṁśa* (line 6). A consonant following *r* is doubled as in *pūrvvāyāṁ* (line 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village with all its assets and its boundaries properly demarcated, to a number of Brāhmaṇa grantees by *Mahārāja* Hastin in the **year seventy increased by hundred (170) on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna**.

After the syllable *ōm*, the charter opens with a salutation to Mahādēva, indicating the Śaivite faith of the Parivrājaka family of kings. The year seventy increased by hundred is referred to the Gupta Era as clearly suggested by the expression *Gupta-nṛipa-rājyabhuktau*. The year fell within the Mahājyēshtha *saṁvatsara* of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter, which lasted from G. E. 166 to

[1] [The Muni sent one set of the photographs also to me in July 1949. Subsequently he published a description of it in the Hindi monthly *Jñānōdaya*, Kāśī, for November 1951, pp. 357-365, along with a tentative transcript of the inscription and a note by me.—Ed.]

[2] [See below p. 266, n 1—Ed.]

[3] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.

G. E. 178. The other known dates of Hastin range from the G. E. 156 to the G. E. 198.[1] The present inscription supplies only an intermediary date (the year 170 G. E.) during the rule of Hastin.

The genealogy[2] of the Parivrājaka kings as given in this inscription can be constructed as follows :

(1) *Mahārāja* Dēvāḍhya (c. G.E. 96-116).
(2) *Mahārāja* Prabhañjana (c. G.E. 116-136).
(3) *Mahārāja* Dāmōdara (c. G.E. 136-156).
(4) *Mahārāja* Hastin (G.E. 156-198).

The first known date of Hastin is G.E. 156. He ruled for an unusually long time, and, therefore, the same number of reign years cannot be assigned to his predecessors. We may, however, tentatively assign to them twenty years each. Thus for *Mahārāja* Dāmōdara we get c. G.E. 136—156, for *Mahārāja* Prabhañjana c. G.E. 116—136 and for Mahārāja Dēvāḍhya c. G.E. 96—116. In this way, the foundation of the dynasty can be traced back to c. G.E. 96=415 A.C., that is, the beginning of the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, who ascended the throne in about 413 A.C. The fourth king of the Parivrājaka dynasty started his reign in c. 475 A.C., when the Gupta empire was suffering from internal chaos and the threat of a foreign invasion, and he continued to rule at least up to c. 517 A.C. He saw the eclipse of the Gupta empire in Madhya Bharat by the Hūṇas in c. 500 A.C. and its liberation by Bhānugupta Bālāditya in 510 A.C.[3] As indicated by the political titles of the Parivrājaka kings, *Mahārāja*, it is evident that they were feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to the Gupta emperors. Except Hastin no other member of the dynasty is credited in the inscription with any military achievements. Hastin is hailed as 'the victor in hundreds of battles' (*naika-samara-śata-vijayī*) (line 6). Perhaps he took an active part on the side of the Gupta emperor in the war of liberation against the Hūṇas.

The list of the Brāhmaṇa grantees is a long one and consists of the following persons : Kōdravaśarman, Nāgaśarman, Mātṛidatta, Gaṅgābhadrasvāmin, Dhanadatta, Kapilasvāmin, Agniśarman, Vishṇudēva, Viśākhadēva, Gandasvāmin, Paritōshaśarman, Kṛishṇasvāmin, Dēvaśarman, [Rō]haśarman, Dēvaśarman, Dēvāḍhyadattaśarman, Manōratha, Agnidatta, Rudradatta, Viśākhadatta, Vishṇusvāmin, Vishṇudēva (II?), Svātigaṅga and three more whose names are not legible in the inscription. The name of the village granted is also not legible. Its assets were as given below : *ghōsha* (cattle-pound), *udyāna* (garden), *madhūka* (mahua trees), *palli* (hamlets), *vīthikā* (roads). The following taxes accrued to it : *udraṅga* (land-tax) and *uparikara* (additional taxes) ; it was immune from police and military interference (*a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya*). The boundaries of the village are fully demarcated. The village was given away according to the rules and rites of an *agrahāra* by *Mahārāja* Hastin for the attainment of religious merits.

The charter was drafted by Sūryyadatta, who was the minister in charge of peace and war (foreign minister). Sūryyadatta was a son of *Bhōgika* (provincial governor) Ravidatta, a grandson of *Bhōgika* (provincial governor) Naradatta and a great-grandson of a *Amātya* Vakra. Sūryyadatta was the writer also of some other grants of *Mahārāja* Hastin. He drafted the Khoh inscription of Hastin, dated G.E. 156, but there he was not yet a minister in charge of peace and war. In the G.E. 163 he drafted another Khoh inscription of Hastin. In G.E. 163 he was already promoted to the post of a *Mahāsandhivigrahika* (foreign minister). It appears that in the G.E. 191 either Sūryyadatta was dead or he was not in charge of drafting the charters, as the Majhagawan charter of Hastin was drafted by his son Vibhudatta, who was yet a *Sandhivigrahika*. The *Dūtaka* or the representative of the king at the time of drafting the charter was Nāgasiṁha.

[1] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III ; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 124 ff.
[2] It is already known from other inscriptions of Hastin.
[3] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 92 ff.

TEXT

First Plate

1 ॐ नमो महादेवाय। स्वस्ति सप्तत्युत्तरेब्दशतंक(के) गुप्तनृप-

2 राज्यभुक्तौ महाज्येष्ठसाम्व(संव)त्सरे फाल्गुण(न)मासशुक्लपक्ष-
 पञ्चम्यां

3 अस्यान्दिवसपूर्व्वायां नृपतिपरिव्राजककुलोप(त्प)न्नेन महाराजदेवाढ्यप्रण-

4 प्ता(प्त्रा) महाराजप्रभञ्जननप्त्रा श्रीमहाराजदामोदरसुतेन गोसहस्रह-

5 स्त्यश्वहिरण्यानेकभूमिप्रदेन गुरुपितृमातृपूजातत्परेणात्यन्तदेवब्रा-

6 ह्मणभक्तेन नैकसमरशतविजयिना स्ववन्शा(वंशा)मोदकरेण श्रीमहाराज-

7 हस्तिना स्वपुण्याप्यायनार्थं ब्राह्मणकोद्रवशर्म्म-नागशर्म्म-मातृदत्त-

8 गङ्गाभद्रस्वामि-धनदत्त-कपिलस्वामि-अग्निशर्म्म-विष्णुदेव-विशाखदेव-

9 गन्दस्वामि-परितोषशर्म्म-कृष्णस्वामि-देवशर्म्म-[रो]हशर्म्म-देवशर्म्म-

10 देवाढ्यदत्तशर्म्म-मनोरथ-अग्निदत्त····ती····शर्म्म-रुद्रदत्त-विशाखदत्त

11 ....मौनविष्णुस्वामिपुनरपि विष्णुदेव-स्वातिगङ्गघोषा(षो)द्यानमधूक-

12 गवा भगवक सपल्लिक वो(वी)थिकापल्लिकसमते(समेत)ताम्र-
 हारोत्सृष्टः सोद्र-

13 ङ्गः सोपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यो चो[रवर्ज्जं] समधूकः····[1]

Second Plate

14 पश्चिमदक्षिणेन मधूकवर्तिकासिंहानकः उत्तरेण शल्लकी माल

15 पूर्व्वेण वटाबाहिकाः किम्रादर्देहिको च दक्षिणपूर्व्वेण आम्रगर्तमधूकग-

16 र्तिका संगममित्येवं न केनचिदस्मत्कुलोत्थेन मत्पादपिण्डोपजीविना च

17 को(का)लो(ला)न्तरेष्वपि व्याघातो न[2] कार्यः एवमाज्ञप्ते योन्यथा
 कुर्य्यात् तमहं दे-

18 हान्तरगतोपि महतावध्यानेन निर्द्दहेयं। उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेद-

19 व्यासेन व्यासेन [।*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महिम्महिमतां

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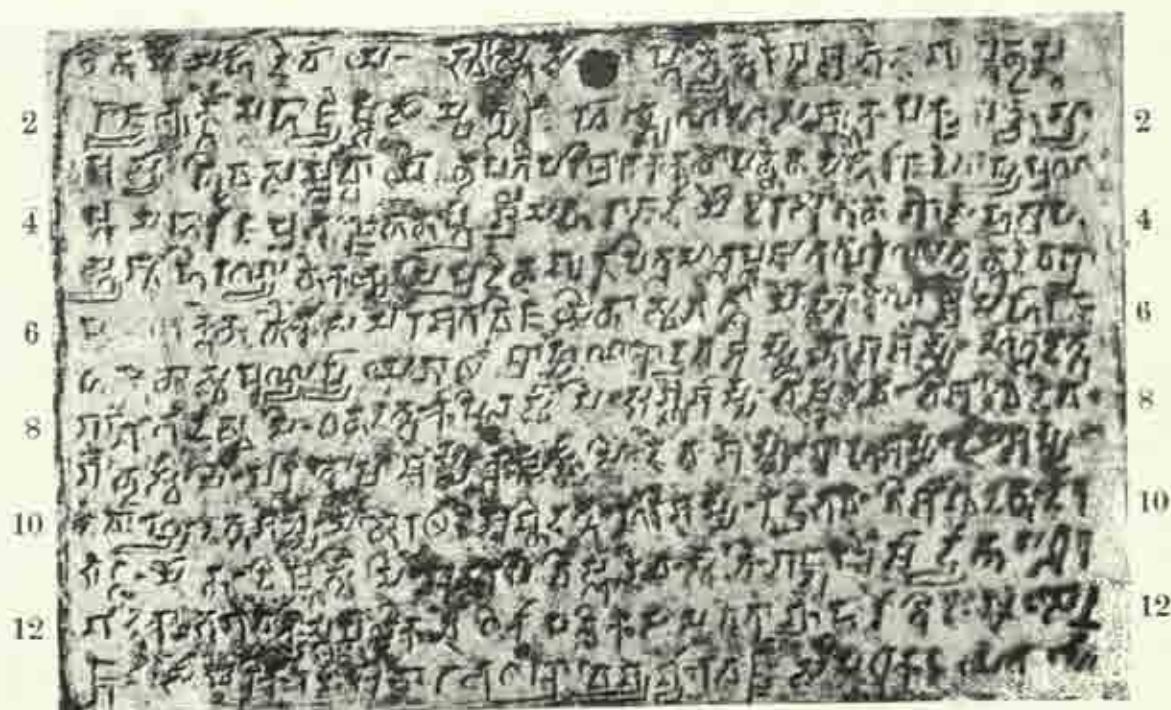
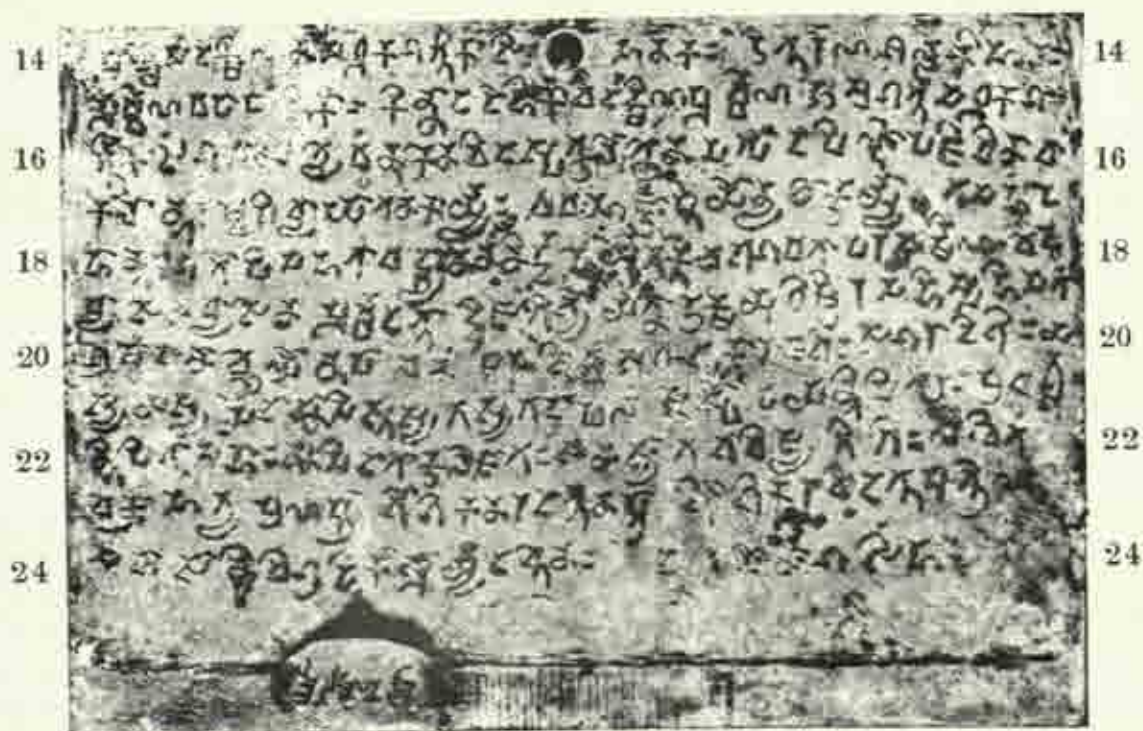
[1] [The reading of lines 12 and 13 seem to be as follows: 12 गर्त्तिकाभगवद्विष्नु(ष्णु)पल्लिकागोधिका-पल्लिक(का)समवेता(तो) ताम्रहारोत्सृष्टः सोद्र- 13 ङ्गः सोपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यश्चोरवर्ज्जं समधूक-यवागाढा [:]—Ed.]

[2] This *na* is superfluous.

First Plate

Second Plate

(From Photographs)

20 श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोन(नु)पालनं(नम्) ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः [।*] य-

21 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ पास्फोटयन्ति पितरः
प्रवर्गं(ल्ग)-

22 न्ति पितामहाः [।*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः सवस्त्रात(सर्वस्नात):[1]
भविष्यति(ती)ति ॥ लिखितं

23 त्वक्कामात्यप्रणप्त्रा भोगिकनरदत्तनप्त्रा भोगिकरविदत्तपुत्रेण

24 महासान्धिविग्रहिकसूर्य्यदत्तेन [।*] दूतको नागसिंहः

Seal[2]

श्रीहस्तिराज्ञः(जस्य)

No. 43—TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

(1 Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, MADRAS

The subjoined inscriptions A[3] and B[4] are found on both sides of two slabs found near the deserted Siva temple at Puṅganūr in the North Arcot District of the Madras State. Though the temple is now deserted without worship, its construction consisting of the central shrine with a *mahāmaṇḍapa* is intact containing inscriptions of Rājarāja I[5] and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III[6] indicating the patronage it received under the Chōḷa monarchs. An inscription[7] of Nṛipatuṅga-Vikramavarman in the village indicates that the locality, prior to the Chōḷas, was under the rule of the Pallavas.

Both the inscriptions, A and B, are in a fair state of preservation, though the slab containing B is broken into two pieces.

The **language** of these records is **Tamil** prose which does not call for any special remark. Minor peculiarities in the script and language are noticed in foot-notes under the texts.

These epigraphs are important because (1) they are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord of the region ; (2) they throw fresh light on the chronology of the rule of Pārthivēndravarman which has not yet been satisfactorily settled, and (3) one of them, *i.e.*, inscription B, mentions a chief of the Lāḍa family which wielded considerable influence in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District in the 9th and 10th centuries A. C.

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[1] [The reading is *sa sarva-srāta(tā)*.—Ed.]

[2] This is upside down.

[3] No. 13 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1940-41.

[4] No. 14 „ „ „ „ for 1940-41.

[5] Nos. 8, 9 and 11 „ „ „ for 1940-41.

[6] No. 7 „ „ „ for 1940-41.

[7] No. 12 „ „ „ for 1940-41.

Inscription **A** is dated Śaka year 888–966-67 A. C. and it states that **Īśvarapichchaṉ**, a member of (*the trading corportion called*) *Tiśai-yāyirat-taiññūṟṟu-nagar* redeemed the lake at Puṅgaṉūr by payment of gold to the *Ūravar* of the village.

Inscription **B** dated in Śaka year 9 (*sic.*) records that **Āṇaiyammaṉ**, son of **Iḷāḍarāyaṉ Taṭṭāḷaṉ** assigned (*the taxes*) *kaṇṇālakkāṇam* (*marriage fee*), *ūrppaḍiṅkāḍi* and *yiḍā-nāḻi* derived from the village (*for the upkeep*) of the tank called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pērēri' which he had constructed at Puṅgaṉūr.

It will be evident at the outset that both A and B refer to the same lake at Puṅgaṉūr which was constructed by Āṇaiyammaṉ and called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pērēri', evidently after his surname. Since **A** is definitely dated in Śaka 888 and as there is no difference in the palaeography of these records, we may surmise that the Śaka year 9 quoted in B is an engraver's mistake for Śaka 889, in preference to a possible reference to the 9th regnal year[1] of an unspecified king. If this supposition is correct, it may be maintained that in Śaka 888, this lake, which was originally dug by Āṇaiyammaṉ, but which in the meanwhile was under encumbrances, was redeemed by Īśvarapichchaṉ and that in the next year, the founder Āṇaiyammaṉ himself retrieved the situation by endowing certain specified taxes for its upkeep.

As no overlord is mentioned in these records it would appear that no one was acknowledged as such in the region about this time. Inscriptions not mentioning any king are found in the North Arcot District, dated in Śaka 810,[2] 830,[3] 832,[4] 85*,[5] 871,[6] 875,[7] 878,[8] 880,[9] 885,[10] 891,[11] and 892,[12] *i.e.*, from 888 to 970 A. C. This period was one of transition as it saw the end of Pallava rule, the intrusion and the temporary occupation of the region by Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III before the final conquest and consolidation of the Chōḷa power, replacing the Pallava domination. Time was therefore opportune for local chiefs like the Lāḍas to assert their power. In inscription B, Āṇaiyammaṉ is introduced without mentioning any overlord, but at Tirumālpuram in the same North Arcot District, this chief figures as a subordinate in the 12th and 13th years of the reign of Pārthivēndravarman.[13]

The period of rule of **Pārthivēndravarman** is not yet definitely settled, but the highest regnal year so far found for him in inscriptions is 13. On the basis of the similarity of titles such as Parakēsarivarman and Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṉ-talai-koṇḍa, etc., which both this ruler and the Chōḷa king Āditya II bore, he has been taken to be a contemporary of and even identical with the latter. But the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastriyar doubted if Āditya II and Pārthivēndravarman could be assigned to the same period, as records of neither of them supply names which give a clue to their contemporaneity.[14]

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[1] The words *Śakara-yāṇḍu* would make it clear that the regnal year of any particular king was not intended.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 95.
[3] Nos. 203, 211, 212 and 228 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915.
[4] No. 168 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.
[5] No. 157 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.
[6] *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 194.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[8] No. 473 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.
[9] No. 469 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.
[10] No. 470 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.
[11] Nos. 98 and 100 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1941-42.
[12] No. 248 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.
[13] Nos. 323 and 207 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906. The regnal year 3 (No. 267 of 1906) seems to be a mistake for 13 in the *Annual Report*.
[14] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1910, pt. II, para 17.

Since Āṇayiammaṉ figures in **B** of Śaka year [88]9 (967 A.C.) which does not mention the ruling king and also in records of the 12th and 13th regnal years of Pārthivēndravarmaṉ, we have to take these regnal years as falling either before or after 967 A. C., and very probably after, because as stated above, there are inscriptions in this region dated in Śaka 875, 878, 880 and 885. Further, Vīra-Pāṇḍya whose head is claimed to have been taken by Pārthivēndravarman and Āditya II, ruled from 946-47 A. C.[1] to 967, A. C. corresponding to his latest known regnal year 15+5th year.[2] Vīra-Pāṇḍya, therefore, must have been alive till 966-67 A.C. I have elsewhere[3] shown that the 2nd regnal year of Āditya II with whom Pārthivēndravarmaṉ has been sought to be identified must be placed after 959 A.C. from an examination of two records in one[4] of which **Iruṅgōḷakkōṉ** *alias* **Pugaḻvipparagaṇḍaṉ** figures in the Kali year 4060, *i.e.*, 959 A.C. without mentioning any overlord, and in the other,[5] dated in the 2nd regnal year of Parakēsarivarman 'who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya,' *i.e.*, Āditya II. It will thus be seen that the accession date 956 A.C. given to Āditya II in *The Cōlas*[6] has to be modified and that the theory of the contemporaneity of Pārthivēndravarman with Āditya II, which was doubted, gains in strength.

The family to which Āṇaiyammaṉ mentioned above belonged is called Ilāḍa[7] and Virāṭa in inscriptions. Members of this family describe themselves as of the Solar race and claim descent from Sagara Virāṭa. In the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. we find this family wielding power in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District, having marriage alliances with the local chiefs of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, the Bāṇas or Vāṇakōvaraiyars and the Chōḷa sovereigns. I have made an attempt to trace the history of this family in a paper entitled 'the Lāḍa Chiefs of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*,[8] Seventh Session, Madras.

The genealogy of Āṇaiyammaṉ is given as follows in an inscription from Tirumālpuram,[9] North Arcot District.

Guṇaratnasindhu of the Solar race (and) of the family of Sagara Virāṭa.

Āṇaiyammaṉ Paramaṇḍalādittaṉ Virāṭarājaṉ

Āṇaiyammaṉ was a feudatory of Pārthivēndravarmaṉ. He is said to have built of stone the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Śrīmālpēr and the enclosing *maṇḍapa*,[10] as also another *maṇḍapa* in the Vishṇu temple of the village.[11] Further, he made a gift of land for providing water

[1] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 37-8

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Vide* my paper on 'the Lāḍas of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Seventh Session, p. 210.

[4] No. 240 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 375-6.

[6] Vol. I, p. 180.

[7] This has no connection with the country Lāḍa through which Mahāvīra is supposed to have travelled (*J.A.S.B.* New Series, Vol. IV (1908), pp. 285-86 and *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. II, p. 91) or Rāḍha, *i.e.*, West Bengal.

[8] Pp. 203 ff.

[9] *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for* 1907, para. 63.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] No. 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

during summer and firewood during winter in the *maṇḍapa* at Gōvindavāḍi,[1] besides making provision for feeding 15 Brāhmaṇas daily. The three taxes specified in B were evidently his levy, as the chief of the region, the proceeds of which he made over for the upkeep of the tank constructed by him and called after his surname Paramaṇḍalādittan.[2]

As stated in inscription A, Īśvarapichchan belonged to *Tiśai* or *Tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūṟṟu-nagar*, a trading corporation of South India whose activities extended even beyond the borders of India. An inscription in Tamil dated in Śaka 1010-1088 A.C. at Loboe Toewa, Baros, Sumatra,[3] mentions this body which is also known as *Nānādēśi*,[4] *Padineṇ-vishayattār* or *Padineṇ-bhūmi*[5]-*Tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūṟṟuvar*. In an inscription[6] from Viriñchipuram, North Arcot District, members of this body are mentioned as "merchants of the 18 countries trading in the four directions." The present inscription is one of the few early records mentioning this body.

From its appellation, this organisation may be taken as one containing 1,500[7] or 500 members, but an inscription from Kalaśapākkam[8] (North Arcot District) favours the latter interpretation. This inscription records an endowment of land by the *Nānādēśis* for feeding people during the annual festival of the local temple in the *maṇḍapas* called *Nānādēśiyaṉ-śālai* and *Aiññūṟṟuvan-ambalam*. Generally in lithic records, this organisation is introduced with an elaborate string of *birudas* and its members enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, owing no exclusive political allegiance to any king in particular.

Of the taxes specified in B, the meaning of *Pīdā-nāḷi*[9] is not clear. It also occurs in the form *Pudā-nāḷi*[10] and *Pudōḷi*.[11] *Pudō* means a door and the term may be interpreted to mean a levy of 1 *nāḷi* on each house. *Ūrpadin-kāḍi*[12] may be taken as a levy of 10 *kāḍi* of grain due to *Ūr*, *i.e.*, assembly or village. *Kaṇṇālakkāṇam* is a fee of one *kāṇam* (of gold) received on every marriage occasion.[13]

The territorial division, Paḍavūr-kōṭṭam, comprised portions of the modern *taluks* of Arkonam, Walajapet, Vellore and Gudiyattam of the North Arcot District.

A. TEXT

Front Side

1 Ś[14]akar[15]ai yāṇḍu [16]88-
2 8-ṭṭāvadu Paḍuvūr-kō-
3 ṭṭattu Puṉ[gaṉūr]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Nos. 267 and 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 293; *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, 1892, para. 11.

[4] No. 82 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

[5] Nos. 192 and 402 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40. People of the 18 *samayas* and *Nānādēśis* are mentioned in No. 387 of 1926.

[6] No. 193 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40.

[7] A body called *Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* is noticed in a record of Māṟañjaḍaiyan from Tiruppattūr in the Ramnad District (Nos. 136 and 138 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908).

[8] No. 291 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939.

[9] It is also mentioned in the Larger Leiden Grant (above, Vol. XXII, p. 234).

[10] Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 321, text l. 33.

[11] Vēḷūrpāḷaiyam plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, 509, text l. 52.

[12] Cf. *Ūr-kaḷañju-kāśu* and *Ūr-kaḷañju* in No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1896 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 976, text-line 42).

[13] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 263.

[14] The letter *ś* is engraved in Grantha.

[15] The letter *r* is engraved with a circle at the top.

[16] The sign for hundred after the first figure 8 is peculiar.

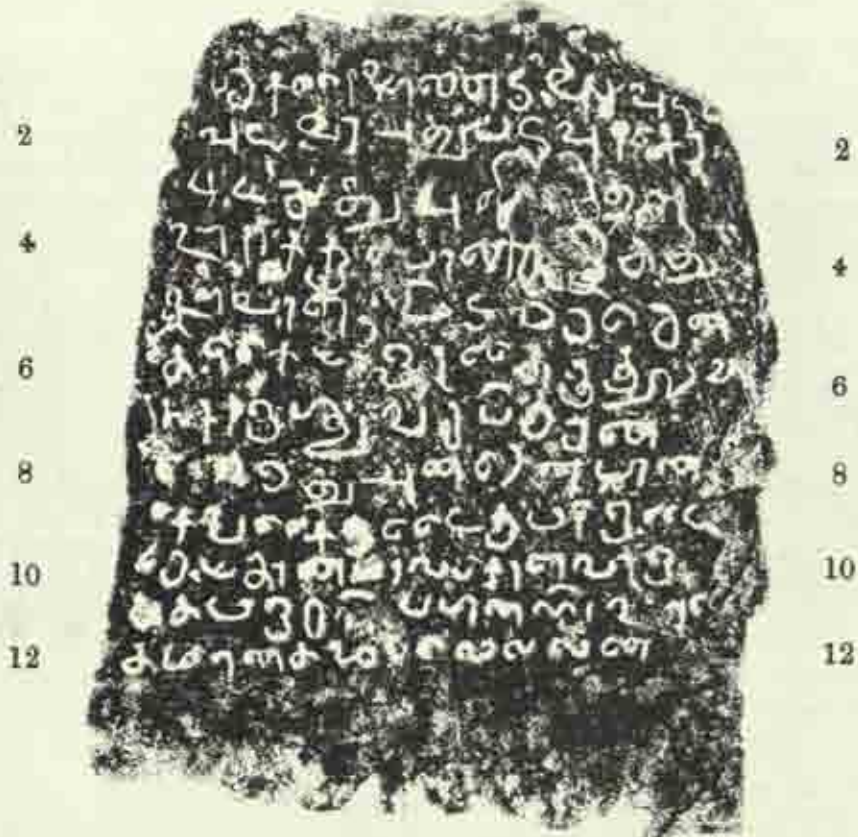
A

Front Side

Back Side

B.Ch.Chhabra
Reg. No. 583 HE (C) '51 479

Scale
One-tenth

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

Front Side
Back Side
B

4 ūrkku Poṉ ku[ḍu]ttu
5 Ū[ra*]var ē[ri] viḍuvichchēṉ
6 **Tigai-yāi(yi)ra [t*]taiññūṟṟ[1]u-**
7 **nagara I'sva(va)ra[2]pichchaṉ**
8 ..[3]idu aṉṟeṉbāṉ
9 Geṅgai-iḍai Kumari-iḍai
10 śeydāṉ pāva[ṅ*] koḷvā [ṉ*] i-
11 tta[ṉ*]mam ira[4][kshi]ppāṉ sri(śri)pā-[5]
12 dam en talai mēla(la)ṉa [|*]

Back Side

13 ittaṉma[m*] [iḍai]
14 vilaṅgi aṉṟā[-
15 kōvukku niśadam k[ā*]l
16 poṉ daṇḍipada o-
17 ṭṭi kuḍuttōm [Pu] ṉ-
18 [ga]ṉūr Ūrrōm (Ūrōm) ira-
19 [kship]pār śipādam eṉ talai
20 [mē]l-aṉa [|*]

B. TEXT

Front Side

1 [Sva*]sti śrī [||] Śakara yā-
2 [ṇ]ḍu 9 t-āvadu Ilā-
3 **ḍarāyaṉ Taṭṭāḷaṉ ma-**
4 **gaṉ Āṇalyammaṉē-**
5 ṉ Puṅgaṉūr nāṉ kaṇ-
6 ḍa Paramaṇḍalā(dittaṉ[6])-
7 pērērikku ivvūriṟ kaṇ-
8 ṇālakkāṇamum Ūrppa-
9 diṉkāḍiyum paḍāṉāḷiyum

Back Side

10 **ivvūrp-Paramaṇ[ḍalā]-**
11 **[dittaṉ] pērērikku** ni..[7]
12 ṉmamāgach-che[ydēṉ Ilā]-
13 ḍarāyaṉ Āṇalyamma-
14 ṉeṉ [|*] id-aḻippār [Gaṅ]-

[1] The letter ñū is written abnormally.
[2] Read Īśvara.
[3] The letter r is engraved in Grantha.
[4] Two letters are erased here. Probably the letters nāṉ were originally engraved.
[5] The letters va and śripā are in Grantha.
[6] The slab is broken here.
[7] The slab is so split into two that the beginnings of lines 6 and 7 are on the top piece, while the ends of these lines are on the lower piece.
[8] This portion may be filled up with the letters ṟka da.

15 gai-yiḍaik-Kumari-yiḍai
16 [*śe*] ydār śeyda pāvat-
17 tir paḍuvār i-dhanmam[1] rakshi-[2]
18 ppār-aḍi yen muḍi mēlana [|*]

TRANSLATION

A

(*In the*) Śaka year 888, **Īśvarapichchan** (*a member of the trading corporation*) **Tigai-yāyira-[t*]taiññūṛṟu-nagar**, released the tank of the *Ūravar* (*by*) giving gold to the assembly (*Ūr*) of Puṅganūr in Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam. He who says ' nay ' to this shall incur the sins committed (*by the sinners*) between the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The sacred feet of him who protects this charity shall be on my head.

If this charity be violated, the *Ūravar* of Puṅganūr agree to be liable for a penalty of a quarter *pon* daily to the reigning king. The sacred feet of those (*who*) protect (*this charity*) shall be on my head.

B

(*In the*) Śaka year 9, I, **Āṇaiyamman**, son of **Ilāḍarāyan Taṭṭālan**, made a gift of (*the taxes*) Kaṇṇālak-kāṇam, Ūrppaḍin-kāḍi (*and*) Piḍā-nāḻi (*derived from*) this village (*i.e.*, Puṅganūr) to **Paramaṇḍalādittap-pērēri** (*which*) I constructed at Puṅganūr.

(I), **Ilāḍarāyan Āṇaiyamman** (*assigned this*) gift to **Paramaṇḍalādittap-pērēri** (*of this*) village. Those (*who*) destroy this (*charity*) shall incur the sins committed by the sinners between the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The feet of (*those who*) protect this charity shall be on my head.

No. 44—TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA

(2 *Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND P. ACHARYA, BHUBANESWAR

More than five years ago, two sets of copper-plate inscriptions were secured by Dr. Rādhā Charaṇa Paṇḍā, a medical practitioner of **Bālugāon** on the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. Ultimately the inscriptions found their way to the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, where they are now lying. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the Bhañja rulers of Vañjulvaka, a hitherto unidentified city in the present Ganjam region. One of the grants was issued by Śilābhañja II who was so long known only from the records of his descendants, while the other was issued by king Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa who is as yet unknown from any other sources. No information was supplied to us in regard to the findspot of the records and the story of their discovery.

A.—Plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa

The inscription is written on a set of **three copper plates.** The outer sides of the first and third plates are blank. The plates measure each 6·6 inches by 2·9 inches. The central plate has

[1] The letters *dhanma* are engraved in Grantha.
[2] Engraved in Grantha.

slightly raised rims and is a little thicker than the other two. The plates are not in a very satisfactory state of preservation. Small bits have broken away from the first and third plates together with a few letters at the end of the last line on Plate I and at the beginning of the last line on Plate III. The plates are strung together on a copper ring about 2·11 inches in diameter and ·25 inch in thickness. The hole in the plates for the ring to pass through was apparently made after the plates had been engraved, as a few letters are found partially cut off by it. A circular brass **seal** (1·25 inches in diameter) is soldered on the joint of the ring. The upper part of the surface of the seal is occupied by the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left but having its face turned to the front. Its tail is curled above its back. As is well known, this was the emblem of the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala ruling first from Dhṛitipura and then from Vañjulvaka. Below the lion emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī-Śi[lābha]-* (2) *ñjadēvasya*. The subscript of *sya* has been so lengthened towards the left that the second line of the legend looks like having two straight lines below it. The three plates together weigh 50 *tolas*, while the weight of the ring with the seal is 8½ *tolas*.

The **characters** employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the tenth century A. C. and closely resemble those found in the records of the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala, issued from Dhṛitipura and Vañjulvaka, and other Orissan inscriptions of about the same period. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are many errors of both language and orthography. In these respects, also, the record under discussion resembles many other inscriptions of about the same age found in Orissa. The palaeography and orthography of our inscription do not thus call for any special mention.

The charter is **dated** in the first regnal year of king **Śilābhañjadēva** who issued it. As will be shown below, this king flourished about the end of the tenth century A.C. The grant has therefore to be assigned to a date in the above period.

The charter begins as usual with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*, which are followed by the well-known verses, *Jayati kusumabāṇa**, etc., and *Śiśh-āhēr-iva*, etc., found in all the Bhañja records issued from the city of Vañjulvaka. A short prose passage following the second verse actually says that the grant under discussion was issued from the victorious **Vañjulvaka.** Then follows another well-known verse, *Asti jaya-śrī-nilayaḥ*, etc., which is found, with slight variations, in most of the Vañjulvaka records to introduce the reigning Bhañja king under one of his secondary names. The secondary or coronation name of the donor of the grant, disclosed by the verse under notice, is Tribhuvanakalaśa which was so long unknown from the epigraphic records of the family. Lines 8-10 mention the king, who was in good health, as the *Paramamāhēśvara* (devout worshipper of Mahēśvara or Śiva) Śilābhañjadēva, described as the son of Diśābhañjadēva and grandson of Raṇabhañjadēva who was an ornament of the Bhañja family. Lines 10-14 say how the king addressed the *rājan, rājanaka, rājaputra, vishayapati, dāṇḍapāśika* and other officers that were or might in future be put in charge of administration in the Salvaḍa *vishaya* as well as the village-folk of the district headed by the Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇas. The mention of the Karaṇas together with the Brāhmaṇas at the head of the local population is very interesting as it speaks not only of their crystallization into a caste group, but also of their social position.[1] After declaring, in the style of the records of the Bhañjas of this particular branch, the all-round prosperity of the king to the addressees, the charter goes on to inform them (lines 14-22) that the village of **Dēūlaḍḍa** in the above *vishaya*

[1] Cf. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. X, pp. 280-84. The Karaṇas appear to have been originally an East Indian tribe. They gradually merged themselves in the community of scribe-accountants possibly for their predilection for the profession in question.

(district) was granted as a permanent revenue-free holding in favour of the Brāhmaṇa **Lumvādēva** who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and the Kauṇḍinya, Vāsishṭha and Maitrāvaruṇa *pravaras* as well as to the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* and the Kāṇva *śākhā* (of the Yajurvēda). The donee was the son of the *agnihōtrin* Agudēva and grandson of the *agnihōtrin* Gōlasvāmin. The grant was made by the king for the increase of merit to his parents and himself. It was free from all obstacles and was endowed with the privilege indicated by *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśa*.

The grant proper is followed in lines 22-25 by a verse containing the donor's request to his own descendants and others, who might be in charge of the district in future, for the protection of his donation. Then follow some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (lines 25-33) introduced by the passage *uktañ=cha dharma-śāstrē*. The last three lines of the document (lines 33-35) give the names of the persons responsible for the preparation of the document and the execution of the grant. It is said that the order (for the issue of the charter) emanated from the king himself. The *dūtaka* or executor of the grant was *Bhaṭṭa* Stambhadēva who is already known from the records of Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I and Vidyādharabhañja Amōghakalaśa belonging to the same branch of the Bhañja family.[1] The writer of the document was the *Sandhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) Māñju, while the engraver of the plates was the *akshaśālika* (the same as Telugu *agasāli* meaning 'a goldsmith') Durgadēva. The same goldsmith is already known to have engraved some other charters[2] of the family issued by Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I, Vidyādharabhañja Amōghakalaśa and Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II. The document was *lāñchhita*, *i.e.*, registered with a seal, by Dēvarāja. The date of the record, *viz.* year 1 of the issuer's reign, comes at the end.

Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, who issued the present charter belonged to the royal family known as the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala owing to the claim of the earlier members of the family to have been rulers of Khiñjalimaṇḍala or of Ubhaya-Khiñjalimaṇḍala (*i.e.*, both of the two Khiñjalimaṇḍalas). As there was another later Bhañja line ruling from Kōlāḍa and claiming to have ruled over Khiñjali, they are more particularly called the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. The charters of *Rāṇaka* Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa (son of Śilābhañja I Aṅgaddi, the progenitor of the line) and of his son *Rāṇaka* or *Mahārāja* Raṇabhañja were issued from Dhṛitipura. Most of these records have come from the old Sonpur, Baudh and Daspalla States of Orissa.[3] The town of Gandhaṭapāṭi, named after Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa, is the modern Gandharāḍhi in the old Baudh State. The family was Vaishṇava down to the earlier years of the reign of Raṇabhañja who became a Śaiva in the later years of his reign. Raṇabhañja's descendants, however, are known to have issued their grants from Vañjulvaka and the records have come from the Ganjam area (including the old Nayagarh State).[4] It is clear that after Raṇabhañja the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala were driven from the region of Baudh and its neighbourhood by some undertermined circumstances to the Ganjam District. So long we knew of the following descendants of Raṇabhañja to have issued charters from Vañjulvaka in the Ganjam area : (1) *Paramamāhēśvara Rājan* Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa, son of Raṇabhañja ; (2) *Paramamāhēśvara Mahārāja* Vidyādharabhañja Amōghakalaśa son of Śilābhañja (II), grandson of Digbhañja and great-grandson of Raṇabhañja, and (3) *Paramavaishṇava Mahārāja* Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II, son of Vidhyādharabhañja Amōghakalaśa.

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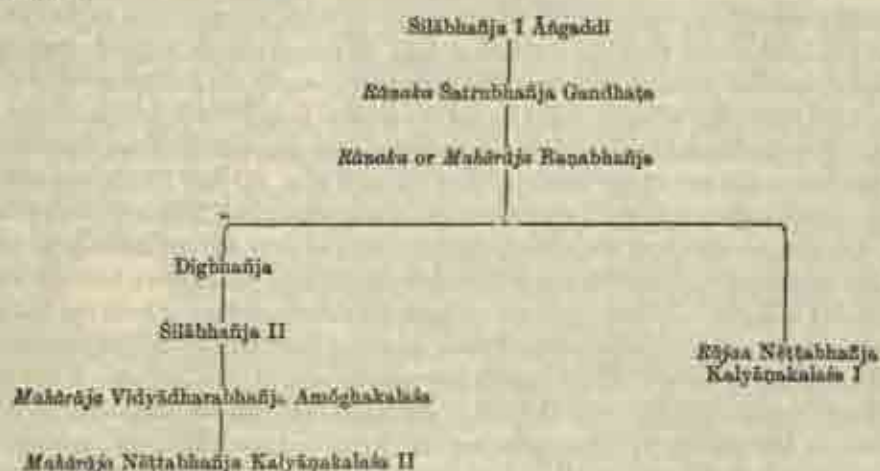
[1] Cf. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1497, 1500, 1501.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 1497, 1498, 1499, 1502. Read *Durgadēva* in place of *Dugadēva* in No. 1502. See also *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 288 ff.; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 175.

[3] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1490-96, 2055.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 1497-1502; above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 174 ff.; *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 288 ff.

Bhandarkar thus rightly drew up the following genealogy of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala[1]:

The inscription under review was issued by Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, son of Diśābhañja and grandson of Raṇabhañja. There is no doubt that he is to be identified with Śilābhañja II of the above list. The present charter is thus the only record of the king so far discovered. An interesting fact known from our record is that Raṇabhañja's son, Digbhañja, was also called Diśābhañja which is apparently a variant of the same name. Whether, however, he was an elder or a younger brother of Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa and whether he actually ruled or not are facts that cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. The name Diśābhañja endowed with the title *Mahārāja* occurs in an inscription (painted on a rock) recently discovered at Sitabhinji in the old Keonjhar State.[2] It is possible that this Diśābhañja is identical with Digbhañja-Diśābhañja of the Khiñjalimaṇḍala branch of the Bhañja family. If this suggestion is to be accepted, we have possibly to assume that Digbhañja-Diśābhañja actually ruled either before or after his brother Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. The discovery of his inscription in the old Keonjhar State may suggest that he ruled before the family was driven to the Ganjam region, that is to say, before Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. It may also lend some colour to the suggestion of those scholars who believe that the modern name *Keonjhar* is a corruption of the old *Khiñjali*[3].

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 279. Another recent attempt to determine the genealogy of this family is that of Krishnamacharlu (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 17) whose views, however, are absolutely unwarranted.

[2] A photograph of this small record was shown to us by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, at Nagpur where we assembled to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1950. The characters of the inscription belong to the Kalinga script which is known from a number of copper-plate grants coming from the Ganjam area and assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries. See Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 69-70; *cf.* Table VII, Column XIX, Table VIII, Columns X-XII; Ojha, *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā*, 1918, pp. 92 ff., Plates LVII-LXIX. The inscription has been recently published with a Plate in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. Its ascription to the fourth century A.C. (*ibid.*, p. 192; *cf. J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 69), on supposed palaeographical grounds, is entirely inadmissible. Other records of the same place, published with the above with inaccurate transcripts and assigned to the sixth century, are also not earlier than the tenth century.

[3] It appears that Khiñjali was originally the name of a tract covering parts of the Baudh, Sonpur, Daspalla and Keonjhar regions, where these Bhañjas at first ruled, but that the name was applied to their new kingdom in the Ganjam area after the loss of their territories in Upper Orissa. Whether the Ganjam region formed a part of the dominions of the earlier rulers of the family and was one of the two Khiñjalis mentioned in some records cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. This is however not altogether impossible in view of the fact that these Bhañjas may have claimed descent from Nēṭṭabhañja of the Russellkonda plates edited above, pp. 258 ff.

As to the chronology of these rulers, we have elsewhere[1] seen that Raṇabhañja ruled about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, since he was a contemporary of the father and grandfather of the Kadamba chief Dharmakhedi who is known from his records dated in the Śaka year 917 (995 A.C.) and the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.C.). It should also be noticed that the town of Gandhaṭapāṭi, founded by Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa, was apparently the headquarters of the Gandhaḍapāṭi *maṇḍala*, in which a village granted by the Sōmavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (*circa* 970-1000 A.C.)[2] was situated.[3] This fact not only suggests that Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa flourished sometime before the end of the tenth century but also that it was the Sōmavaṁśīs (probably Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I himself) who drove out the Bhañjas from Upper Orissa to the Ganjam region. Another inscription of the same Sōmavaṁśī king records a grant made in favour of an inhabitant of Śilābhañjapāṭi in the Ōḍra *dēśa*[4], which seems to have been a town built by and named after Śilābhañja I Aṅgaddi. These facts are valuable for the chronology of both the Sōmavaṁśīs and the early Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. Since *Bhaṭṭa* Stambhadēva and *Akshaśālika* Durgadēva served no less than three of Raṇabhañja's descendants, *viz.* (1) Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I, son of Raṇabhañja, (2) Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, grandson of Raṇabhañja, and (3) Vidyādharabhañja Amōghakalaśa, great-grandson of Raṇabhañja, while the goldsmith further served Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II, son of Vidyādharabhañja, it seems that all the above rulers had short reigns. At least Digbhañja-Diśābhañja and his son Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, whose reigns are characterised by a paucity of records, appear to have had very short reigns. It is thus possible to assign the reign of Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, who issued the charter under discussion, to a period about the close of the tenth century A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Vañjulvaka, which was the capital of the later members of the royal family in question and apparently lay somewhere in the Ganjam region, has not been satisfactorily identified. We have not succeeded in identifying the village of Dēūladda and the district of Śalvaḍa either.

TEXT[5]

[Metre :—verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Āryā* ; verse 4 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 5-8 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 9 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[6] Svasti [||*] Jayati Kusumava(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-daksham sva-kiraṇa-pari-

2 vēshō(sh-au)[r]jjitya-jīrṇṇ-ēndu-lēkhaṁ(kham|) tribhuvana-bhavan-āntar-dyōta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ kanaka-n[i]-

3 kasha-gauraṁ[7] vibhru-nētraṁ Harasya [|1*] Śēsh-āhēr=iva y[ē] phaṇāḥ pravila[sa*]nty=ud-bhāsvar-ēndu-

4 tvishaḥ|[8] prā[l]ēyāchala-śriṅga-k[ō]ṭaya iva tvaṅganti yē=tyunnatāḥ | nṛitt-āṭṭō(ṭō)-

5 pa-vigha[ṭṭi]tā iva bhujā rājanti yē śāmbhavās=tē sarvv-āgha-vighātinaḥ

6 sura-sarit-tōy-ōrmmayaḥ pā[ntu] vaḥ|| [2*] vijaya-Vañjulvakāt[| *] Asti jaya-śrī-

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[1] *Proc. I.H.C.*, Cuttack, 1949, pp. 127-29.

[2] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, p. 98 where the name has been read as *Gaṇuḍa*°.

[4] Above, Vol. III, p. 353.

[5] From the original plates.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

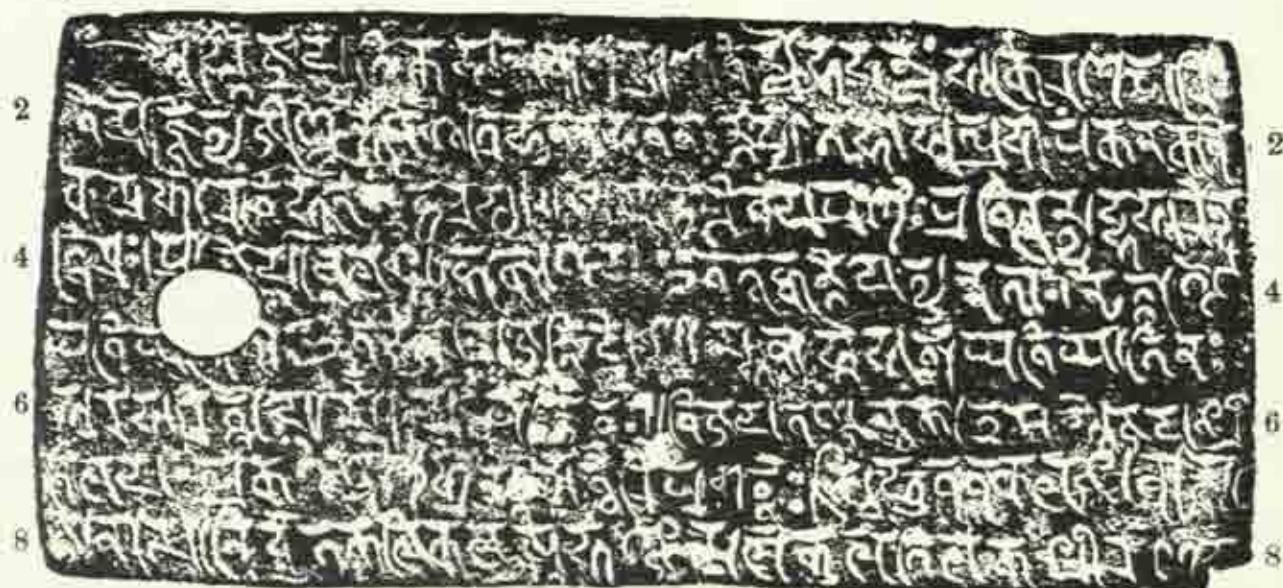
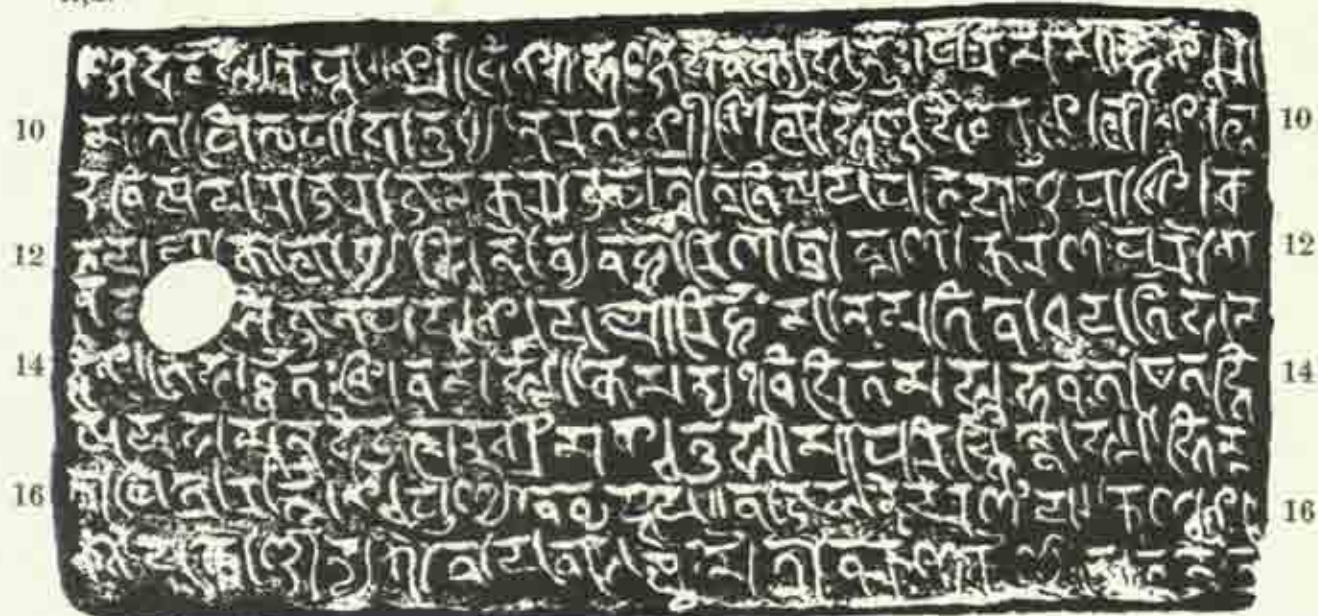
[7] In the same context, we have *gauram* in other inscriptions.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

i.

ii,a.

ii,b.

iii.

7 nilayaḥ prakaṭa-g[u]ṇa-gra[sta]-sarvva-ripu-garvvaḥ [|] Stri(Tri)]bhuvana[1]kalaśa-nāmā

8 jñānmā[2] nirvū(rdhū)ta-kali-kalusha[ḥ|3*] Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka-śrī-Raṇa[bha]-

Second Plate ; First Side

9 ñjadēvasya naptā ||[3] śrī-Disābhañjadēvasya su(sū)nuḥ |[4] parama-māhēsvar[ō]

10 mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāna-rataḥ śrī-Śilābhañjadēva[ḥ*] kuśalī Śalva-

11 ḍa-vishayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrāt(trān) vishayapati-dāṇḍapāśik[ā]-

12 n ya[thā]-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyavahāriṇō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇā(ṇa)-Karaṇa-purōgā[n*]

13 ni[vāsi]-janapadāṁś=cha yathāriham[5] mānayati vō(bō)dhayati sa[mā]-

14 diśati sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anyat viditam=astu bhavatāṁ(tām) | ētad-vi-

15 shaya-samvandha[6]-Dūlaḍḍagrāmaś=chatu[ḥ*]-sīmā-parichchhinnō=smābhi[r=mmā]-

16 tā-pitrōr=ātmu[na*]ś=cha puṇy-āva(bhi)vṛiddhayē ||[7] Vājasanē[ya*]-charaṇāya ||[7] Ka(Kā)-
ṇva-śā-

17 khāya Kauṇḍi(ṇḍi)nya-gōtrāya Vasishṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-K[au][8]ṇ(ṇḍi)(ṇḍi)nyat[9] Mai[trā]-

Second Plate ; Second Side

18 Vasishṭhat pravara Maitrāvaruṇat anupravara ||[7] Gōlasva(svā)mi-[10]agni(gni)-

19 hōtṛi || sya[11] naptā(ptrē) Aṇudēva-[10]agni(gni)hōtrisya(ṇaḥ) s[u]ta[12] Bhaṭṭa-Lumvādōva[13] sa-

20 lila-dhārā-[pu]raḥsarēṇa vidhinā pratipāditō=smābhiḥ a(ā)-chand[r]-ā-

21 rka-tārā yāvat a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prav[ē]śēna sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārēṇ=ā-karatvē-

22 na bhuñjadbhir=ddharmma-gauravāt na kēnachid-vyāghātanīyaṁ(yam |) Asmat-kula-

23 krama[m=u]dāram=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyanumōdanī(nī)-

24 yaṁ(yam |*) lakshmyās=taḍit-salila-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)da-chañchalāyā dānaṁ phalaṁ para-
yaśa[ḥ*]-

25 paripālanañ=cha|[4*]uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē[|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi-
[ḥ*]

26 Sagar-ādibhi(bhiḥ |) [ya]sya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phala[ṁ](lam ||5)

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[1] Read *Śrī-Tribhuvana°* for the sake of the metre. (Even this would not help. Better read *Tribhuvana-kalaśa nāmnā*.—Ed.)

[2] Read *°jñā*.

[3] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[4] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[5] Read *yath-ārha*.

[6] Read *sambaddha*.

[7] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[8] The medial *au* in *kau* is imperfectly formed, as of the three (left, right and top) members of the sign, only the top member has been incised.

[9] Read either *Kauṇḍinya-Vāsishṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-pravarāya* or *Vāsishṭha-pravarāya Maitrāvaruṇa-anupravarāya*. The occasional use of *t* at the end of the names is apparently owing to the alternate style of citing the *pravaras*, e.g., *Kauṇḍinyavat Vasishṭhavat Maitrāvaruṇavat*.

[10] The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed here.

[11] Read *hōtriṇaḥ*. The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[12] Read *sutāya*.

[13] Read *°dēvāya*.

Third Plate

27 Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti=pārthivāḥ[|*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ā-

28 nantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē)||[6*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām |)

29 sa vish[ṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=[bhū]tvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē||[7*] Shashṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-saha[srā]-

30 ṇi sva[rgē] mōdati bhu(bhū)midaḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha sa ēva narakaṁ vra-

31 jēt[||8*] Iti ka[mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi]ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya ma-

32 nushya-ja(jī)vitañ=cha[|*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)dhvā nahi purushaiṁ(shaiḥ) para-

33 kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ*]|[9*] svayam=ādishṭō rājña(jñā |) vu(dū)takō=tra śrī-Bhaṭṭa-Stambhadē-

34 va[ḥ|*] likhitañ=cha sandhivigrahiṇ[ā] Māñju[nā*]|| utki(tkī)rṇṇañ=cha akshaśālikēna Durg[g]a-

35 [dēvēna]||lāñchhitaṁ Dēvarājēna[||*] Samva 1[1][||*]

B.—Plates of Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa

The inscription is written on a set of **three copper plates** (each measuring 6·85 inches by 4 inches), strung together on a copper ring 2·75 inches in diameter and ·3 inch in thickness. The first and third plates have writing only on the inner sides, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation, although a small bit has broken away from the last plate together with a few letters at the beginning of the last line of the inscription. The circular bronze **seal** soldered on the joint of the ring is 1·6 inches in diameter. The seal closely resembles that attached to the grant of Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa edited above (A) and the upper part of its surface bears the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left with its face turned towards the front and its tail curled above its back. Below the lion is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī-Nēṭṭabha-* (2) *ñjadēvasya.* The weight of the three plates together is 112½ *tolas* and that of the ring with the seal is 34 *tolas.*

The **characters** of the inscription resemble those employed in the charter A, although they have to be assigned to a slightly later date. On the grounds of palaeography, supported by the internal evidence of the inscription, the charter under discussion may be assigned roughly to a date in the eleventh century A.C. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and there are numerous errors of language and orthography, the latter exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation. The charter is **dated** in the 13th regnal year of its issuer and not in the year of any era.

The style of the record is similar generally to that of the other grants of the Khiñjalimaṇḍala branch of the Bhañja family and particularly to that of the charter A above. The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* which is followed by the verses, *Jayati kusumabāṇa°*, etc., and *Śēshāhēr=iva*, etc. The word *svasti* is, however, put after the above verses and before the short prose passage speaking of the victorious **Vañjulvaka** as the place whence the charter was issued. Next follows the stanza, *Asti*, etc., which differs in form only slightly from the third verse in the record A. But it is interesting to note that the secondary or coronation name of the issuer of the grant introduced in this verse is also Tribhuvanakalaśa as in the other epigraph. The following passage in prose (lines 9 ff.) says how the *Paramavaishṇava* (devout worshipper of Vishṇu) *Rāṇaka* **Nēṭṭabhañjadēva** of the Bhañja family, who was the son of Rāyabhañjadēva and grandson of Pṛithvi-

[1] The figure is engraved below the akshara *sam* as the lower part of the akshara *rja* in the previous line occupied the space in front of *sam*. Read *Samvat 1*.

bhañjadēva, addressed the village folk of the Nānākhaṇḍa[1] *vishaya* (district) including the *sāmantas* (subordinate rulers) and *bhōgins* (*jāgīrdārs*) together with their *karaṇas* (*i.e. ādhikaraṇas* or officers)[2]. In the style of the charters of the branch of the Bhañja family in question, the king first informed the addressees of his all-round prosperity and next of the grant of **Sēḍāgrāma** in the above district together with another locality called **Rāigrāma**, made by him in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named **Bhaṭṭa Dāuli**. The donee was the son of Bhaṭṭa Siḍa and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Balabhadra. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* having the Āṅgirasa *pravara* and the Bārhaspatya *anupravara* and was a student of the Chhandōga *charaṇa* and Kauthuma *śākhā* (of the Sāmavēda). He is described as a resident of Kōlakhali, although the original home of his family is given as Vātala-viḍīma. Lines 18-20 say that the above gift was made a permanent revenue-free holding by means of the copper-plate charter. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are then quoted in lines 24-33. In this connection, the well-known verse, *Sarvān-ētān-bhāvinaḥ pārthi-vēndrān*, etc., is quoted with the substitution of the donor's name, *Nēṭṭabhañja*, in place of the usual *Rāmabhadra* and a prose passage introducing the stanza says that the grant was made on Monday when the *tithi* was the *dēv-ōtthāna-dvādaśī* and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī. As all the *dvādaśīs* (the twelfth *tithis* of either half of the lunar months) are associated with the god Vishṇu[3], the *ishṭa-dēvatā* of the donor, it is difficult to determine, in the absence of any indication regarding the month and the fortnight, the particular *dvādaśī* referred to in the passage. The details are thus insufficient to calculate the exact date of the grant. Of the following two verses quoted in lines 36-39, the one beginning with *asmin-vaṁśē kshaya-kshīṇē* is found in numerous other Orissan records. The concluding lines (lines 40-42) give the names of the persons associated with the grant. The charter was registered with a seal (*lāñchhita*) by Jīvalōka-mahādēvī (or less probably, Śrījīvalōka-mahā-dēvī) who seems to have been a queen of Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, issuer of the charter. We know of many other similar instances of the mention of queens in connection with the function indicated by the word *lāñchhita* especially in records coming from the Ganjam area[4]. The grant is said to have been approved (*anumata*) by Bhaṭṭa Arkadēva, while it was taken to the donee's home or executed (*pravēśita*) by the *Pratihāra* (officer in charge of the palace-gate and head of the palace guards) Rāula. It is further said that the grant was assented to (*anujñāta*) by the *Vārgulī* (bearer of the kings' betel-box) Mahindapa who seems to have been a witness or worked on behalf of the executor of the grant, Rāula. The plates were engraved by the *arkasālin* (*i.e.*, *akshaśālin* or goldsmith) Napa. The document was written by the *Sandhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) whose name was Pāṇā. The date of the grant, *viz.* year 13 of the donor's reign, comes at the end of the inscription in line 42.

There is no doubt that *Rāṇaka* Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa who issued the charter under discussion belonged to the family of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. This is suggested not only by the king's names and the issue of the grant from Vañjulvaka, the later capital of the rulers of that family, but also by the very style of the document. The genealogy of the family quoted above would show that there is hardly any space for Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa and for his father and grandfather in the family before Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II. The secondary or coronation name ending in *kalaśa* was a style unknown in the family before the sons of Raṇa-bhañja. The expression *pravēśita*, used in connection with the execution of a grant, is found in the

[1] It may be suggested that the passage *nānā-khaṇḍa-vishayē* means " in the various subdivisions and districts (of the kingdom) ". But the description of the gift village in line 14 below as " attached to this district " seems to presuppose the mention of the name of the *vishaya* in the passage under consideration. Note also the singular used in *vishayē*.

[2] *Cf. J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XVI, p. 117.

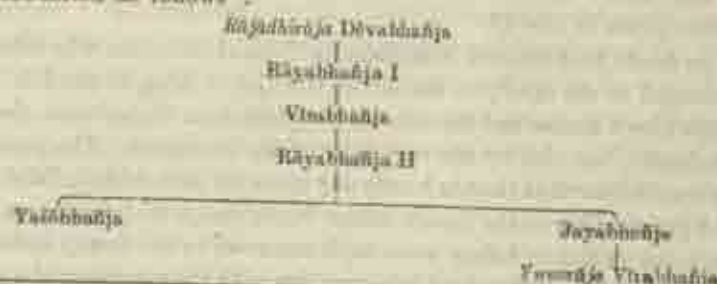
[3] See *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *dvādaśī*. The *Vishṇu-smṛiti* (XLIX, 1), however, lays special stress on Mārgaśīrsha *sudi* 12, which may be the *tithi* intended in our record.

[4] See Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1500-02.

family's records only of the time of Vidyādharbhañja Amōghakalaśa and Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II. The officers of the king mentioned in the grant as associated with it are also not found in any other record of the family. These facts would suggest that Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, who issued this charter, flourished sometime after Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II and may be tentatively designated Nēṭṭabhañja III. This suggestion seems to be supported by his epithet *Paramavaishṇava*, as Vaishṇavism was reintroduced as the family's religion by Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II. Whether Pṛithvībhañja and Rāyabhañja, father and grandfather respectively of Nēṭṭabhañja III Tribhuvanakalaśa (II), actually ruled cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It seems however that Pṛithvībhañja was not far removed from Nēṭṭabhañja II and may have been the latter's son or grandson. It is difficult to determine whether the title *Rāṇaka* adopted by Nēṭṭabhañja III had any special significance. The seal of all these rulers bears the emblem of a lion moving to the left.

Another later member of the same family was Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja who was the son of Śilābhañja, grandson of Mallagambhīradēva and great-grandson of Yathāsankhadēva and who issued the Jangalpadu plates[1] in the fourteenth year of his reign. As in the case of Nēṭṭabhañja III, the relationship of Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja with the known members of the family of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala is unknown. Whether the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja were actual rulers is also not known. The place of issue of Śatrubhañja's charter is, however, not mentioned and he may have been a member of the same family ruling side by side with the ruler of Vañjulvaka. But the Salvāḍḍa or Sulvāḍḍa *vishaya*, in which the village granted by Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja was situated, seems to be no other than the Salvaḍa *vishaya* of the grant of Śilābhañja II edited above (A).

Another Bhañja king making grant of a village in Khiñjalimaṇḍala and ruling in the Ganjam region was the *Paramavaishṇava Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nēṭṭabhañja who was the son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Nēṭṭabhañja and issued a charter from Kumārapura.[2] The style of this record is quite different from that of the charters of the Bhañja rulers of Vañjulvaka. The emblem on the seal is also not the lion but a *kalaśa* taken by some as *pūrṇa-kumbha* and by others as *amṛita-ghaṭa*. He must have represented a different branch of the Bhañja family just as the later Bhañjas claiming to have ruled the Khiñjali country from the Kōlāḍa *kaṭaka*[3] did. The *yuvarāja* Rāyabhañja mentioned in this inscription may have been the son of the issuer of the charter.

The genealogy of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali, as known from their two records so far discovered, may be tabulated as follows[4] :

[1] Inaccurate transcripts of this inscription have been published in *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 287 ff., and *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, 181 ff. We have recently re-edited the record for the *Epigraphia Indica*. The first three verses of this record are the same as those in the epigraphs edited here.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff.

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar, Nos. 1504, 2006. Kōlāḍa seems to be no other than modern Kulāḍa near Russellkonda, which was the headquarters of a family of Bhañja chiefs as late as the British period. The celebrated Oriya poet Upendra-bhañja belonged to this family. It is possible to think that this family was an off-shoot of that of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali ruling from Kōlāḍa-kaṭaka.

[4] Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 372.

B—PLATES OF NETTABHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA

i.

ii,a.

ii, b.

22 22

24 24

26 26

28 28

30 30

iii.

32 32

34 34

36 36

38 38

40 40

42 42

Only two copper plate grants of this family, one of Yaśōbhañja and the other of Jayabhañja, both from Antirigam in the Ganjam District, have so far been discovered. Yaśōbhañja, said to be the lord of the whole Khiñjali country, is described as the conqueror of Jagadēkamalla who has been identified with the Western Chālukya king Perma-Jagadēkamalla II (*circa* 1138-51 A.C.[1]). Jayabhañja's grant is dated in his third regnal year when there was a lunar eclipse on Jyēshṭha sudi 15. Bhandarkar, who assigns Yaśōbhañja's contemporary Jagadēkamalla to *circa* 1139-49 A.C., says, "The first lunar eclipse in Jyēshṭha after this date came off on Friday, 22nd May 1164. Jayabhañja therefore came to the throne in A.D. 1161." Unfortunately this is wrong as Bhandarkar confused in many cases the full moon with the new moon in the calculation of dates for his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.[2] As however, the exact date of the end of Yaśōbhañja's reign is unknown and as lunar eclipse occurred on the Jyēshṭha *paurṇamāsī* in 1145, 1146, 1147, 1164, and 1165 A.C., it is impossible to determine the exact date of Jayabhañja's accession on this basis. The fact that these petty rulers of the Ganjam region must have owed allegiance to the early imperial Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam), who were themselves subordinate allies of the great Chōḷas, would suggest that the battle against the Western Chālukya king was fought by the Bhañja king in the train of an early imperial Gaṅga monarch and on behalf of a Chōḷa emperor.[3] The identification of Jagadēkamalla with the Western Chālukya king Jayasiṁha I Jagadēkamalla (*circa* 1015-42 A.C.), who is celebrated in history for his conflict with the mighty Chōḷa monarch Rājēndra I thus does not appear to be altogether improbable. It should, however, be admitted that the ascription of Raṇabhañja's reign to the third quarter of the tenth century and the number of succeeding rulers belonging to his own family and to the branch lines represented by Nēṭṭabhañja of Kumārapura and Jayabhañja of Kōlāḍa favour Bhandarkar's view regarding the date of Yaśōbhañja and Jayabhañja about the middle of the twelfth century, unless it is believed that some of the rulers of Vañjulvaka, Kumārapura and Kōlāḍa were ruling contemporaneously. The problem of the chronology of these rulers cannot be satisfactorily and finally settled until further evidence is forthcoming.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Vañjulvaka, as already pointed out, has not yet been identified. Nor can the district called Nānākhaṇḍa and the villages called Sēḍāgrāma, Rāigrāma, Vāṭalaviḷima and Kōlakhali be identified with certainty.

TEXT[4]

[Metres :—Verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Gīti* ; verses 4-9, 11 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 10 *Śālinī* ; verse 12 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[|*][5] Jayati kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-daksha[m*] |[6] sva-kiraṇa-pari[vē*]ḥ-an-

2 j[i](ji)tya-r[i](ji)raṇ-ēndu-lēkhaṁ(khaṁ) | tri(tri)-bhuvana-bhavan-ātta(nta)r-dyōta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ |[6] kanu-

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[1] Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 236.

[2] Such confusions are due to the fact that the tables in Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Calendar* (the same as in *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 200-70) were consulted without sometimes noticing that they offer a list of new moons and not of full moons.

[3] See on this point our paper on the *Alagum* inscription to be published in this journal.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

3 ka-nikasha-gauraṁ[1] va(vi)bhra-nētram Harasya[|*] Śā(Śē)sh-āhēr=iva yē phaṇāḥ pravilasa-
4 nty=udbhāsvad-indu-tvishaḥ prālēyāchala-śṛi(śṛi)ṅga-kōṭṭa(ṭa)ya iva tvaṅganti yē=tyunna-
5 tāḥ[|*] nṛity-āṭṭō(ṭō)pa-vighaṭṭitā iva bhujā rājanti yē Śā(Śa)mbhavās=tē savv-ā(rvv-ā)-
gha-vi-
6 ghātinaḥ sura-sarit-tōy-ōmmu(rmma)yaḥ pāntu vaḥ[|| 2*] svasti vijaya-Vañju-
7 lvakād[2] Asti śrī-vijaya-nilaya[ḥ*] prakaṭṭa(ṭa)-guṇa-gaṇa[3]-grasta-samasta-
8 ripu-vargaḥ[|*][4] Śrī-Tribhuvanakalasō(śa)-nāma(mā) rājā nirdhu(rdhū)ta-kali-ka-
9 lusha-kalmashaḥ[5][|| 3*] Śrī-Pṛithvībhañjadēvasya p[au]tra[ḥ*][6] Śrī-Rāyabhañjadēvasya
10 sutaḥ Paramavaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-Bhañj-āmala-ku-

Second Plate ; First Side

11 la-tilaka-Rāṇaka-śrī-Nēṭṭabhañjadēvaḥ kusa(śa)lī Nānākhaṇḍa-
12 vishayē[|*] yathā-nivāsi-sva(sa)karaṇa[7] [|*]-sāmanta-bhōgy-ādi-janapadān ya-
13 th-ārhaṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samādisa(śa)ti [cha*] vivi(di)tam=astu bhavatām
14 sarvataḥ si(śi)vam=asmākam=anyata[8] [|*] ētad-vishaya-saṁva(mba)ddhaḥ Sōḍāgrāma-
15 ś=chatuḥ-sīmā-parichchhin[n]aḥ mātā-pitrōr=ātma[na*]ś=cha puṇy-ābhiva(vṛi)ddha-
16 y[ē][|*] salila-dhārā-puraḥ[sarēṇa*] vidhinā Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āṅgi-[9]
17 sa-pravarāya Vārihasta[10]-anupravarāya Chchhandōgya[11]-charāṇā-
18 ya Kai(Kau)thuma-śākh-ādhyāyinē Vātalaviḍima-vinirgata-Kōlākhu-
19 li-vāstavyāya Bhaṭṭa-Va(Ba)labhadrasya p[au]tra[12] Bhaṭṭa-Siḍa-sutāya Bhaṭṭa-Dā-
20 uli[13] Rāigrāma-samanvita[ḥ*] tāmvra(mra)-sā(śā)sanīkṛitya pradattaḥ
21 yāvach-chandr-ārka-tārakāḥ a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa[14]-pravēsō(śē)na savv-ā(rvv-ā)vā(bā)dhā-va-

Second Plate ; Second Side

22 ji(rji)tēn=ā-karatvēna bhuñjadbhir=dharma-gauravāt=pratipālanīyaḥ a-
23 smat-kula-kramam=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha(ś=cha=ā)sma[d*]-dānam=idam=anumōda-
24 nīyaḥ(yam|) uktañ=cha dharma-sā(śā)strēshu[|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sa-
25 gar-ādibhiḥ[|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ |(lam||4)
26 Mā bhu(bhū)d=a-phala-sa(śa)ṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dattā-
27 t=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanē || [5*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā)

[1] In the same context, we have *gauram* in the other records.

[2] A verse follows this short passage in prose.

[3] Omit *gaṇa* for the sake of the metre. [Read *Asti śrī-jaya-nilayaḥ prakaṭa-guṇa-grasta-sarva-ripu-garimā* as in the foregoing record.—Ed.]

[4] [Read *Tribhuvanakalaśō nāmnā rājā nirdhūta-kali-kalushaḥ*.—Ed.]

[5] The medial *au* in *pau* is imperfectly formed, as out of the left, right and top members of the sign only the third one has been engraved.

[6] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[7] *Karaṇa* here may be a contraction of *adhikaraṇa* or *adhikaraṇa*.

[8] Read *anyat*.

[9] Read *Āṅgirasa-pravarāya*.

[10] Read *Bārhaspatya-anupravarāya*.

[11] Read *Chhāndōgya-charaṇāya*.

[12] Read *pautrāya*. The medial *au* in *pau* is imperfectly formed as in *pau* in line 9 above. See also *au* in *sūtra* in line 20 below.

[13] Read *°layē*.

[14] Read *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa*.

28 yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām)| sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhu(r=bhū)tvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pa-

29 chyatē|| [6*] Satyaṁ yajña-hutaṁ ch=aiva yat-ki[ṁ]chid=dharma-saṁchayaṁ(yaḥ) | arddh-āṅgulē-

30 na sīmāyāṁ haraṇēna praṇasya(śya)ti|| [7*] Shashṭhir=va(shṭi-va)rsha-sahasrāṇi

31 sa(sva)rgē vasati bhu(bhū)midaḥ|(|) a(ā)kshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tān=aiva[1] nara-

Third Plate

32 ka[ṁ*] vrajēta(jēt||8) Nandan[t]i tasya pitaraḥ pravalganti pitāmahāḥ[|*] bhu(bhū)-

33 mi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa das-[tr]ātā bhavishyati |[|9*] Dēv-ōtsava-dvāda-

34 syā(śyā)ṁ Sōmasya dinē rēvati(tī)-nakshatrēṇa[2] Sarvān=ētān-bhāvinaḥ pārthi-

35 vēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Nā[ṭṭa*]bhañjaḥ[|*] sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur=nṛipāṇā-[ṁ*]

36 kālē ka(kā)lē[5] pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ |[|10*] Asmin=vaṅsē(n=vaṁśē) kshō(ksha)yē(ya)-kshīṇē yō=nyō rāj[ā]

37 bhavishyati | tasy=āhaṁ pāda-lagnō=smi mayā dattaṁ na lōpayeta |(yēt|| Iti kama-

38 la-dal-āmvu(mbu)-[bindu*]-llō(lō)lāṁ śri(śri)yam=anuvichintya[3] manushya-jīvitañ=cha | iti[4] sakala-

39 m=idam=udāhṛi[ta*]ñ=cha vudhvā (buddhvā) na hi purush[ai]ḥ para-kīrttayō vilau(lō)pyāḥ|| [12*] lā-

40 ñchhitaṁ śrī-Ji(Jī)valōka-mahādēvyā | anumataṁ Bhaṭṭa-[5]Arkadēvēna pra-

41 vēsi(śi)taṁ pratīhāra-Rāulēna anujñātaṁ vārguli-Mahundapēna

42 [u]tkīrṇṇa |[6] arkasālinā Napēna | likhitaṁ Sandhivigrahi(hi)-Pānā[7]|| Saṁva(Saṁva)t 13[||*]

No. 45—MAHADA PLATES OF SOMESVARADEVAVARMAN : YEAR 23

D. C. Sircar and M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund

The above-mentioned plates were edited in this journal[8] in 1913-4 by the late Mr. B. C. Mazumdar under the heading 'Mahaḍā Plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman.' Since then the record has not aroused further interest among scholars, although two more charters of the same family of chiefs, to which the donor of the Mahaḍā plates belonged, were subsequently discovered and their contents reviewed in this journal and elsewhere. They are (1) the Patna Museum plates of Sōmēśvaradēva II[9] and (2) the Kumārisiṁhā plates of Chōḷakula-Sōmēśvaradēva.[10] In the light of these charters, latterly discovered, it seems now possible to assign a more specific date to the Mahaḍā plates than what Mr. Majumdar suggested, *viz.*, the 16th century A.C. Further it is also possible to draw certain conclusions in respect of the chronology, genealogy and history of the rulers represented in the above charters, the scene of whose activities lay in South Kōsala with their capital at Suvarṇapura (Sonepur) in Orissa.

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[1] Read *tāny=ēva*.

[2] This prose passage containing some astronomical details regarding the date of the grant is followed by verses.

[3] Read °*anuchintya*.

[4] Omit *iti*.

[5] The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed here.

[6] Read *akkasālinā* and omit the *daṇḍa*.

[7] The name appears without the third case-ending required by the context.

[8] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff. and plate.

[9] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff. and plate.

[10] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 29 ff. and plate.

The said Mahaḍā plates are now the property of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta. They were obtained for examination through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, the Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the original plates, it was found that a number of very important passages of the record were not properly read by Mr. Mazumdar in his edition of the record. In the first place, the name of the donor of the charter is not Yōgēśvaradēvavarman but Sōmēśvaradēvavarman (line 24).[1] Secondly, the name of the father of the donor is to be read as Dhārālladēvavarman (lines 16-17) and not Dhāraṇadēvavarman, as made out by Mr. Mazumdar. Thirdly, there is no mention in the inscription of Vaṅdhapura which has been identified with modern Bandh and taken to have been the capital of the issuer of the charter. Lastly, the date of the record is not the 33rd regnal year of the issuer's grandfather (Sōmēśvaradēvavarman I) but really the year 23 (written both in words and in numerals in line 11) of his own reign. Hence the very title of the record has to be changed as the 'Mahaḍā plates of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman' since Yōgēśvaradēvavarman, in reality, did not exist at all. In view of all these important factors now brought to light on a re-examination of the plates, the record is re-edited here for the benefit of scholars.

After the introductory *siddham* symbol and the word *svasti* the inscription introduces, in lines 1-10, the reigning king Sōmēśvaradēva, who is called *pañcha-mahā-śabda-samanvita*, *mahā-mahī-maṇḍalēśvara*, *mahā-bhūpatilu* and *chakravartti*. Of these titles, the first is known to have been used by feudatories and the last by paramount sovereigns. This combination of subordinate and imperial titles shows that the issuer of the charter owed only nominal allegiance to the overlords of his predecessors.[2] The same conclusion is further suggested by the titles *mahā-mahīmaṇḍal-ēśvara* and *mahā-bhūpati*, which were apparently deliberate modifications respectively of the feudatory titles of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *Mahāvyūhapati* used by another member of the same family who issued the Kumārasiṁhā and the Patna Museum plates. Other interesting titles used by the issuer of the Mahaḍā plates are *dinakara-kula-nandana* (*i.e.*, scion of the solar dynasty), *Karikāl-ānvaya* (*i.e.*, of the house of Karikāla), *Kāśyapa-gōtra*, *Kāvēri-nātha* (*i.e.*, lord of the river Kāvērī) and *Varaiūrapuravar-ādhīśvara* (lord of Varaiūra or Uraiyūr, the traditional capital of the Chōḷas), all of which refer to the descent claimed by the Telugu-Chōḍas from the celebrated Chōḷa royal family. The epithet *Siṁha-dhvaja-lāñchhana* may be either a modification of or a mistake for *rakta-dhvaja-siṁha-lāñchhana* of the Kumārasiṁhā plates. The expression *Ayōdhyā-vinirggata-siṁhāsana-maṇimakuṭa-paṭṭa-vardhana-dvijarāja-lāñchhana* seems to suggest that the issuer of the Mahaḍā plates claimed to have been enjoying the privilege of using certain insignia brought from Ayōdhyā, the ancient capital of North Kōsala.[3] This, no doubt, has a bearing on the claim that the family belonged to the solar race, the main branch of which represented by the epic hero Rāma ruled at Ayōdhyā. Another interesting epithet of the king, *viz.*, *Śrī-Vaidyanātha-pāda-paṅkaja-bhramara*, speaks of his devotion to god Vaidyanātha (Śiva) whose temple lies on the river Tel, about 12 miles from Sonepur. The mention of the deity also in the Kumārisiṁhā and the Patna Museum plates shows that he was the tutelary deity of the Telugu-Chōḍa ruling family of South Kōsala.

The date of the charter is recorded, in lines 9-13 in the following words: *Śrī-Sōmēśvaradēvara pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarambulu irvai-mūṇḍum 23 śrāhi Māgha māsi śukla-pakshē tithau saptamyāṁ makara-sthitē suriāri mīna-rāśi-sthita-chandramasi Ravau Rēvatyām amṛita-yōgē.*

[1] Mr. K. G. Goswami of the University of Calcutta, who examined the plates in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, also suggested the same reading of the king's name.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 328; *J. O. R.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 45.

[3] The passage may also be suggested to stand as *Ayōdhyā-vinirggata[ḥ*] siṁhāsana-maṇimakuṭa-paṭṭa-vardhana[ḥ*] dvijarāja-lāñchhana[ḥ*]*. In that case, we may think that the king's emblem was both the lion and the *dvija-rāja* (the moon or Garuḍa).

There is considerable Telugu influence on the language, although there are grammatical errors. The 23rd regnal year of the king is given both in words (*iruvti-muṇḍuṁ* for Telugu *iruvai-mūḍu* or *iruvadi-mūṇḍu*) and figures.

The details of the grant are given in lines 13-24. It was made by the king when he was standing before Laṅkāvarttaka on the bank of the river Chitrōtpalā (*i.e.*, the Mahānadī).[1]

The genealogy of the donor as well as that of the donee are traced to their respective grandfathers. The donor, king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, is described as the son of Dhārālladēvavarman and grandson of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. The donee of the grant is described as the Brāhmaṇa Madhusūdana, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was the son of Purushōttama and grandson of Gadādhara. The object of the donation was the village of Champāmalla with the five *pallikās* named Mahaḍā (the findspot of the present plates in old Sonepur State, still retaining its ancient name), Aṭāṇḍrelā, Mōḍhakā, Khādna and Kōkaṭidāya. The grant is stated to have been made for obtaining the favour of the god Vaidyanātha and for the increase of longevity, health and royalty of the donor, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, in the 23rd year of whose reign the record was issued.[2]

Lines 25-30 of the inscription quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. This portion is rather abruptly followed by three verses, of which two are in the *Upajāti* and one in the *Indravajrā*(?) metre. These apparently form a part of an elaborate *praśasti* of the Telugu-Chōḍa family of South Kōsala. The employment of these verses, which are really uncalled for, reminds us of such records as the Gauhati plates of king Indrapāla[3] of Prāgjyōtisha, in which the engraver is found to have felt the necessity of filling up some blank space at the end of the charter. Since the script of the last lines of the plates does not differ from that of the rest of the record, there is little doubt that they are coeval with the date of the gift. The first and second verses do not relate to the same person, for the second verse beginning, as it does, with the words *yasy=ānvayē*, "in whose lineage", referring to the person described in the first, introduces another chief who, being referred to as *ēsha bhūpatiḥ* "this king", could be none other than the donor of the charter, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman. He is again described as Yaśōgaja[4] and as a lion to hostile[5] kings. The third verse describes the king's sport in the river Chitrōtpalā (Mahānadī). Here the stanza, stating that when the king sported in the Chitrōtpalā, which was associated with Svarṇavatī (*Svarṇavatī-gatā*), seems to imply that Sōmēśvaradēvavarman had his capital at Suvarṇapura, of which Svarṇavatī may be a feminine form. In a verse from the *Raghuvaṁśa* (VI, 48), to which Mr. Mazumdar draws our attention in this context, precisely a parallel sense is conveyed as the mention therein of Mathurā on the Kālindī implies its being the capital of the Śūrasēna[6] king. Mukunda mentioned in one of the verses no doubt refers to the god Vishṇu and not to a later Rājā of Purī,

[1] The passage *Chitrōtpalāyās=tīrē Laṅkāvarttaka-sannidhau* reminds one of such similar passages as *Abhinava-Vārāṇasyāṁ Bhagavataḥ Śrī-Purushōttamadēvasya sannidhau* in records like the Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III. It is not clear if there was a deity at Laṅkāvarttaka or whether the king made obeisance to the holy spot of Laṅkāvarttaka itself. The modern Laṅkēśvarī, a hillock in the bed of the Mahānadī at Sonepur, seems to have been referred to as Laṅkāvarttaka in the inscription.

[2] That the actual donor Sōmēśvaradēvavarman and the king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman in whose reign the charter was issued were one and the same is apparent, although the text of the record does not explicitly say so. The fact that the donation is made for the increase of the royalty of the donor shows that it was the reigning king who was the actual donor.

[3] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 120 ff.

[4] This word can be read as *Yaśōrāja*; but this does not suit the metre. The text is, however, metrically faulty even as it stands.

[5] The word *āhita* used in the verse seems to be derived from *ahita*.

[6] Mathurā was the capital of the Śūrasēnas. See B. C. Law, *Some Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, p. 83.

Mukundadēva, who flourished in the sixteenth century A.C., as the palaeography of the record under study does not warrant such a late date.

Mr. Mazumdar did not attempt the palaeographical dating of the record. In our opinion, the characters of the inscription can be assigned to the 12th century A.C. They closely resemble, in respect of almost every test letter, those of the Sonepur plates of Kumāra Sōmēśvara[1] which were issued, as stated in the record itself, soon after the Sōmavaṁśī kings, Uddyōtakēsarin and Abhimanyudēva, had ceased to rule. These kings are known to have flourished towards the end of the 11th century A.C.[2]

Thus the Mahaḍā plates reveal the existence of a dynasty of Chōḷa kings who were ruling in Southern Kōsala about the 12th century A.C. and who were distinguished by the *birudas*, *aridurddharamattabhujāsibhāsuraprachaṇḍapradyōtadinakarakulanandana-Karikālānvaya-Kāśyapa-gōtra-Kāvērīnātha-kamalavarabhūshaṇa-siṁhadhvajalāñchhana-Varaūrapuravarādhīśvara*[3]-*Ayōdhyāvinirggatasiṁhāsanamaumakuṭapaṭṭavardhana-dvijarājalāñchhana*, etc. They were :

Sōmēśvaradēvavarman
|
Dhāralladēvavarman
|
Sōmēśvaradēvavarman (donor), capital : Suvarṇapura.

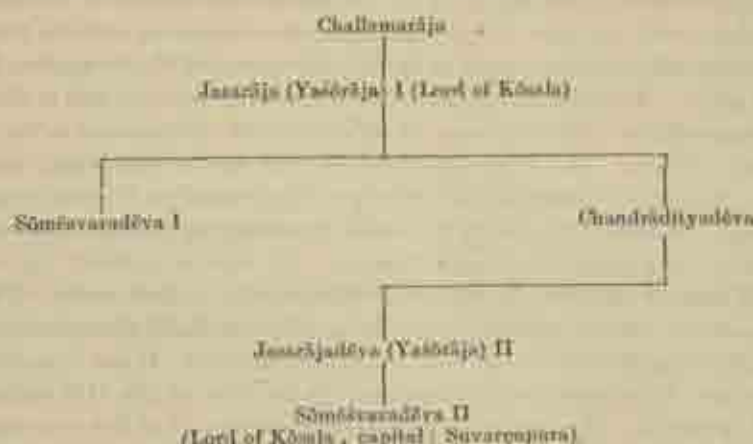
Now, king Sōmēśvaradēva, the donor of the Patna Museum and the Kumārisiṁhā plates, likewise claims in a similar *praśasti*[4] to belong to the Chōḷa stock of solar descent and has the emblem of the lion figured on the seals of his grants. There are, therefore, strong *a priori* grounds to relate him and the members of his line to the family of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman of the Mahaḍā plates. The possibility of a lineal connection between the two families is in a great measure strengthened by the close correspondence in the names of the several members of the two families. The genealogies supplied by the three charters under study stand thus :—

[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff. and plate.

[2] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307 ; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 400.

[3] The text of the record at this place (l. 5) actually reads *Varaūrapura*. Dr. Raghavan suggested that Vaṭrapura of Mazumdar's transcript is a corruption of Urayūrapura, the traditional capital of the Chōḷas and of their ancestor Karikāla.

[4] In the Kumārisiṁhā grant the *praśasti* is worded with slight differences as *durddharasamarajāsibhāsurapaṇḍitha-Kāvērīnātha-pradyōtadinakarakulanandana-vilāsadhvaja-siṁhalāñchhana*.

Both the palaeography and contents of the Patna Museum and the Kumārisiṁhā plates indicate that they were issued by one and the same king, Sōmēśvaradēva II, lord of Kōsala, from his capital at Suvarṇapura, the former in the 17th year of his reign and the latter in the 11th year. Both the charters were written by the same person, the *cyṇānam* Lōkanātha. While the Patna Museum plates do not specifically mention the name of the grandfather of Sōmēśvaradēva II, the Kumārisiṁhā grant names him as Chandrādityadēva. Since Jasarājadēva II of the former grant is clearly stated as meditating on the feet of Chandrādityadēva, we have here an indication that Chandrādityadēva was perhaps his father[1] and this is confirmed by the other grant which specifically says so. Hence the donor of the two charters is identical and the genealogies supplied by them can be combined to form a single family tree as shown below[2] :

Before the correlation of this line of chiefs with the one in the Mahaḍā plates is established, the chronolgical position of the rulers of the line has to be determined. And in this respect we are on much surer ground than what palaeography alone can furnish. The palaeographical dating of the Patna Museum plates, so far attempted, has been divergent. R. D. Banerji, who edited the plates, assigned them to the 14th century A.C., while Krishna Sastri thought the characters of the record were referable to the 11th century, a view with which Dr. Hirananda Sastri was inclined to agree. Indeed the palaeography of the record is not so late as Banerji suggets, since the letters show definitely much earlier forms than those found in the charters of the 13th or 14th century, of which we have instances in the Kēndupāṭṇā plates of Gaṅga Narasiṁhadēva II of Orissa, dated Śaka 1217 (1295 A.C.).[3] They are also even earlier than the characters of the Bhuvanēśvar bi-lingual (Oriya-Tamil) inscription of Vīra-Narasiṁha of the 13th century A.C.[4] and those of the Liṅgarāja Temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I of Śaka 1165.[5] On the other hand, they have very close resemblance with the Bhuvanēśvar stone inscription of Svapnēśvara, a general of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyaṅkabhīma who ruled in the 12th century A.C.[6] The only difference noticeable between the records of Sōmēśvaradēva II under study and the afore-mentioned inscription of Svapanēśvara is that the alphabet of the former shows rounded forms while the characters

[1] Suggested by Banerji, above, Vol. XIX, p. 97.

[2] Krishna Sastri thought that Chandrāditya was perhaps identical with Challamarāja, *An. Rep. of the Ar. Sur., Eastern Circle*, 1916-17, p. 4. G. Ramdas (*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 231) identifies Chandrāditya with Jasarāja I, a view with which we do not agree. The wording of the Kumārisiṁhā grant is clear in indicating that Chandrāditya was the grandfather of the donor Sōmēśvara.

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV (1896), plates VIII to XVIII, now re-edited in the same journal, Vol. XVII, pp. 33-39.

[4] *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1527. ; *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, p. 41 and plate.

[5] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, p. 122 and plate.

[6] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff. and plate.

of the latter are straight and angular in shape, a difference which is perhaps due to our records being on copper plates while the other is on stone. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the Patna Museum and the Kumārisimhā plates of Sōmēśvaradēva II were issued in the 12th century A.C. and that the five generations of kings figuring therein flourished during the 11th and 12th centuries A.C. It is found that the facts of contemporary history of the locality fully support the above chronological position for these chiefs.

Of the kings figuring in the genealogy, Chandrādityadēva seems identical with the Telugu-Chōḍa prince Chandrāditya who is described as a subordinate of the Nāgavaṁśī Sinda king, Dhārāvarsha of Chakrakōṭa in two Telugu inscriptions dated Śaka 983, Śārvari, Kārttika su. 5, Monday, corresponding to October 2, Monday, 1060 A.C., at Barasur and Potinar in the Bastar State.[1] This chief is introduced with the same Telugu-Chōḍa *praśasti* commencing with the words *aridarddhara-oara*, etc., which Sōmēśvaradēvavarman of the Mahadā plates and Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Kumārisimhā plates adopt. An additional detail found in Chandrāditya's *praśasti* is that he is called the lord of Ammagāmapura. This city may be identified with Ambagamo in the *Jeypore* agency, Koraput District, Orissa. The village lies about 75 miles east of Jagadalpur, capital of Bastar.[2] But both the charters of Chandrāditya's grandson, Sōmēśvaradēva II, were issued from Suvarṇapura (Sonepur). Whether Sōmēśvara II himself transferred his headquarters to Sonepur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but there is no doubt that the Telugu-Chōḍa occupation of Sonepur followed the rule of the Sōmavaṁśīs in that region. Thus Sōmēśvara II must have issued his records from Sonepur sometime after the Kelgā (Sonepur) plates of the Sōmavaṁśī Kumārādhirāja Sōmēśvara[3] had been issued from that city. It has been shown[4] that the rule of the Sōmavaṁśī Sōmēśvara should be assigned to the close of the 11th century A.C. and the beginning of the twelfth. The rule of Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II at Suvarṇapura should therefore be relegated to a period about the commencement of the 12th century A.C. Since Chandrāditya was living about 1060 A.C., the approximate dates of the members of his family might be: Challamarāja (c. 1025 A.C.), Jaṭarājadēva I (c. 1040 A.C.), Sōmēśvaradēva I (c. 1050-75 A.C.), Chandrādityadēva (c. 1055-80 A.C.), Jaṭarājadēva II (c. 1080-1105 A.C.) and Sōmēśvaradēva II (c. 1105-1130 A.C.).[5]

These conclusions in respect of the chronology of the family of Sōmēśvaradēva II of Suvarṇapura would now help us to correlate this line with that of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the donor of the Mahadā plates, who as shown above, must have flourished about the 12th century. Since both the sets of rulers belonging to the same Chōḍa stock are found flourishing in the same age and locality they apparently belonged to the same family, and, in all probability, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the grandfather of the issuer of the Mahadā plates, is identical with Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Patna Museum and Kumārisimhā plates.[6] The main reason for identifying him with Sōmēśvaradēva II instead of Sōmēśvaradēva I is the following. The modification of the feudatory titles and the

[1] *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (1932), Nos. 269 and 270; *An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1909, part II, para. 60; *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 644 and 645.

[2] There is another place called Ambgaon in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh, about 120 miles north-west of Barsur. Whether this was the place referred to as the seat of Chandrāditya cannot be affirmed in the present state of our knowledge.

[3] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff. A revised edition of the inscription is being published in this journal.

[4] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

[5] The Kumārisimhā plates of king Sōmēśvara II refer to a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha of the king's 11th regnal year. In the period to which we have assigned this king, the above details tallied on three dates, *viz.*, February 1, 1124 A.C.; January 21, 1125 A.C. and January 10, 1126 A.C. The intended date may be any one of these.

[6] Pandit Binayak Misra suggested the identification of the king with Sōmēśvaradēva I, the elder brother of Chandrāditya (*J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 148 and note).

MGIPC—S1—18 DGA/52—25-6-53—450.

ATTENTION

The obituary note and the relevant illustration appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of the volume (Vol. XXVIII) at the time of binding.

DR. STEN KONOW

LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1906—1908

BORN 17TH APRIL 1867

DIED 29TH JUNE 1948

Survey of India, Calcutta.

STEN KONOW

Dr. Sten Konow, the celebrated Indologist, passed away at Oslo on the 29th June 1948. In his death, philological research, specially the branch concerned with Old Central Asian languages, Sanskritic learning and Indian epigraphy, have sustained a very great loss indeed.

Dr. Sten Konow was born on 17th April 1867. His father was a Norwegian pastor. He studied in Christiania under Sophus Bugge and took a Degree in 1891 in Classics and German Philology. For some time he was a pupil of Pischel in Halle where he took his D.Phil. in 1893. He served as Assistant Librarian in the Royal Library at Berlin from 1894 to 1896. From 1896 to 1899 he was Lecturer and Assistant Professor in Christiania. He collaborated with Grierson from 1900 to 1903 in the editing of the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India. Later on he was appointed Government Epigraphist for India. In that capacity he edited parts i, ii, vi and vii of Volume X, part vi onwards of Volume XI, the whole of Volume XII and a portion of Volume XIII of the *Epigraphia Indica*. After his service as Government Epigraphist for India, he returned to Oslo where he became Professor of Indian Philology and continued there till his death, except from 1914 to 1919 when he served as Professor at Hamburg and in 1924-25 when he was a Visiting Professor at Santiniketan.

He was a member of several learned societies in Europe: an Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society; a Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy; an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and also of the Société Asiatique de Paris.

The range of his scholarly pursuit was as varied as it was extensive. In the field of epigraphy, his monumental work on the *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I) is by far the most outstanding contribution. Other branches of research have been equally enriched by his facile pen.[1]

DR. STEN KONOW'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *EPIGRAPHIA INDICA*.

Volume IX
1. Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III.
2. Khariar plates of Maha-Sudeva.
3. Two Buddhist inscriptions from Sarnath.
4. Arigom Sarada inscription of Ramadeva.
5. Chandravati plate of Chandradeva.
6. Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi.

Volume X
7. Karamdanda inscription of the reign of Kumaragupta.
8. Sunao Kala plates of Samgamasimha.
9. Balera plates of Mularaja I.
10. Peshawar Museum inscription of Vanhadaka.

Volume XI
11. Five Valabhi plates.
12. Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta III; Saka Samvat 967.

Volume XII
13. Hansot plates of the Chahamana Bhartrivaddha; Samvat 813.

Volume XIII
14. Talegaon copper-plates of Krishna-Raja; Saka 690.

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[1] See *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XX (1948), pp. 164a-164h; *J. R. A. S.*, 1950, pp. 99-102.

Volume XIV 15. Ara inscription of Kanishka II ; the year 41.
16. Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa.
17. Taxila inscription of the year 136.

Volume XVIII 18. The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103.

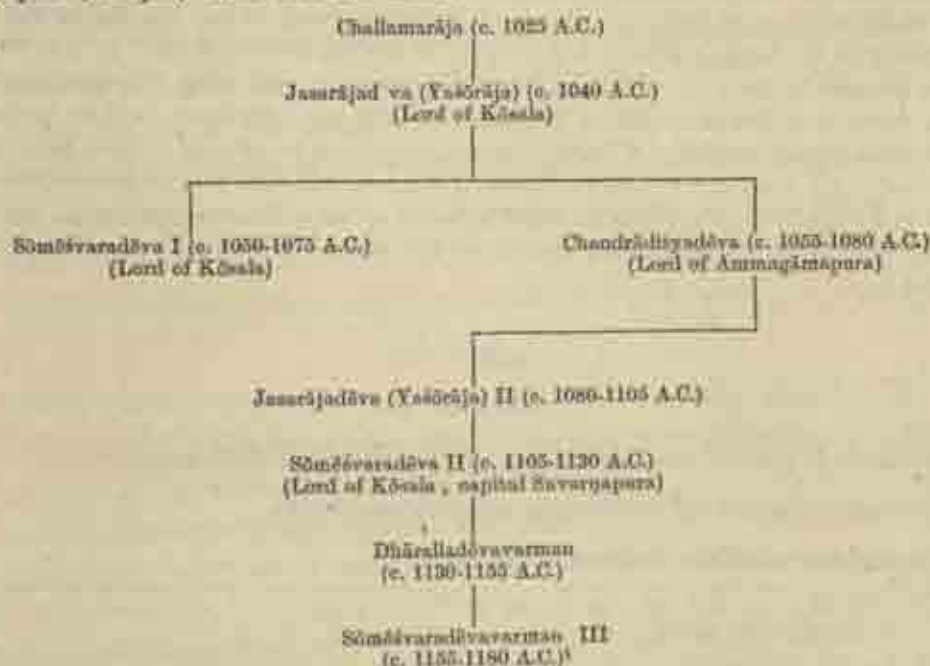
Volume XIX 19. Zeda inscription of the year 11.
20. Shahdaur inscriptions, one apparently of the year 60.
21. Rawal spurious inscription of the year 40.

Volume XXI 22. Saddo rock inscription of the year 104.
23. Mathura Brahmi inscription of the year 28.
24. Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134.

Volume XXII 25. Kharoshthi inscription on a Begram bas-relief.
26. A note on the Mamane Dheri inscription.

Volume XXIII 27. Hidda inscription of the year 28.
28. Allahabad Museum inscriptions of the year 87.

Volume XXVII 29. Note on the Bajaur inscription of Menandros.

assumption of the imperial title of *Chakravartin* by the issuer of the Mahaḍā plates, to which attention has already been drawn, as well as the influence of Telugu on the language of the record, as noticed from the revised text published now, would suggest that the donor of the Mahaḍā plates is later than the issuer of the Kumārisiṁhā and Patna Museum plates in which the above characteristics are absent. The grandfather of the issuer of the Mahaḍā plates being probably identical with Sōmēśvara II who issued the Kumārisiṁhā and the Patna Museum plates, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman who issued the Mahaḍā plates may be styled as Sōmēśvaradēva III. If the identification suggested above is correct, as it seems to be, the pedigree of the entire family of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs of Suvarṇapura (Sonepur) would stand as under :

The advent of these Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs into the South Kōsala country may be envisaged in this manner. We have stated above that Chandrādityadēva of the Kumārisiṁhā plates may be identical with Chandrāditya, a subordinate of the Nāgavaṁśī ruler of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar), Jagadēkabhūshaṇa Dhārāvarsha, in 1060 A.C. Dhārāvarsha's son Sōmēśvara I is credited with the conquest of Kōsala in one of his records.[2] Jasarājadēva I, the father of Chandrādityadēva, is likewise described as having become the lord of the entire Kōsala country as a result of victories in battle. It is just possible that Jasarāja I took part in the campaigns of the Nāgavaṁśī Sōmēśvara I in Kōsala and, as a reward for his services, was made the ruler of that country or parts of it to administer on behalf of the Nāgavaṁśī kings.[3]

If it is admitted that the advent of these Telugu-Chōḍas into Kōsala took place through the agency of the Nāgavaṁśī Sindas of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar), it would be necessary to explain how the family came to be associated in the first instance with the Sindas. For, it is obvious that they must

[1] The Mahaḍā plates of this king are stated to have been issued on Sunday, Māgha śu.di.7, when the sun was in Makara and the moon in Rēvatī during the 23rd regnal year of the king. In the period to which we have assigned this ruler, there are several dates on which the above details tallied, *viz.*, January 1, 1156 A.C.; January 9, 1169 A.C. and January 2, 1182 A.C. The date quoted in the inscription might have been any one of these.

[2] Above, Vol. X, pp. 26-7, Kuruspal Stone Inscription, text line 20.

[3] Cf. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 305.

have been emigrants from the Telugu country where they had their original home and where a number of Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who were distinguished by the same *birudas*, *aridurddharavara*, etc., flourished in different parts of the Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool Districts of the Madras State.[1] Some other princes of the same stock are found, at a later date, as subordinates of the Chālukya kings, Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.C.) and Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.) administering parts of their dominions. These were Bācharasa, Gōnarasa and Bhīmarasa (1058 A.C.) in the Bellary District,[2] Śaṅkarasa (1059 A.C.) in the Anantapur District,[3] his son Rēvarasa (1059-88 A.C.)[4] and another prince Champakarasa (1062 A.C.).[5] Since so many of these chiefs were subordinates of the Western Chālukyas in different parts of their kingdom it is likely that still another branch of the same stock, *viz.*, that of Challamarāja, found its way into Bastar and came into contact with the Sindas evidently in the time of his son Jasarājadēva I (1040 A.C.) as Western Chālukya generals in the wake of the conquest of that country effected by Vikramāditya VI as *Yuvarāja* during the reign of his father Sōmēśvara I.[6] The name Sōmēśvara held by the princes of the Sinda family and the Chōḷas of South Kōsala might perhaps be taken to indicate their vassalage, at least for a time, under Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. The title *Ayyanagandhavāraṇa*, assumed by Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II, might be taken as an indication pointing in the same direction, since it was a well-known epithet of the generals and subordinates of the Western Chālukyas.[7]

TEXT[8]

First Plate

1 [Siddham][9] Svasti [||*] pañchamahāśadva(bda)samanvita-mahāmahi[10]maṇḍalē-

2 śvara-aridurddharavarabhujāsibhāsu(su)rapracha[ṇ]daprōdyaddi-

3 nakarakulanandana-Kali(ri)kālānvaya-Kāśyapagōtra-

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 343 and note 2, and p. 344.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 122.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 123.

[4] No. 454 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] No. 416 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[6] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-9; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII (1919), pp. 119, 136, 140 and 142. Besides the testimony of Bilhaṇa to the campaigns of Vikramāditya VI in Chakrakōṭa, there are other grounds to substantiate the same. The Kazipet Dargah inscription of the Kākatīya chief, Bēta II (c. 1075-1100 A.C.), furnishes the information that Bēta's father Prōla I (c. 1050 A.C.) conquered the Chakrakūṭa-vishaya and the same record further states that he obtained the Anmakoṇḍa-vishaya from king Trailōkyamalla (Sōmēśvara I). See *Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 13; *Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions*, No. 7, text lines 3 ff.; *Bhārati*, Vol. XVIII (1941), Part II, pp. 180 ff. It is clear, therefore, that Prōla should have effected the conquest of Chakrakūṭa (*i.e.*, Chakrakōṭa) in the reign of this Chāḷukya king, evidently as a camp-follower of *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya VI.

It may be contended that the advent of the Telugu-Chōḍas into Kōsala might have taken place during the invasion of that country by Rājēndra Chōḷa I. This is not likely in view of the fact that the Telugu-Chōḍas of this period were on terms of enmity with the imperial Chōḷas, witness Telugu-Chōḍa Bhīma being killed by Rājarāja I, the father of Rājēndra Chōḷa I, in c. 1000 A.C. (*Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 217). Later, a king of Pottapi (*i.e.*, a Telugu-Chōḍa) was killed by Vīrarājēndra in c. 1067-8 A.C. (*ibid.*, p. 325). It seems best, therefore, to view the Telugu-Chōḍa advent into Kōsala as having taken place through Western Chālukya-Sinda agency.

[7] *Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 7, Nagai Inscriptions, pp. 3, 25, 32, 33, 37. The title was assumed by Kāḷimarasa and Madhuvarasa, both subordinates of Vikramāditya VI. For a similar epithet, *jāhanagandhavāraṇa*, see *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 100 (1052-53 A.C.) of the time of Sōmēśvara I.

[8] From the original plates and from the facsimile published above, Vol. XII, between pp. 220-1.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

[10] The word *maha* is omitted in Mr. Mazumdar's transcript.

4 Kāvērinātha[1]-kamalavarabhu(bhū)[sha]ṇa-[2] siṅgha(siṁha)dhvajalāñchha[na*]-
5 Varanarapuravarādhīśvara[3]-Ajō(yō)dhyāvinirggatasi-
6 ṅghā(ṁhā)sanamaṇimakuṭapaṭṭavarddhana-di(dvi)javā(rā)jala(lā)-
7 ñchhana-śatrudhvajapuṇḍarakāsha[4]-śatrumaṇḍalī(lī)ka[sa*]mudva[ha]nadaṇḍa-
8 satyamārittaṇḍa-dēva-śrī-Vaidyanātha-padapa-

Second Plate : First Side

9 kaṁ(ṅka)jabhraṁ(bhra)mara-maha(hā)bhu(bhū)patillu(tula)[5] Chakravartti-śrī-Sōmē-
10 śvaradēvaru(ra)[6] pravarddhamāna-ji(vi)jaya-rā[jya]-saṁva[tsa]ruṁvulu[7]
11 iruvai-muṇḍ[u]ṁ 23 śrāhi[8] Māghē māsi śukla-pakshē tithau
12 saptamyāṁ Makara-sthitē savitari Mīna-rāśī-sthita-chandramasi
13 Ravi(vau) Rēvatyām=amṛita-yōgē Chē(Chi)trōtpalāyās-tīrē Lla(La)ṁkāvartta-
14 ka-saṁ(sa)nnidhau Vatsa-sagōtrasya Gadādhara-nāmna[ḥ*] pautrāya Vatsa-sagō-
15 trasya Purushōttu(ttama)[9]-nāmnaḥ putrāya Vā(Kā)sye(śya)pa-sagō(gō)trasya[10] śrī-Sōmē
16 śvaradēvavarmaṇaḥ paurtra(tra)ḥ Kāśyapa-sagōtrasya śrī-Dhāralla-

Second Plate : Second Side

17 dēva[va*]rmmaṇaḥ putraḥ Vatsa-sagau(gō)trāya Madhusa(sū)dana-nāmā(mnē) Vrā(Brā)-
18 hmaṇāya ā-sa(sū)trānta-hautra-vēda(vidē) Ru(Ṛi)g-vēda-mantra-vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ādhyā-
19 yinē Mahadā-Ataṇḍrēlā[11]-Mōḍhakā-Khādna[12]-Kōkaṭidē[va]-
20 pañcha-pallikā-sahitaṁ Champāmalla-grāmaṁ chatuḥ-sīmā-pa-
21 richhi(chchhi)nna[ṁ*] sa-jala-sthala[ṁ*] sa-machchha(tsya)-
kachchhap-ādika[ṁ*] sa-vitaṁ(ṭa)p-āraṇyaṁ
22 nidhi-na(ni)kshēpa-sahitaṁ sarvv-ōpadra(dra)va-va(vi)vaji(rji)taṁ(tam) apu[trā][13]-sa-
23 hitaṁ(tam) āyur-ārōgya-rājya-vivṛidhya(ddhy-a)rtha[ṁ*] śrī-Vaidyanātha[dēvasya-
prīti]-

---

[1] Mr. Mazumdar read this as *Ā-(dvī)(ni)nā-nātha*.

[2] This epithet is evidently a corruption or alteration of *kamalapa-paṇgāḥāhana* which occurs among the same string of *birudas* held by a Telugu-Chōḍa chief (No. 488 of 1922 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)

[3] Mr. Mazumdar read this title as *[Va]ārai(dha)pura-var-ādhīśvara*.

[4] Whether this is to be restored as *puṇḍarīkākāsha* or *puṇḍarīkāñśarsha* is doubtful. The latter seems to be more appropriate.

[5] This is the Telugu honorific plural for *bhūpatiḷā*.

[6] This is Telugu for *dēvanya*.

[7] Read *saṁvatsaraṁbulu*.

[8] Mr. Mazumdar's reading is *'śvaradēva-chōḍā-varddhamāna-ji(vi)jaya-rā[jya]-saṁva(tsa)ram vārṣa(?)-kachāśarkamandam 33 śrā(di)-Māghē*

[9] The *u* sign may actually be a *kākapāda* to indicate that the letter *ma* was inadvertently omitted.

[10] An *anusvāra* was incised and deleted above *sya*.

[11] Mr. Mazumdar read this as *Atrāṇḍēlā*.

[12] Mr. Mazumdar's reading is *Mōḍhak-ākhya-dē*.

[13] This word evidently stands for *āputraka*, i.e., escheat for failure of heirs. *Cf. nidhi-nikshēp-āputraka-dhana-daṇḍ-ōpajātaka-sunkaḥ* in lines 21-22 of the Kumārisiṁhā plates. Mr. Ramadas wrongly reads *'jātaka dhana-daṇḍ-ōpajātaka-sunkaḥ'* of the above passage as *sinks* and offers a fanciful interpretation of the word. The expression *daṇḍ-ōpajātaka* literally 'what is derived from punishment') no doubt means 'money exacted from offenders as fines.'

Third Plate : First Side

24 kāma[h*] śrī-Sōmēśvaradēvavar[m]mā[1] pradadē [|*]
25 Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati [|*]u-
26 bhau dvau (tau) puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau(tau) svargga-gāminau ||
27 Mā bhū[d-a]phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārtthiva(vāḥ)| sva-
28 dattāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanē || Gām=ēkāṁ
29 suvarṇṇam=ēkaṁ bhūmēr=apy=addha(rddha)m=aṅgula[ṁ]*] haran=narakam=āpnō-
30 ti yāvad-āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) ||Yad-vairi-bhūpāla-vilāsinī-
31 nām=ū(m=u)tkshipta-hānē(rē)yu(shu) payōdharēshu | aśru-pravāhaḥ prithu-chā(hā)-

Third Plate : Second Side

32 va(ra)-ya[shti][m*] vin=aiva sūtrēṇa samāsasañja || Yasy=ā-
33 nvayē bhūpatir=ēsha jātaḥ Yaśōgaja[2] ity=abhita-
34 rāja-siṁhaḥ [|*] yasmina(smin) vinikshipya dhuraṁ=dharitryāḥ
35 susvā(shvā)pa vāriddhau muditō Mukundaḥ || Yasy=āvarōdha-
36 stana-chandanānāṁ prakshālanād=vāri-vihāra-kālē | Chi-
37 trōtpalā Svarṇavatī-gat=āpi |[3] Gaṅg-ōrmmi-sa[ṁ*]saktam=iv=ā-
38 vibhāti||

No. 46—TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Sōndā in the Sirsi taluk of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, is a small hamlet with few residential buildings. A dilapidated fort, some deserted temples, a few monastic establishments and ruins scattered over a large area bespeak the eminence once enjoyed by this place. Besides being the headquarters of the Nāyaka chiefs who ruled over this tract during the period of the 16th to the 18th centuries, this was once, in the heyday of its glory, a busy commercial centre with its communications extending far into the inland on one side and to the foreign countries through the activities of the Portuguese and English traders on the other.[4] The name of the place occurs in earlier records in various forms, *viz.*, Sōdā, Sōde, Svādi, Sōdāpuri, Sudhāpurī, *etc.*

In addition to the *maṭha* founded by the Mādhva saint Vādirāja Tīrtha, Sōndā contains a Jaina *maṭha* of pontifical dignity, though in a decayed condition. This is known traditionally as the

[1] Mr. Mazumdar read this name as *Yōgēśvaradēvavarmmā*. What he read as *yō* is definitely *śō* and the letter read by him as *gē* is *mē*. For similar forms of *m* see ˢ*varmmā* in the same line and *maṇḍala* in plate C a, line 1, of the Sonepur plates of Kumāra Sōmēśvaradēva : above, Vol. XII, p. 240 and plate.

[2] The text is here metrically defective.

[3] The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] *North Kanara District Gazetteer*, part II, pp. 52 and 349.

Akalaṅka and the Bhaṭṭākalaṅka *maṭha*[1] among the Jaina community of the Bombay-Karnāṭak area. At a distance of about a mile from this *maṭha* and in the midst of the forest is preserved a cemetery set apart for the interment of the deceased pontiffs of the *maṭha*. In this burial ground, arrayed in decent rows and constructed with characteristic designs stands conspicuous a large number of Jaina sepulchres known as *nishidhis*. On two of these constructions, which are more dignified and stand prominently at the commencement of a row are engraved the following two epigraphs which I copied in the course of my epigraphical survey of the Sirsi taluk in 1939-40. I am editing them below for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. These inscriptions will hereafter be alluded to as **A** and **B** for the sake of brevity.[2]

A is incised on the four sides of the first *nishidhi* construction, while **B** is inscribed on a slab fixed into the front side of the second *nishidhi* construction referred to above. The figures of a reclining seat and *kamaṇḍalu* are carved in the right and left corners at the top of **B**. The **orthographical** convention of doubling the consonant after *r* is followed in some expressions of both the records; *e.g.*, *-āchāryya* and *svargga-* occurring in lines 4 and 9 of **A** and 5 and 11-12 of **B**. Both the inscriptions are written in Kannaḍa **characters** and **language** which is of the post-Vijayanagara period. Except for the last two lines of **A**, which contain a Sanskrit verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre, the composition of the two records is in prose.

A is an epitaph announcing the death of a Jaina teacher, named Akalaṁkadēva, on Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday, of the Śaka year 1530 and Plavaṁga. This teacher bore the following titles: *Rāya-rājaguru* (royal preceptor of kings), *Maṁḍalāchārya* (high-priest of the state), *Mahāvāda-vādīśvara* (supreme disputant in profound discussions), *Rāya-vādi-Pitāmaha* (god Brahmā among the royal disputants), *Sakala-vidvajjana-chakravarti* (paramount sovereign in the assemblage of the learned) and *Ballāḷarāya-jīvarakshā-pālaka* (saviour and protector of life of the Ballāḷa king). He bore two more epithets, *viz.*, *Dēśi-gaṇ-āgragaṇya* and *Saṁgītapura-siṁhāsana-paṭṭāchārya*, which show that he belonged to the Dēśi *gaṇa* of the Mūla *saṅgha* and adorned the pontifical throne of Saṁgītapura. The Sanskrit verse at the end states that the memorial vault (*nishidhi-maṇṭapa*) was caused to be erected by Bhaṭṭākalaṁkadēva, expounder of the Syādvāda doctrine. In the context of events it would not be unreasonable to assume that this Bhaṭṭākalaṁkadēva was a disciple of the deceased Akalaṁkadēva.

In regard to the date cited above, it may be noted that the Śaka year was current and the week-day was Tuesday on the specified *tithi*. Making allowance for this discrepancy it may be equated with 1607 A.C., October 20.

B again is an epitaph purporting to record the demise of another Jaina teacher, by name Bhaṭṭākalaṁkadēva, who expired in the second *ghaṭikā* after sunrise on Kārttika śu.10 of Śaka 1577, Jaya. This teacher also bore the titles, such as *Rāya-rājaguru*, *etc.*, enumerated above in respect of Akalaṁkadēva. The expression *Dēśi* in line 4 might be an abbreviation of *Dēśi-gaṇ-āgragaṇya* occurring in **A** and as such it would indicate that this teacher also belonged to the Dēśi *gaṇa* of the Mūla *saṅgha*.

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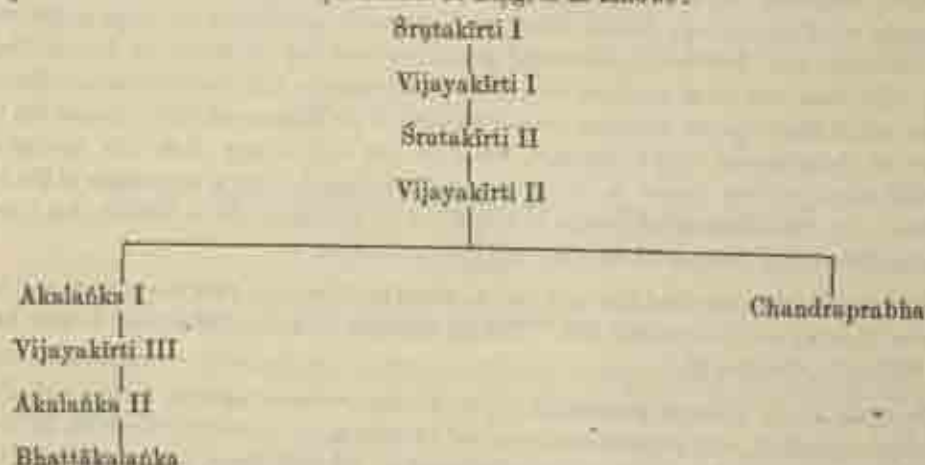
[1] At the time of my visit to the place I met the Svāmiji of the *maṭha* and he told me that it was called the Bhaṭṭākalaṅka *maṭha*. In response to my enquiry Prof. A. N. Upadhye, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, informed me that the *maṭha* was known as that of Akalaṅka and that this traditional name was quite popular (letter dated 28-8-1944). While editing the copper plate records from Sōndā, Prof. K. G. Kundangar observes that the *maṭha* took its name after its founders, Akalaṅka and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka; *Jaya Karnāṭaka* (Kannaḍa monthly), 1925-26, p. 13. Both these traditions are in support of the identification of the two Jaina teachers proposed in the article. But the same writer is not certainly correct when he says that the *maṭha* was founded in the 4th century A. C. As shown in the article, the *maṭha* must have come into existence only during the 16th century A.C.

[2] These inscriptions have been registered as Nos. 77, 78 of 1939-40, *An. Reps. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, Appendix E.

The date cited above is not verifiable as the week-day is not mentioned. However, we may note that the Śaka year was current, and thus the specified *tithi* would correspond to 1655 A.C., November 9, Thursday.

In order to understand the importance of these two teachers and their identification, we have to probe into the religious and political history of this region as gathered from other sources. During the period of the 14th to 17th century A. C., there flourished in the southern parts of the North Kanara District and the adjoining tract four principalities, *viz.*, Nagire, Hāḍuvaḷḷi or Saṅgītapura, Biḷigi[1] and Sōndā. The rulers of these chiefdoms came under the powerful influence of Jainism and the Jaina teachers who were responsible for this influence belonged to a particular monastic order. Two inscriptions[2] found in the dilapidated Ratnatraya Basadi (*i.e.*, Jaina temple) at Biḷigi in the Siddāpur taluk of the district furnish valuable information about these monks.

There flourished an erudite Jaina teacher named Chārukīrti Paṇḍita who founded a monastery at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. He bore the titles, *Rāya-rājaguru*, *Maṇḍalāchārya*, *Mahāvāda-vādīśvara*, *Rāya-vādi-Pitāmaha*, *Sakala-vidvajjana-chakravarti* and *Ballāḷarāya-jīvaraksha-pālaka*. This teacher might have lived in the early part of the 12th century A. C., since, according to some inscriptions from Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, he earned the last-mentioned title by saving the life of the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa I (1100-1106 A. C.). This teacher belonged to the Dēśiya *gaṇa* and Pustaka *gachchha* of the Mūla *saṅgha*.[3] The subsequent teachers who were connected with the spiritual heritage of this preceptor adopted these titles in their *praśasti*. Śrutakīrti was a later descendant in the monastic lineage of Chārukīrti Paṇḍita. The spiritual succession of Śrutakīrti as recounted in inscription No. I in the Ratnatraya Basadi at Biḷigi is as follows:

The earliest date mentioning the last named teacher, Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, as known from the above epigraph is Śaka 1510 or 1587 A. C. So on a modest calculation of about 25 years per generation we can place Śrutakīrti I approximately in the beginning of the 15th century A. C. It may be

[1] This name is spelt as Biḷigi and Bilagi also and Sanskritised into Śvētapura.

[2] I copied these epigraphs privately in 1938 and the above account of their contents is based on my own readings of their texts. These records have been published with many flaws in 1940, October-November issue of the Kannaḍa journal Śarana *Sāhitya* whose editor states that he copied them in 1926. Their summaries have been published with some mistakes in the *Annual Report on Kannada Research for* 1939-40, Nos. 88, 89. The late R. Narasimhachar referred to one of these inscriptions in his account of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka based on its copy found in the Madras Museum, *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharite*, Vol. II, p. 248. But it is now seen that that copy must have been defective in parts.

[3] *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* (Bibliotheca Carnatica, 1923), Introduction, p. 5; Biḷigi Ratnatraya Basadi inscription No. I.

noted in this connection that the principality of Hāḍuvaḷḷi or Saṅgītapura also came into being approximately at this period.[1] The chiefs of Saṅgītapura seem to have accepted the spiritual leadership of these preceptors from the beginning and extended their support to Śrutakīrti I in establishing a monastery of pontifical status in their capital. Hence, as we shall see in the sequel, these preceptors were designated the pontiffs of the Saṅgītapura throne (*Saṅgītapura-siṁhāsana-paṭṭāchārya*). The influence wielded by these preceptors over the rulers of Saṅgītapura is illustrated by the following assertion in the above epigraph. It states that Vijayakīrti I earned renown by securing the throne for Indrabhūpāla of Saṅgītapura.[2] In regard to Vijayakīrti II, the second epigraph from Biḷigi observes that he became eminent from his seat at Saṅgītapura.[3]

We may reckon a few more facts about these teachers, indicating the sphere of their influence as gathered from the first inscription from Biḷigi and a few other records. Vijayakīrti II caused to be constructed a well-planned town named Baṭṭakaḷa (modern Bhatkal) on the west coast for his pupil Dēvarāya who may be identified as the namesake elder brother of the Hāḍuvaḷḷi chief Gururāya[4] who lived approximately in the first quarter of the 16th century. Soon after this and by the middle of the 16th century, the Hāḍuvaḷḷi chiefs lost their entity as a political unit.[5]

It was about this time that the chiefs of Biḷigi, another principality in the neighbourhood, were rising to power. The influence of these teachers is clearly discernible on these rulers during the next few generations. Thus we are told that Akalaṅka I and Chandraprabha illuminated the path of the Jina by confiding the spiritual truths to their pupils Narasiṁha and Timma. These two chiefs were the sons of Ghaṇṭēndra I of the Biḷigi family.[6] This Narasiṁha's grandson Raṅgarāja was fervently devoted to Akalaṅka II and calls himself the foremost and favourite pupil of the latter.[7] Raṅgarāja's son Ghaṇṭēndra II was equally attached to Akalaṅka II and more so to Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. Arasappa Nāyaka II, the founder of Svādi or Sōndā, another chiefdom nearby, seems now to have come under the direct influence of these teachers, more so, probably on account of his matrimonial alliance with the Biḷigi family.[8]

Epigraphic evidence is precise to prove that the chiefs of Sōndā accepted the religious leadership of the above-noticed teachers of Saṅgītapura and revered them as their own spiritual preceptors. A copper-plate inscription from Sōndā, dated Śaka 1490 or 1567 A. C., and issued by the Sōndā ruler Arasappa Nāyaka II, recounts the genealogy of his preceptors from Vijayakīrti II of the above account, who is characterised as the lord of Saṅgītanagara.[9] In this epigraph the chief styles himself the favourite pupil of Akalaṅka II. In the light of the above facts, it is easy to see how and under what vicissitudes the teachers who were originally at Saṅgītapura, passed on from that place to Biḷigi and thence to Sōndā. It is in the fitness of things to assume that a monastery of pontifical status was founded for his preceptor Akalaṅka II by Arasappa Nāyaka II in his capital at Sōndā. The above review thus lends support to the prevalence of the tradition noticed in the

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[1] *An. Rep. on Kan. Res. in Bom. Prov.*, 1939-40, p. 47. The genealogy of the Hāḍuvaḷḷi chiefs set forth here commences with Sāḷuvēndra who might have lived about the closing part of the 14th century, as his son Mallirāja has Śaka 1332 or 1410 A.C. as his last date.

[2] This Indrabhūpāla may be identified with Indra in the genealogy of the Hāḍuvaḷḷi chiefs, who has the date Śaka 1394 or 1472 A.C.; *loc. cit.*

[3] The passage in question reads as follows: *Tat-santāna-kramād yōśi Saṅgīt-ābhan-pure babhau | dhīmān Vijayakīrty-āryaḥ paramāgama-paṇḍitaḥ* ||

[4] *Loc. cit.*, the genealogy of the Hāḍuvaḷḷi chiefs.

[5] *An. Rep. on Kan. Res. in Bom. Prov.*, 1939-40, pp. 45-46.

[6] *Jaya Karnāṭaka*, 1925-26, copper plate records of Svādi, No. 2; Madras Epi. Coll., C.P. No. 2 of 1940-41.

[7] *Op. cit.*, copper plate records of Svādi, No. 2.

[8] *Biḷigiya Arasugaḷa Vaṁśāvaḷi* (Kannada work), verse 125. Arasappa Nāyaka II's daughter Vīramāmbā was married to Ghaṇṭēndra II of the Biḷigi family.

[9] *Jaya Karnāṭaka*, 1925-26, copper plate records from Svādi, No. 6.

beginning of this study, connecting the name of Akalaṅka and his disciple Bhaṭṭākalaṅka with the Jaina *maṭha* at Sōndā.

Akalaṅka II and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka were the most celebrated teachers of the line; and the Biḷigi epigraphs furnish the following information about them. They were held in esteem not only in the chiefdoms of the west coast, but were also renowned in other parts of the country on account of their profound learning and versatile scholarship. Well-versed in secular arts, a pleasing personality, of extraordinary ability and immaculate character, Akalaṅka II rose to eminence as the foremost among the circle of preceptors on account of his incessant practice of proclaiming and expounding the scriptures, tendered with affection. His disciple Bhaṭṭākalaṅka had mastered several branches of learning, was endowed with many good qualities and excelled in the art of exposition. Proficient in the treatises of his own school of philosophy as well as in those of others, constantly engaged in study and teaching, he proved himself to be an impressive figure, a critical scholar and a judicious advocate in the royal courts and in the assembly of learned men. It is stated at the end of the Biḷigi inscriptions that they were written by Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. We can detect the personality of the learned author in these epigraphic compositions which evince scholarly treatment and literary style in its excellence.

A Jaina teacher named Bhaṭṭākalaṅka is the author of the *Karṇāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana*, a scholarly treatise on Kannada grammar, written in Sanskrit in the *sūtra* style of Pāṇini. "This work is not only more elaborate and exhaustive than the previous ones, but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. It may be said to be to Kannaḍa what the *Ashṭādhyāyī* is to Sanskrit and its learned commentary (written by the author himself) may in a way be compared to the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali ".[1] This work was completed in 1604 A.C. From the colophon of the work, it is gathered that the author's teacher was Akalaṅka who was learned and assisted him in its composition, that these preceptors belonged to the lineage of Chārukīrti Paṇḍita and that they bore all the titles and epithets of the teachers of Saṅgītapura noticed above. Noteworthy among them is the characteristic title *Saṅgītapura-siṁhāsana-paṭṭāchārya* which is also applied to Akalaṅka in the first *nishidhi* inscription from Sōndā as seen above.

Judging from the evidence adduced so far, it may be safely concluded that the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka and his teacher Akalaṅka are identical with Bhaṭṭākalaṅka and Akalaṅka II of the line of teachers from Saṅgītapura. We may further recognise the identity of the same two teachers in the two *nishidhi* records from Sōndā under study. The intimate connection of the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka as well as of his preceptor Akalaṅka with Sōndā is attested by another authority also. This is Dēvachandra, an author of the last century, who states in his *Rājāvalikathe* that the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka learnt all the sciences at Sudhāpura,[2] *i.e.*, Sōndā, naturally under his teacher Akalaṅka.

Lastly, we may note that the above identification does not lead to any inconsistencies, although it might confer longevity upon the two teachers. The earliest date available for Akalaṅka II from an inscription[3] is Śaka 1487 or 1564 A.C. and he died in 1607 A.C. according to **A**. This would show that he lived approximately over 60 years. Similarly Bhaṭṭākalaṅka was alive in 1587 A.C. and he passed away in 1655 A.C. according to **B**. So he might have lived approximately over 80 years.

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[1] *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* (*op. cit.*), Intro. p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[3] Akalaṅka II figures in a copper-plate record as the preceptor of the Biḷigi ruler Raṅgarāja. The epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśiva and is dated Śaka 1487, Raktākshi; *Jaya Karṇāṭaka*, 1925-26, copper-plate records from Svādi, No. 2.

TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA

A

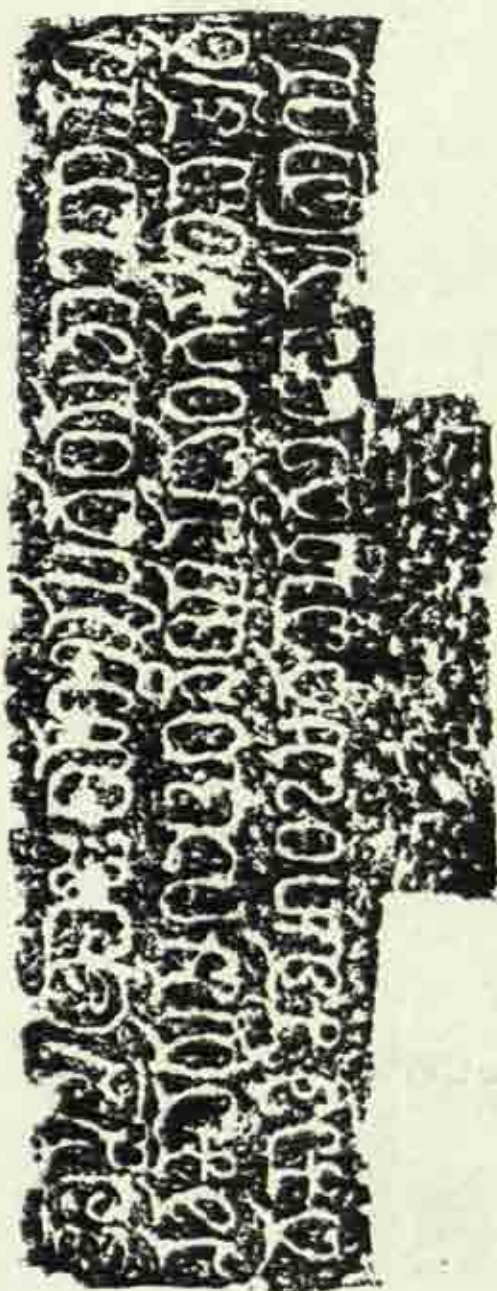
B. Ch. Chhabra

Scale: One-half

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

Reg. No. 625 HE (C)'52-499.

THIRD SIDE

FOURTH SIDE

INSCRIPTION A

TEXT[1]

First Side

1 Śrī [|*] Svasti [|*] Śrī-jay-ābhyudaya **Śālivāha-**

2 **na-Śaka-varusha 1530 neya Plavaṁga saṁvatsara-**

3 **da Kārttika śu 10 Budhavāradalu** śrīmad-Rāya-

Second Side

4 [rājaguru-Ma]ṁḍalāchāryya Mahāvāda-

5 [vādīśvara Rā]ya-vādi-Pitāmaha Sakala-vidvaj-ja-

6 [na-chakravarti Ba]llāḷarāya-jīvarakshā-pā-

Third Side

7 laka Dēśi-gaṇ-āgragaṇya Saṁgītapura-siṁhā[sana]-

8 paṭṭāchāryya śrīmad-**Akalaṁkadēvarugalu**

9 śrī-Paṁcha-guru-charaṇa-smaraṇīyiṁda svarggastharā-

Fourth Side

10 [daru] [|*] Avara nishidhi-maṁṭapakke maṁgala mahāśrī [||*]

11 Bhaṭṭākalaṁkadēvēna Syādvāda-nyāya-vādinā | nishi-

12 dhī-maṁṭapō dṛiḍhaḥ sthēyād=ā-chaṁdra-bhās[k]araṁ ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well! On Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday of the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1530 and Plavaṁga, the illustrious teacher Akalaṁkadēva, bearing the distinguished titles, *Rāya-rājaguru*, *Maṁḍalāchārya*, etc., attained heaven, meditating on the feet of the Five Teachers.[2] May this vault erected in his memory be auspicious! This memorial vault (*nishidhi-maṁṭapa*) was arranged (*i.e.*, caused to be erected) by Bhaṭṭākalaṁkadēva, expounder of the Syādvāda doctrine.

INSCRIPTION B

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti[|*] Śrī-jay-ābhyu[da*]ya **Śālivāhana-sa(śa)ka-va[rsha]**

2 **1577 Jaya saṁ[va*][tsa][ra*]da Kārttika sudh(d)dha daśami**

3 Sūr[yō]dayav=āda ya(e)raḍane ghaḷigeya-

4 lli Dēśi śrīmad-Rāya-rājaguru Maṁḍa-

5 lāchyā(chā)ryyaruṁ Mahāvāda-vādīśvara Rā-

6 ya-vādi-Pitāmahā(ha) Sakala-vidvaj-jana-cha-

---

[1] From impressions.

[2] These are the Pañcha Paramēshṭhins, the well known pentad of Jaina theology, *viz.*, Jina, Siddha, Āchārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu.

7 [kra]varttiga[]u]ih Ballāļarāya-jīvarakshā-pā-
8 lakarum appa śrīmad-**Bhaṭṭākalaṁka**-jīyya-[dē]-
9 varu
10 [1](śrī-]Pañcha-guru-charaṇā-smara[ṇeyi]nda]
11 Chatu-saṁgha-[samaksha]dalli sva-
12 rggavanyai(n=ai)didaru [|*] I[ti]-
13 [t=i] śrī śrī śrī [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well ! On Kārttika śuddha daśamī of the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1577 and Jaya, in the second *ghaṭikā* after sun-rise, the illustrious revered teacher Bhaṭṭākalaṁkadēva attained heaven, while he was absorbed in meditating upon the feet of the Five Teachers in the presence of the Four-fold Saṁgha.[2]

No. 47—TEKKALI PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN ; YEAR 9

(2 *plates*)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

This set of three copper plates was received for examination in 1934 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mylapore, Madras, from the Deputy Tahsildar of **Tekkali**, Visakhapatnam District. It is registered as C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35 in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-5. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on page 52 of the said *Report*, on the charter as follows :

"The plates measure 6¾" by 2¾" and have a ring-hole of about ⅜" in diameter near the left margin, through which passes the ring measuring 3¼" in diameter. The ends of this ring are soldered into the back of an oval seal which bears a worn-out legend on its oval counter-sunk surface measuring about 1½" by ⅞". The ring had been cut when the plates were received by me. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only, while the other two plates have writing on both the sides, the second face of the third plate bearing only two lines of writing. The whole set including the ring and seal weigh 79 tolas and without these only 48 tolas. The plates are reported to belong to the Raja of Tekkali, who has published an inaccurate text of the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 53. The Raja does not mention the place, or history, of the discovery of the plates, but only states that a Karnam of Tekkali had these in his possession when they came to his notice."

The **seal** of the plates is very much worn out ; nevertheless traces of four letters, in a single line, are visible. Of these the last can be made out as *kta*. The Raja of Tekkali, however, reads the whole legend as *pitribhaktaḥ* which is not clear in the photograph. It is not improbable that the legend might have been as read by the Raja, since we have three other instances of a similar legend which occurs on the seals of the Kōmarti plates[3] and the Bobbili[4] plates of Chaṇḍavarman and on the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman.[5]

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[1] Lines 10-13 are inscribed in the top portion of the slab.

[2] The Four-fold Saṅgha might be the Nāma Jina, Sthāpana Jina, Dravya Jina and Bhavya Jina, defined in the *Pravachana Sārōddhāra* ; *Jaina Iconography* by B. C. Bhattacharya, p. 17.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 143.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 29.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 48. Dr. Fleet, who edited this record, could not decipher the legend on the seal. This was, however, read by Dr. Hultzsch as *Pi[tribhaktaḥ]* ; above, Vol. IV, p. 143.

The four seals are now reproduced here, for the first time, for comparison.

The **characters** of our inscription resemble those in the first two grants cited above, all of which are engraved in the southern script. In some cases, like *m* and *v*, the letters of the present grant show a rounded appearance as compared with those of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant[1] and the Dhavalapēṭa plates of *Mahārāja* Umavarman,[2] in which they appear angular. In all these charters including the one under study, the characters bear remarkable affinity to one another especially in the marking of the serif which is deeply cut. On palaeographical grounds the script of the above two charters of Umavarman has been assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.C.[3] Our record may also be placed in the same century on the same grounds. The Superintendent for Epigraphy, however, remarks about its script as compared with that of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant as follows : " From the more angular aspect of the script adopted in this inscription and also the more archaic form of certain letters and its orthographical peculiarities, this may have to be assigned to an earlier period. The forms of subscripts for *y* and *r* adopted in this inscription, resemble those found in later Kushāṇa epigraphs. The doubling of the consonant before the *rēpha* also suggests an earlier model like the Naḷa inscriptions."[3] It is difficult to agree with the line of argument adopted above, since it is not quite correct to compare these Kaliṅga grants which are in southern characters with the Kushāṇa records which are in northern characters.

As regards the **orthography** of the Tekkali plates there is nothing particular to remark. There are very few errors of composition or those committed by the scribe. A consonant after *r* is duplicated. The doubling of the consonant before a *rēpha* is found in *dharmma-kkrama* (line 9) and *vikkrama* (line 9). *Yudhishṭhira* for *Yudhishṭhira* (lines 14-15) is evidently a mistake. There is only one instance of the use of *b* for *v* (*sambatsara*, line 16). The **phraseology** of the grant is in many respects similar to that obtaining in the allied Kaliṅga grants cited above except for a few differences. Thus, the passage *dharmma-kkrama-vikkramābhya(maiḥ) dānam anupālanañ=ch=ēti ēsha khalu sa dharmmaḥ* may be compared with the following one in the Bṛihatprōshṭhā and other grants : *dharmma-kkrama-vikkramāṇām-anyatama-yōgād-vāpya mahīm-anuśāsatāṁ pravṛittakam-idam-dānaṁ sad-dharmmam-anupaśyadbhiḥ*, etc. Towards the end of the record and before the mention of the *lēkhaka* there is an interesting endorsement to the effect that the charter was written by the king in his own hand and was as such capable of destroying sins. It runs, *rājñā sva-hasta-likhitaṁ śāsanaṁ pāpa-nāśanam*. Here the word *likhitam* is perhaps to be understood in the sense that the king attested the original deed of gift himself since the inscription says that the king himself was the executor (*svayam-ājñā*). Mention is made of another person, Kēśavadēva of Pishṭapura, who is also stated to have written it. The latter evidently was the person who actually wrote the inscription on the copper plates which was later engraved over.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the three imprecatory verses, the rest of the composition is in prose.

The **object** of the charter is to record the gift of a village called Astihavēra or Havēra[4] as a tax-free *agrahāra* to a *Brāhmaṇa* Yaśaśarman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* by *Mahārāja* Umavarman who describes himself as *pitṛipādānudhyātaḥ*. The **date** of the grant is given in words as the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the ninth year (of the king's reign). The king himself was the *ājñā*, *i.e.*, executor of the grant. The record is stated to have been written (*likhitam*) by the king himself. It is also recorded that Kēśavadēva, a resident of Pishṭapura wrote (*likhitam*) the charter. As explained above, the king perhaps issued the original charter in his own hand and executed it, its copy having been reduced to writing on the copper plates by Kēśavadēva.

[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 4 and plate.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 133 and plate.
[3] *ARSIE*, 1934-35, p. 52.
[4] See below p. 302, foot-note 2.

The order conveying the gift was issued from the victorious **Vardhamānapura**.

In the century to which *Mahārāja* Umavarman of the present Tekkali plates has been assigned there ruled in Kaliṅga another king of the same name, *viz.*, *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman, already mentioned, who was the donor of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant and of the Dhavalapēṭa plates. That both may be identical seems at first sight plausible, but it was perhaps not so. In the first place there is a marked difference in the seals attached to their respective grants. Those of *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman have the legend in four lines ending with the name of the donor in the genitive case. The one attached to the present Tekkali plates has only a single line as legend which in all probability reads *pitṛibhaktaḥ*. The absence of the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* among the titles of Umavarman of the present charter may be considered as another factor pointing in the same direction of their non-identity. Whether the Umavarman of the present Tekkali plates belonged to the same family as, if he was not identical with, his namesake of the records cited above cannot also be ascertained with the evidence at our disposal. On the other hand, there is a possibility of our Umavarman being in some way lineally connected with two other kings of Kaliṅga who flourished in or about the same century, *viz.*, *Kaliṅgādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili[1] and the Kōmarti[2] plates and *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati* Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Chicacole plates.[3] In all their grants the legend on the seals is the same, *viz.*, *pitṛibhaktaḥ*. A common legend like this used by several kings on the seals of their charters would indicate that it was more than a personal epithet of a particular ruler, perhaps a cognomen indicating one family. We have a similar instance of a common legend adopted by the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, *viz.*, *Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*. Although this occurs as a personal attribute of a number of kings of this dynasty, its adoption as a legend on the seals of their charters by different members of the family invests it with greater significance than that of merely indicating a particular ruler. Perhaps it gained importance as a common title of the family as a whole. Similarly, it may be said that the kings who used the legend *pitṛibhaktaḥ* were all of one family, whose dynastic appellation, if any, is not at present known. The origin of the legend can be traced to the personal epithet *pitṛipādānudhyātaḥ* or *bappabhaṭṭārakapādabhaktaḥ* by which these kings are found to style themselves. While there were other rulers belonging to different dynasties, *viz.*, the kings of the Māṭhara, Pallava, Śālaṅkāyana and Vishṇukuṇḍin families, who used the same epithet, none of them adopted it as a legend on their seals.

As stated above, king Umavarman of the present charter was not the overlord of the whole of Kaliṅga, as he does not bear the title *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati* or even *Kaliṅgādhipati*. He seems to have been ruling only a portion of the country from his capital at Vardhamānapura. I have stated elsewhere[4] that *Kaliṅgādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmarti plates should have

[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 30 ff. and plate.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plate.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff. and plate.

[4] See article on the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman, above, p. 233. The chronological position of another early king of Kaliṅga, *viz.*, Viśākhavarman, who issued the Kōrāshaṇḍā plates (above, Vol. XXI, p. 23), remains uncertain. The script of this record resembles the characters of *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman's grants (Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant and Dhavalapēṭa plates) and those of the present Tekkali plates of *Mahārāja* Umavarman. Viśākhavarman does not bear the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* and his charter is issued from Śrīpura. Neither the ring nor the seal of his grant is forthcoming to help us in deciding whether he was a *pitṛibhakta* king or not. To take a cue from his name Viśākhavarman, we might suppose that he was the son of an Umavarman, since Viśākha, *i.e.*, Skanda, was the son of Umā, *i.e.*, Pārvatī. If future discoveries substantiate this conjecture, it would appear that the Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka for whose heavenly bliss he made the gift of the village recorded in his Kōrāshaṇḍā plates (*asmad-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāṁ* [illegible]) is to be identified with one of the two kings of the name of Umavarman. If he was *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, it might be supposed that soon after his death and before Viśākhavarman could consolidate his power, *Kaliṅgādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman wrested the Kaliṅga kingdom from the young prince and thus deprived him of his lordship over Kaliṅga as well as of the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati*.

acquired the kingdom of Kaliṅga soon after *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman had ceased to rule. Our Umavarman, who belonged to the same family as that of Chaṇḍavarman, must have been holding sway over a part of Kaliṅga sometime after Chaṇḍavarman, that is, in the third quarter of the 5th century. Of the three kings who belonged to this line of *pitṛibhakta* rulers, *viz.*, Chaṇḍavarman, Umavarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman, only Umavarman did not style himself as *Kaliṅgādhipati*. Since the characters of Nandaprabhañjanavarman's grant belong to a period later than those found in the inscriptions of the other two *pitṛibhakta* rulers, we may consider Umavarman of our grant as having preceded him but to have come after Chaṇḍavarman who immediately followed *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman, whose family is not known. It would appear that owing to the causes unknown, Umavarman lost his hold on the whole of Kaliṅga. Some time later *Mahārāja* Nandaprabhañjanavarman restored the power of the family to its old position, since this king is found to assume the title *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati*. He was in his turn, superseded by another line of Kaliṅga rulers, *viz.*, the Vāsishṭha family to which belonged Anantavarman, Lord of Kaliṅga, 'who acquired the kingdom by his own prowess' as recorded in his Siripuram[1] and Śruṅgavarapukōṭa[2] plates. Thus, of the three *pitṛibhakta* kings, Chaṇḍavarman ruled the whole of Kaliṅga from his capital at Siṁhapura. His successor, Umavarman of the present plates, administered only a part of the country from his seat at Vardhamānapura. Nandaprabhañjanavarman, evidently the last ruler so far known of this line, again exercised sway over the whole of Kaliṅga from his seat (*vāsaka*) Sārapalli as recorded in his Chicacole plates. Since this place was only a *vāsaka* or camp, he might have had his capital elsewhere.

Of the **places** mentioned in the present grant, **Pishṭapura** is well-known. The others, **Vardhamānapura** and **Astihavēra** have been identified respectively with Vaḍama in the Palakonda taluk, Visakhapatnam District, and Atava in the Srungavarapukota taluk in the same District by the late Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu.[3] These are situated at a distance of more than fifty miles from each other.

Some of the villages referred to in the early Kaliṅga grants have not been satisfactorily identified so far. In the following list, I have tried to indicate their modern names.

Reference.	Village mentioned in the inscription.	Modern name.	Taluk and District.
1. Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 223 (Dhavalapēṭa plates).	Kaṭṭu[pu] in Mahēndrabhōga.	Kadapasingi	Golugonda Agency, Visakhapatnam District.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 33 (Bobbili plates).	Tiritthāṇa	Tāṇem	Chipurapalle taluk, Visakhapatnam District.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 142 (Kōmarti plates).	Kōhētūra	Kottūru	Srikakulam taluk, Srikakulam District.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 23 (Kōrāshaṇḍā plates).	Tampōyaka in Kōrāsōdakapañchālī.	Tampa[4] near Korasanḍā	Parlakimedi taluk Ganjam District.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 48 (Chicacole plates).	Sārapallivāsaka	Sārīpalle	Vizianagaram taluk, Visakhapatnam District.

[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 56.

[3] *ARSIE*, 1934-5, part II, para 2. If the name of the latter village is to be taken only as Havēra, I am unable to locate it.

[4] This identification has already been suggested by Mr. C. R. K. Charlu; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 202.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Vijaya-Vardhamānapurā[t] pitṛipādānudhyātaḥ śrī-Mahārāj-Ō-

2 mavarmmā Astihavēra[2]-grāmē sarvva-samavētām(n) kuṭumbinas=sa-

3 mājñāpayaty=astu vō viditam [|*] asmākam sva-puṇy-ā(ny-ā)yur-yyaśō-

4 bhivṛiddhayē ā-chandra-tārak-ārkka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṁ kṛitvā a-

Second Plate : First Side

5 [ka]ragrāhika-grāmañ=cha kṛitvā sarvva-kara-bhara-parihārai[ḥ*] parihṛi[tya]

6 Ya[śa]śarmmaṇē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya samprattaḥ [|*] tad=ēvaṁ viditvā

7 yushmābhiḥ pūrvv-ōchita-maryyāday=ōpasthānaṁ karttavyam=iti

8 [mē]ya-hiraṇy-ādi ch=ōpanēyam=iti bhavishyad-rājñaś=cha vijñāpa-

Second Plate : Second Side

9 yāmi dharmma-kkrama-vikkramābhya(maiḥ) dānam=anupālanañ=ch=ēti ē-

10 sha khalu sa dharmmaḥ | api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītā[n*] ślōkān=udā-

11 haranti [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā vasu-dhā vasudhādhipai[ḥ|*] ya-

12 [sya] yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Shashṭi-varsha-sa-

Third Plate : First Side

13 hasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida[ḥ] [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva

14 narakē vasēt [||*] Sva-datā(ttā)ṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād=raksha Yudhi(dhi)-

15 shṭhira [|*] mahīm=mahimatā[ṁ] śrēshṭha dānā[ch*]=chhrēyō=nupālanam [||*] Māghasya kri-

16 shṇa-divasō(sē) saptamī sambatsara navama[3] svayam-ājñā [||*]

Third Plate : Second Side

17 Rājñā sva-hasta-likhitaṁ śāsanaṁ pāpa-nāśanam=[i]ti [|*]

18 Pishṭapura-vāstavyēna Kēśavadēvēna likhitam=[iti] [|*]

No. 48—PURI PLATES (SET B) OF GANGA NARASIMHA IV

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime ago, my friend Mr. Paramānanda Āchārya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, kindly sent me for examination a copper-plate inscription recently secured by him from Puri for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. On examination, it was found to

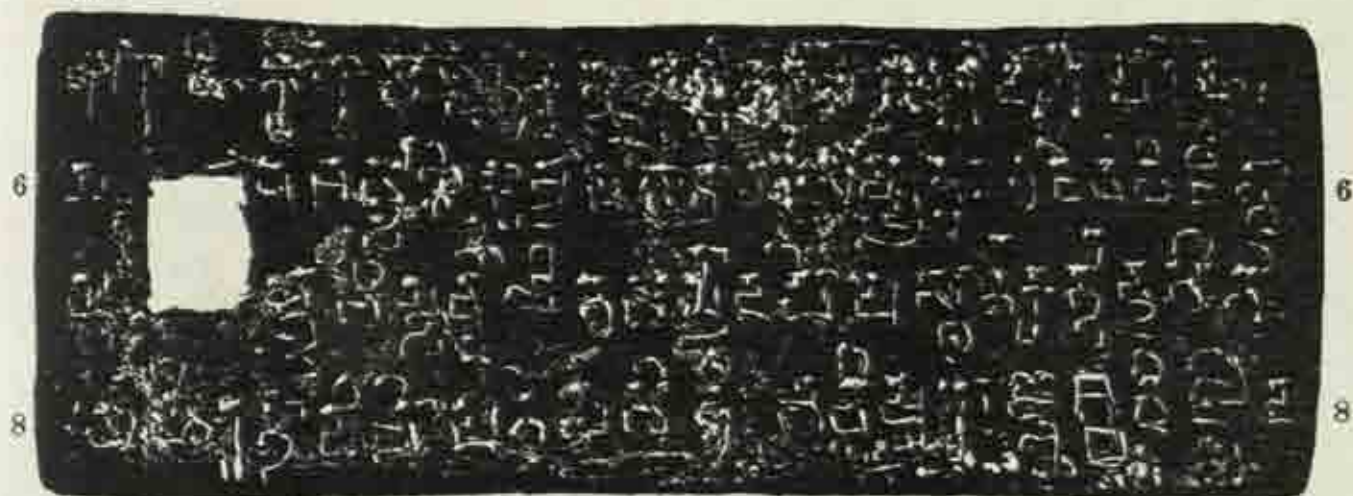
[1] From impressions.

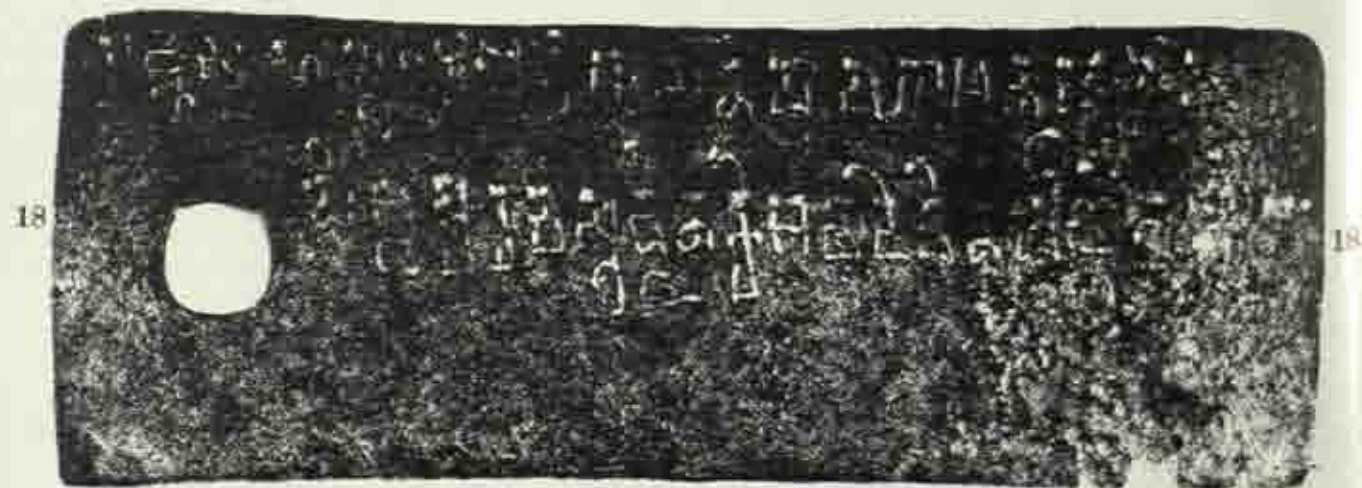
[2] Possibly we have to read asti Havēra-, treating asti as an indeclinable and Havēra as the name of the village. I owe this suggestion to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

[3] Read saptamyāṁ saṁvatsarē navamē.

B. CH. CHHABRA
Rg. No. 3977 E'36—499'52.

SCALE: ACTUAL-SIZE

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

iii,a.

iii,b.

FOUR 'PITRIBHAKTA' SEALS

BOBBILI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN

CHICACOLE PLATES OF NANDAPRABHANJANAVARMAN

KOMARTI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN

TEKKALI PLATES OF UMAVARMAN

(From photographs)

B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. No. 3977 E'36-499'52
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

be the second of the two sets (A and B) of copper plates of the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Narasiṁha IV, published without facsimile by the late M. M. Chakravarti in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 128 ff. It was also found that considerable improvement in Chakravarti's reading and interpretation of the inscription, especially in the grant portion containing an early specimen of the Oriyā language, is possible. I am therefore re-editing the grant portion of the inscription incised on plates VI-VII.

Chakravarti found the inscription in the Śaṅkarānanda Maṭha at Puri, about half a mile to the south of the Jagannātha temple and close to the old palace of the Puri Rājās. It was originally incised on seven plates but the fifth one, together with the seal, is missing. That only six loose plates (without the missing fifth plate) came into the possession of the Maṭha is indicated by a modern inscription in Dēvanāgarī on the obverse of the first plate. It runs as follows:

1 idaṁ tāmra-śāsana-saḍakaṁ

2 śrīmata-parmahaṁsa-parivrājakāchārja-Mōgavadhana-

3 piṭhādhisa-jagadguru-daṁḍi-Bālabrahmānaṁda-Sara-

4 svati-svāminā padē arapitam.[1]

The plates measure each 13.3 inches by 11.1 inches. The first and the seventh plates have inscription only on the inner side, while the other plates are inscribed on both the obverse and the reverse. The plates (with the exception of Plate VII which has no writing on the reverse) were consecutively numbered, the particular numerical figure being engraved on the left margin of the reverse of each plate. The figure for 1 is of the Telugu type, while those for 2 and 3 are of the medieval Bengali type, 2 resembling modern Telugu and English 3 and 3 the Dēvanāgarī form of the same numeral. The figure for 6 is interesting to note. The figures for 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9 also occur in the text of the inscription (Plate VI B, lines 12, 21 : Plate VII, line 3). The numbers of lines on the different plates are as follows : IB—25, IIA—24, IIB—21, IIIA—24, IIIB—25, IVA—24, IVB—25, VIA—24, VIB—28, VIIA—23. The six plates together weigh 851 *tolas*.

The characters of the inscription are Gauḍī influenced by Nāgarī, though a few letters (*e.g. r*) have forms approaching those of the letters in modern Oriyā. The engraving is carelessly done. A sibilant is often so formed that it is difficult to understand whether the engraver had the palatal or the dental in mind. In our transcript, we have sometimes ignored the forms of *s* looking like *ś* and *vice versa*. This is to avoid a large number of corrections in the transcript. The language of the versified portion of the inscription is Sanskrit; but the grant portion in prose is predominantly Oriyā. The orthography often exhibits influence of local pronunciation.[2] The same proper name has sometimes been spelt differently (cf. Rāḍasōō-Rāḍha°=°saō, Raktapaṭā-Rakata°, Vāragō-Vārōgō, Ōḍamvōlō-Ōḍamōlō).

The charter was issued by the imperial Eastern Gaṅga monarch Narasiṁha IV who is known to have ruled in 1378-1402 A.C.[3] It contains no less than three dates, the first in 1395

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[1] Read *idam tāmra-patra-chaṭkam śrīmat-paramahaṁsa-parivrājakāchārya-Bhōgavardhana-pīṭh-ādhīśa-jagadguru-daṇḍi-Bālabrahmānandasarasvatīsvāminā padē-'rpitam.*

[2] In Oriyā *ś* is usually pronounced as *s*. Note also the contractions *sra* for *sara*, *pli* for *pali*, *gōchrē* for *gōcharē*.

[3] The latest definitely known date of the king is Śaka 1324 (=31st Aṅka or 25th regnal year). See *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1016. He may not have been living in Śaka 1328 when his wife Pārvatī-mahādēvī made a gift in favour of the god Narasiṁha of Simhachalam (*ibid.*, No. 731). Subba Rao (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 70 ff.) takes 1414 A.C. to be the last year of the king's reign as another of his wives, named Nīladēvī, made a gift in favour of the same god in Śaka 1335 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1072). But this is uncertain as the queen seems to have been a widow at the time of the grant. A recent suggestion that the king died in 1409 A. C. (cf. *J. O. R.*, Vol. XIX, p. 135) is based on a misunderstanding of the evidence of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1205, which belongs to the reign of Bhīma III and not of Bhīma IV as is wrongly supposed.

A. C., and the second and the third respectively in the following two years, *viz.*, 1396 and 1397 A. C.

The first five plates (including the lost fifth plate) as well as three quarters of the obverse of the sixth plate are occupied by the introductory part of the charter dealing with the genealogy of the royal family to which the issuer belonged and the achievements of the imperial Gaṅga rulers down to the issuer himself. The importance of this part has often been discussed by scholars on the basis of Chakravarti's transcript published more than half a century ago. In the present paper we are especially interested in the latter part of the document recording the grant made by Narasiṁha IV in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya who was apparently the priest in charge of the worship of a god named Ugrēśvaradēva.

The genealogical part of the inscription ends in line 19 on the obverse of plate VI. As one of the plates (Plate V) is lost, it is not possible to count the number of the lines in the inscription consecutively from the beginning. The end of the metrical part of the record dealing with Gaṅga genealogy is indicated by the words *śubham=astu*. The grant portion of the charter then begins with the date given in words as the expired Śaka year 1316. Line 20 says that the above year corresponded to the 22nd Aṅka year of king *Vīra-śrī-Narasiṁhadēva* (*i.e.*, Narasiṁha IV of the imperial Gaṅga family) who was endowed with titles like "the lord of the fourteen worlds". The details of the date on which the charter was drawn up are given in the next line as Tuesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Vṛiśchika, *i.e.*, the solar Mārgaśīrsha or Agrahāyaṇa. The date is irregular for Śaka 1316 expired; but, for Śaka 1317 expired, it corresponds to Tuesday, the 23rd November, 1395 A. C.[1] This date is said to have fallen in the 22nd Aṅka *year*, *i.e.*, the 18th regnal year of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha IV who is believed to have ascended the throne about 1378 A.C. and ruled at least up to the year 1402 A.C. At the time of issuing the grant the *śrī-charaṇa*, *i.e.*, the king, who purified (cf. *a-rujāḥ*) himself by offering worship (possibly to the family deity Purushōttama-Jagannātha[2]) was staying in the *bhitara-navara* of the *kaṭaka* (city or residence) of Vārāṇasī, *i.e.*, the present Cuttack. In this inscription, as in the corresponding passage of some records of the king's ancestor Narasiṁha II (*circa* 1278-1305 A. C.), the word *vijaya* has been used in its modified Oṛiyā sense of 'stay', etc. *Navara* is an Oṛiyā corruption of Sanskrit *nagara* and means a city, palace, etc. *Bhitara-navara*, which is the same as *abhyantara-nava(ga)ra* of some grants of Narasiṁha II, seems to refer to the king's stay in his palace at Cuttack. The following officers were then in the king's presence (lines 22-23): (1) *Mahāpātra* Kṛishṇānanda *Sāndhivigrahika*, (2) *Mahāpātra* Lāṇḍuratha *Āchārya*, (3) *Mahāpātra* Gōpīnātha *Sāndhivigrahika*, (4) *Pātra* Siddhēśvara *Jēnā*, (5) *Dvāraparīkshā* Trivikrama *Sāndhivigrahika*, and (6) Kināi *Sēnādhyaksha*. Among the official designations, the word *pātra* indicates a minister and *mahāpātra* a minister of a higher rank. *Sāndhivigrahika* was a minister dealing with matters relating to war and peace. The word *jēnā* originally meant a prince of the royal blood, but later came to be a title of the nobility and ultimately a family name. The word *parīkshā* (Oṛiyā *parichhā*) means a superintendent, governor, *etc*. *Dvāraparīkshā* seems therefore to be the same as the *pratīhāra* (officer in charge of the palace-gate). *Sēnādhyaksha* was a leader of the forces.

The last line (line 21) on the obverse of Plate VI says how the king (*śrī-hasta*; cf. *śrī-charaṇa* above) made a grant of land in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya in accordance with the *mudala* that had been settled before *Parō-śrikaraṇa* Viśvanātha *Mahāsēnāpati*. *Mudala* is a Telugu word meaning *ājñā* or order and is first noticed in the records of Narasiṁha II. In Oṛiyā,

[1] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 285.

[2] See *J. O. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 209-15. It is very probable that a substitute was installed after the original image of Purushōttama-Jagannātha, established in the Gaṅga palace at Cuttack by Anaṅgabhīma III, had been carried away by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi.

however, the word seems to be used in a modified sense to indicate an arrangement made according to order. That *mudala* and *ājñā* were not used in Oṛiyā exactly in the same sense is suggested by epigraphic passages using both of them. The Oṛiyā inscriptions of the Sūryavaṁśis have the following passages in a similar context : *āgyāṁ hōilā, Agnisarmā mudrāhastara gōcharē vōilā mudalē, avadhārita āgyā pramāṇē, avadhārita āgyāṁ vōilā mudalē, samastanka mukhāvidārē āgyāṁ hōilā, pujā-avadhārē āgyāṁ hōilā, āgyāṁ vōli hōilā*, etc.[1] We have to note also the expressions *Gaṭṭāsura-dāsa-śrī-chandana-āg avadhārita ājñā-vōilā mudalē* and *avadhārita-mudala-pramāṇē* occurring in the latter part of our inscription. The same modified sense of the word can also be traced in the *Mādalā Pāñji*[2] in such passages as *śrī-nagarē vijē kar mudala karāilē, śrī-pāda mudalē, rājguru-ē-manta mudala karāi*, etc. *Mahāsenāpati* was a high military officer, apparently higher than the *sāmādhyaksha* mentioned earlier. *Śrīkaraṇa* indicates a scribe-accountant and *purō*, prefixed to it, may possibly connect the official with the *pura* or capital of the Gaṅga monarch, although it may also be connected with Sanskrit *puras* and point to a front rank among the *Śrīkaraṇas*. The word *purō* occurs in another grant of Narasiṁha IV as *pōrō*, while the *Mādalā Pāñji* speaks of two officers of a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma as *Pōra-Pāñjidhara-Parīkshā* Mithuni Paṇḍā and *Pōra-Śrīkaraṇa* Suruya-Puranāyaka.[3]

Line 1 on the reverse of Plate VI says that the land granted to Dēvarathāchārya measured one hundred *vāṭis*. It is further said (lines 1-5) that on Paṇḍitavāra (Wednesday), the 2nd of the solar month of Vṛiśchika (Mārgaśīrsha) and the seventh *tithi* of the dark half of the lunar month in the 23rd Aṅka year, the *śrī-charaṇa* (king), when he was doing *japa* (counting of beads) after having offered worship at the *kaṭaka* (city or residence) of Dēvakūṭa and when a number of officials were in his presence, granted two villages covering one hundred *vāṭis* of land to Dēvarathāchārya. The details of the date show that it corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.C. 1396, a year after the grant was originally made. The officers present on this occasion were : (1) *Pātra* Mahāmuni *Purōhita*, (2) *Dvāraparīkshā* Trivikrama *Sandhivigraha* (*Sāndhivigrahika*), the same as No. 5 of the first list of officials quoted above, (3) *Vuḍhālēṅkā* Sōmanātha *Vāhinipati*, and (4) *Bhitara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikārī* Narahari *Sandhivigraha*. In the official designation *Vuḍhālēṅkā*, the word *vuḍhā* is the same as Sanskrit *vṛiddha* (Prakrit *vuḍḍha*)-*mahā*, while *lēṅkā* means a Śūdra servant of a king or a deity. *Vāhinipati* was a commander of the forces, possibly the same as *Sāmādhyaksha* mentioned in the first list quoted above. The designation *Bhitara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikārī* (*bhitara* being the same as Sanskrit *abhyantara*) suggests that there was another officer styled *Bahir-bhāṇḍār-ādhikārin*. The *Bhitara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikārī* was probably the officer in charge of the treasury or store-house in the inner part of the royal palace. On this occasion also the *mudala* or arrangement regarding the grant was made in the presence of the officer *Purō-śrīkaraṇa* Viśvanātha *Mahāsēnāpati*. According to this arrangement (lines 4-5 on the reverse of Plate VI), the one hundred *vāṭis* of land granted to Dēvarathāchārya were offered in the form of two villages situated in the Madanakhaṇḍa *vishaya* which formed a part of Kōshṭhadēśa consisting of eight *khaṇḍas* or divisions (like the said Madana-khaṇḍa). Madanakhaṇḍa is later referred to as Oḍamvōlō (or Oḍamōlō)-Madanakhaṇḍa. The two gift villages are called here Sāśōgrāmī-Mōkshēśvara and Dakshuṇa-Rāḍasōgrāma, although later the former has been referred to only as Sāśōgrāma and the latter sometimes as Rāḍha° or °sō. The first village was a part of Sāśōgrāma, known as Mōkshēśvara. Kōdṛṭhadēśa or Kōṭhadēśa is the name of a Pargana in the Puri District ; but the expression may also indicate an area in the king's private possession.

[1] See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXII, 1893, Part I, pp. 91, 93, 96, 99, 100.

[2] Cf. *Mādalā Pāñji*, ed. A. B. Mahānti, Cuttack, 1940, pp. 27, 28, 30. Unfortunately, Mr. Mahānti has absolutely nothing to say about the meaning of such words, inspite of the fact that they are not recognised even in the voluminous *Prācīna Abhidhāna* (pp. 2991) published in 1942.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 28. Some of the officers known from our record are also mentioned in several other inscriptions of the time of Narasiṁha IV. Cf. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 20 ff.

Lines 5-11 say how on Saturday, the Mina-saṅkrānti on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the same year (*ō-srāha*), the villages Sāisō and Dakshiṇa-Rāḍasaō (*i.e.* South Rāḍasaō) granted to Dēvarathāchārya were made the *dēuḷi-bhūmi* or temple land of the god Ugrēśvaradēva of Kōshṭhadēśa. The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February 1397 A.C., *i.e.* about three months later. The king (*śrī-charaṇa*) was then staying at the *kaṭaka* of Nārāyaṇapura and, while coming back from that place after having offered worship, had beside him the officers: (1) *Vaḍhā-lēṅkā* Sōmanātha *Vāhinīpati*, the same as No. 3 of the second list, (2) Bhuvanēśvara *Sandhivigraha*, (3) Lakshmaṇānanda *Sandhivigraha*, and (4) *Bhitara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikārī* Narahari *Sandhivigraha*, the same as No. 4 of the second list, which has been quoted and discussed above. The *mudalo* is said to have been settled in the presence of *Dvāraparīkshā* Trivikrama *Sandhivigraha*, known from both the first and the second lists quoted above, and also of *Āmi-Purō-parīksha-Mahāpātra* Gatēśvaradāsa Śrichandana. The word *Āmi* in the official designation of Gatēśvaradāsa who had the title *Śrichandana* (that came to be a title of nobility), seems to be the same as Arabic *Amīn* probably indicating an officer of the revenue or judicial department. This suggestion cannot be regarded as improbable in view of the use of words like *mukābilā* (Arabic *muqābil*, Persian *muqābilā*) in the records of the Sūryavaṁśīs, quoted above. The expression *ājñā-vōlā-mudalē* (literally, "according to the arrangement made in accordance with the words of the order") may suggest that the said arrangement was made by Gatēśvaradāsa on behalf of Trivikrama. The gift land (*śāsana*), having the boundaries fixed on all the four sides and including the temple (of Ugrēśvaradēva), was endowed with a *paṭā* or deed (lines 10-11). Thus, although originally Dēvarathāchārya, who seems to have been the priest of the god Ugrēśvaradēva, was intended to be the donee of one hundred *vāṭis* of land, the god himself was ultimately made the donee of the above land as well as of the land around the temple.

Lines 11-20 describe the first of the three plots of the gift land. It was the village of Sāisō situated in Oḍamvōlō-Madanakhaṇḍa. Its income to go to the king's revenue department (*kōṭhavyāpārara bhāgo*) is given in words as 322 *māḍhas* but in figures as 322/6 in which 6 indicates a fraction (*gaṇḍā*?) of the *māḍha*. *Māḍha* now indicates the weight of half a *tolā* and the coin of this name referred to in the record was either of gold or silver of the said weight. It appears, however, that, in lieu of land, actually the revenue of the village called Sāisōgrāma, amounting to a little above 322 *māḍhas* possibly of silver was granted. The contraction *kai*, put after the amount of money in this case, is also noticed in the latter part of the inscription in lines 21 (*sa-ankhya-māḍha 127 kai*) and 28 (*vraja-vāṭi 30 kai*). It may have the meaning of the usual expression *ankē-āpi* which, however, is placed before the figures. Possibly it is a contraction of Sanskrit *kēvala* meaning "only."[1] The grant seems to have been made with *vṛiddhi* and *avadāna*. In Oṛiyā the word *avadāna* is used in the sense of a gift.[2] Thus the passage *vṛiddhi-avadāna madhya kari* may indicate "together with the power to improve and alienate the land." But it is better to suggest that the amount of income quoted included *vṛiddhi* and *avadāna*. In that case they would mean 'supertax' and 'tax' respectively.[3] The record next enumerates the boundaries of the above village according to the determination of Thamathi-nāēka(nāyaka) who was the *paḍihasta* (*i.e.* *pratihasta* or representative) of *Purō-śrīkaraṇa* Viśvanātha *Mahāsēnāpati*. The eastern boundary started from parts of the road to Chandraprabhā lying to the west of the *śāsana* (gift village) of Bhagavatīpura and ran up to the Hijala tree near or on the tank of or at Pōḍāpōḍā to the east of

[1] I am doubtful whether this *kai* is the same as the accusative-dative suffix *ke* found in Pl. VI B, l. 14, Pl. VII, l. 4.

[2] Cf. *ā-avadānamāna ā-bhōga-dāna yē karai ē Jagannāthaṅku śrīhe kamai* (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXII, 1893, Part I, p. 91).

[3] For *avadāna* or *avadāna* meaning 'tax' in an Orissan record, see *Journ. Bomb. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 107, to which my attention was drawn by Mr. K. B. Tripathi.

Vāṅgarisōgrāma. The northern boundary began with parts of the road to the north of the house of Chiḍichiḍi lying to the south of Vāṅgarisōgrāma and of the three-pronged cattle track going to the house of the Brāhmaṇas and ended in half of the waters (*adhā-sōi* for Sanskrit *ardha-srōtas*) of the river Vāiṅgaṇī (later also called Vāiṅgaṇiā). The western boundary began with half of the waters of the Vāiṅgaṇī river to the east of Rāḍasaōgrāma and ended with parts of the cattle track going to Kuchiāgāi to the south of Āmvaṭōṭā on the river bank of Gōpīnāthapura on the further side (of the river Vāiṅgaṇī). The southern boundary began with Haṛāgaā to the north of Gōpīnāthapura and ran up to the northern bank of the river (Vāiṅgaṇī) and to parts of the three-pronged cattle track going to the *śāsanas* (gift villages) of Bhagavatīpura and Gōpīnāthapura. In all (*gō*), this was one village with fixed boundaries on all the four sides.

Lines 20-26 describe the second plot of land consisting of the village of Rāḍasaō (*i.e.* Dakshiṇa-Rāḍasōō) situated in the same *vishaya*. The grant was made with *vṛiddhi*, *saikā* and *avadāna*. The terms *vṛiddhi* and *avadāna* have been discussed above; the meaning of *saikā* is uncertain. It may stand for Sanskrit *śatikā* and indicate a tax collected on the basis of a hundred articles of a kind. The income of the village is given both in words and figures as 127 *māḍhas*, probably of silver. This income is qualified by a passage which seems to suggest that it was being enjoyed by the king's second queen (*majhi-ghara*) for worshipping the god Purushōttama. The eastern boundary of the said gift village started with parts of the waters of the Vāiṅgaṇiā river to the west of Sāisōgrāma and ran up to parts of the road going to Rakatapaṭā (or Raktapaṭā) to the south of the temple land (of Ugrēśvaradēva). The northern boundary began with parts of the road to Raktapaṭā to the south of the temple land and ended in parts of the waters of the Vārōgō (or Vāragō) river. The western boundary started from parts of the waters of the Vāragō river to the east of the Vijayalakshmīpura *śāsana* (gift village) and ended in parts of the cattle track below the embankment called Sulunāghāi in the Gōpīnāthapura *śāsana*. The southern boundary seems to have begun with parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the north of the Gōpīnāthapura *śāsana* and to the west of Āmvaṭōṭā and ended in parts of the waters of the Vāiṅgaṇiā river. In all (*gō*), it was one village with settled boundaries on all the four sides. As in the case of Sāisōgrāma, only the income of the village seems to have been granted to the donee.

The third piece of the gift land, situated in the same *vishaya*, is described in lines 26 ff. It consisted of 30 *vāṭis* of land apparently around the temple of Ugrēśvara. The eastern boundary of this land, called a *grāma* without mentioning its name, ran from the Vāiṅgaṇā river to the west of Vāṅgarisōgrāma to parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the east of Vāliāgrāma. The northern boundary ran from the Vōhāla road (possibly indicating a road marked by a Vōhāla tree) at the head of a field to the south of Vāliāgrāma to parts of (the waters of) the Vāragō river. The western boundary seems to have started from parts of the waters of the Vāragō river to the east of the Vijayalakshmīpura *śāsana* and ended in a point which is left out owing to inadvertence. The southern boundary ran up to parts of the road going to Rakatapaṭā to the north of Rāḍhasōō-grāma. Line 2 on Plate VII says that the above land was in all (*gō*) one *grāma* having fixed boundaries on all the four sides. The next line says that the gift altogether consisted of three *grāmas* of which the *jīta*[1] or income was 449/5 *māḍhas* and the land measured 30 *vāṭis*. It may be pointed out that 322/6 *māḍhas* and 127 *māḍhas* would make actually 449/6 *māḍhas*.

The above gift land was granted, according to lines 3-5, to Dēvarathāchārya to last as long as the moon and the sun would endure by means of the deed of gift, together with (*sanīhya kari*) water, land, fish, tortoise, tree and forest and with the temple of Ugrēśvaradēva and the land around it. Lines 5-8 say partly in repetition of what was said above that Narasiṁhadēvavarman

[1] From Telugu-Kannada *jīta* (from Sanskrit *jīvita*), 'pay, wages'. The *Mādalā Pāñji* (*op. cit.*, p. 29) also uses *jīta* in the sense of revenue-income.

of the Ātrēya *gōtra* granted the two villages of Sāisō and Dakshiṇa-Rāḍasōō, situated in the
Ōḍamōlō-Madanakhaṇḍa *vishaya* and having the boundaries specified above, to the Brāhmaṇa
Dēvanāthaśarman of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda, as a
permanent rent-free holding, together with water, land, fish, tortoise, tree, forest, sand and *bhiṭā*
(homestead land). It is interesting to note that the Gaṅga king adopts the Kshatriya name-
ending *varman* as his ancestor Bhānu II does in his Puri plates.[1] The *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*,[2]
while describing Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's invasion of Jājnagar (*i.e.*, the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa)
during the reign of Bhānu III, speaks of the Rāis of that country (*i.e.*, the Gaṅga kings) as Brāh-
maṇas. It thus appears that the Gaṅga monarchs claimed variously to be Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas
of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, although basically they must have been Dravidians. As I have shown
elsewhere the claim to the Ātrēya *gōtra* was essentially connected with the genealogy of the Gaṅga
family, fabricated by the court-poets of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.[3] According to lines 8-9, the
Tāmrādhikārin (the same as the *Sāmantādhikārin* or keeper and writer of records), Narahari
Sandhivigraha, appears to have received as his perquisite one *vāṭī* of land out of the gift land,
according to an arrangement approved of by the respectable people of the villages. The next
line says how the *Tāmralēkhaka* (engraver of the plates), Gurudāsa *Sēnāpati*, received half of the
area of land received by the *Tāmrādhikārin*. Gurudāsa, however, appears to have been too big
an officer to engrave plates and it is possible to think that he got the work done by a coppersmith.[4]
The charter proper is followed in lines 10-18 by nine of the usual imprecatory and benedictory
verses. The above verses are followed by three new stanzas in lines 18-23. The text of the verses
is extremely corrupt.

A number of geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. The different orders of
the king in regard to the grant recorded here were issued when he was staying at Vārāṇasī (modern
Cuttack), Dēvakūṭa and Nārāyaṇapura. Of the three plots of gift-land, the first consisted of Sāisō-
grāma (also once called Sāisōgrāmī-Mōkshēśvara) and the second of the South Rāḍasōōgrāma
(also called Rāḍha' and 'saōgrāma), both situated in the *vishaya* called Kōshṭhadēśa-Madana-
khaṇḍa or Ōḍamvōla (Oḍamōlō)-Madanakhaṇḍa, while the third plot consisted of 30 *vāṭīs* of land
belonging to the temple of the god called Kōshṭhadēśa-Ugrēśvaradēva. In describing the
boundaries of Sāisōgrāma, mention has been made of Bhagavatīpura-śāsana, Chandraprabhā,
Vāṅgarisōgrāma, Vāṅgaṇi-nadi, Rāḍasōō, Gōpīnāthapura-śāsana, Āmvatōṭā, Kuchiāgāī and
Harāgaā. In the description of the boundaries of Dakshiṇa-Rāḍasōōgrāma, mention is made of
Sāisōgrāma, Vāṅgaṇiā-nadi, Raktapaṭā, Vāragō (or Vārōgō)-nadi, Vijayalakshmīpura-śāsana,
Gōpīnāthapura-śāsana, Sudmāghāi and Āmvatōṭā. In connection with the boundaries of the
third plot of land, are similarly mentioned Vāṅgarisōgrāma, Vāṅganiyā-nadi, Vāliāgrāma, Vāragō-
nadi, Vijayalakshmīpura, Rāḍasōō and Raktapaṭā. The three plots of land were adjacent to one
another. M. M. Chakravarti located the villages approxim tely at 85° 56' 45" long. by 20° 10' 17"
lat. on the left side of the Bhārgavī river and close to the P. W. D. Bungalow at Khirkhia. The
Survey of India sheet map No. 73 H 3 B shows, between the rivers Bhārgavī and Dhanuā, the
locality called Ugreswar Deuli having the Bhārgavī in the west, Banguras (Vāṅgarisō) Sāsan in
the north, Gōpīnāthpur towards the south and Bhagavatipur towards east-south-east. As a
result of the grant under discussion, the old names, *viz.*, Sāisō and Rāḍasōō, appear to have given
place to the new name, *viz.*, Ugrēśvara-dēuli, suggested by it.

[1] See *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26.

[2] Cf. Ray, *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. I, p. 492.

[3] See my paper on the Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III, above, pp. 235 ff.

[4] The officer may have written the document on the plates with ink or paint to facilitate the work of
engraving. Cf. *Indian Archives*, Vol. V, p. 5.

TEXT[1]

Sixth Plate : First Side

Lines 1—18,..................

19 ....Śubham=astu ||⊙|| Śaka-nṛipatēr=atītēshu shōḍaś-ādhikēshu trayōdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarēshu cha-

20 turdaśa-bhu[va*]n-ādhipat-ity-ādi-virud-āvalī-virājamānaḥ Śrī-vīra-Nra(Nara)si[ṁ*]hada-(dē)va-nṛipati[ḥ*] sa(sva)-rājyasa(sya) dvāviṁśaty-aṅkē abhilikhya-

21 mānē Vichhā[2]-śukla-ēkādaśyāṁ Maṅgala-vārē Vārāṇasī-kaṭakē śrī-charaṇē bhitara-navarē[3] pūj-ānan[ta]ram=a-rajā[ḥ*] tatra vi-

22 jaya-samayē pārśvē māhāpātra[4]-Kṛi[sh]ṇ=ānanda sa[ṁ*]dhivigrahika[5] māhāpātra-Lāṇḍuratha-yā(ā)chārya mahāpātra Gōpīnātha-sāndhivigrahi-

23 ka pātra-Bhuvanānanda-sā[ṁ*]dhivigrahika pātra-Siddhēśvara-jēnā dvāraparīksha-Trivikrama-sā[ṁ*]dhivigrahika Kināi-sēnādhyaksha ētēshu

24 sthitēshu purō-śrīkaraṇa-Viśvanātha-mahāsēnāpati(ti)-gōchrē(charē) avadhārita-mudalā[ṅ*][6] śrī-hastēna usargya[7] Dēvarath-āchāryāya bhūmi(mi)-[dā][naṁ*]

Sixth Plate : Second Side

6[8]

1 datta[m*] bhū[mi][9] śata-vāṭī-parimita-bhūmi-nimittaṁ asmin rājya-trayōviṁśaty-aṅkē Vichchhā[10]-dvitīya-kṛishṇa-saptamī-Paṇḍitavā-

2 rē Dēvakūṭa-kaṭakē śrī-charaṇē pu(pū)j-ānava(nta)rē jaya-samayē pārśvē pātra Māhāmuni-purōhita dvāraparīkshā-Trivikrama-sandhi-

3 vigraha vaḍhālēṅkā-Sōmanātha-vāhinīpati bhitara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikārī-Narahari- sandhivigraha thān purō-śrīkaraṇa-Vi-[11]

4 Viśvanātha-māhāsēnāpti[12]-gōcharē avadhārita-mudalē Dēvarathāchāryaku ātha-khaṇḍa-Kōshṭhadēśa-Madanakhaṇḍa-vishayē Śāsa-

5 grāmi-Mōkshēśvara Dakshiṇa-Rāḍa 50-grāma ē dui grāma śāsana kari(ri) bhūmi(mi) śaē vāṭī dēva | ē - ā(srā)hi Mīna-saṁkrānti kṛishṇa-ēkā-

6 daśī Śanivārē Nārāyaṇapura-kaṭakē śri-charaṇē pu(pū)jā utāra vijē kari āsivā-samayē pa(pā)rśvē vaḍhālēṅkā-Sōmanā-

7 tha-vāhinīpati Bhuvanēśvara-sa[ṁ*]dhivig aha Lakshmaṇānanda-sa[ṁ*]dhivigraha bhitara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikārī-Narahari-sandhivigraha thā-

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[1] From the original plates and their impressions.

[2] Sanskrit *Vṛiśchika-śukl-ēkādaśyām*.

[3] Sanskrit *abhyantara-nagarē*.

[4] Oṛiyā *mahā* stands for Sanskrit *mahā*.

[5] The letters *gra* and *ka* had been omitted originally but were later inserted, the former below the line and the latter compressed between the preceding and following letters.

[6] The reading may be *mudrāyā*. In that case, *mudrā* is used for *mudalā* found elsewhere in the same context.

[7] Sanskrit *utsṛijya*.

[8] In the left margin. This has a different form than that of 6 at the left margin of the reverse of Plate VI of the Kendupatna plates (set I) of Narasimha II (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, Plate XVIII).

[9] The letter *mi* had been originally omitted and was later imperfectly formed between the preceding and following letters. The word *bhūmi* is, however, unnecessary in the context.

[10] Sanskrit *Vṛiśchika*. The letter *dvi* has really been written with *d* having both medial *i* and *u*.

[11] This *vi* is redundant. *Thāna-bhūku sthitēshu* of Plate VIA, lines 23-24.

[12] Sanskrit *mahāsēnāpati*.

8 u dvāraparīkshā-Trivikrama-sa[ṁ*]dhivigraha-gōcharē avadhārita-mudalē ō āmi-paṭō-parīksha-mahāpātra-Gatēśvaradāsa-śrī-

9 chandara-āgē ava[dhā*]rita āṅgā(jñā)-vēlā-mudalē Dēvarathāchāryara Sāisō-Dakshiṇa-Rāḍasaō va(ē) dui grā-

10 ma Kōshṭhadēśa-Ugrēśvaradēvaṅkara dēuli [1] bhu(bhū)mi dēula madhyē kari chatuḥ-sīmā samākrānta-śāsanaku

11 paṭā dēvā | Ōḍamvōlō-Madanakhaṇḍa madhyē Sāisō-grāma vri(vṛi)ddhi-avadāna madhya kari kōṭha-vyāpā-

12 rara bhāga tini-sa-vāisa māḍha 322/6 kai [|*] purō-śrīkaraṇa-Viśvanātha-thē[2]-māhāsēnā-patira pa-

13 ḍihaha(sta)-Thamaṭhi-nāēkara sīmā-kalā-pramāṇē ē-grāmara pūrva-sīma(mā) Bhagavat pura-śāsanara paśchima Chandrapra-

14 bhā-daṇḍā-adha ādi kari Vāgaṁ(ṅga)risō-grāmara puva-kōṇa Pōḍāpōḍā-pōkharira hijala-[3] paryaṁē(ntē)ke sīmā [|*] u-

15 ta(tta)ra-si(sī)mā Vāgāṁ(ṅga)risō-grāmara dakshiṇa Chiḍichiḍi-vāṭira uttara-daṇḍāra adha Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-vāṭira ti-mu-

16 ṇḍi-gōpatha-adha ādi kari Vāiṅgaṇi-nadī-Vāiṅga[ṇi*][4]-adhā-sōi-parya[ntē]kē sīmā paśchimā-(ma)-sīmā | Rāḍa-

17 saō-grāmara purē(vē) Vāiṅgaṇī-nadīra adhā-sōi ādi kari nai-pāri-Gōpīnāthapura-śāsanara nadī-taḍā

18 Āmvatōṭāra dakshiṇa-kōṇa Kuchiṅgāira gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē sīmā | dakshiṇa-sīmā [|*] Gōpīnāthapurara uttara Harāgaū

19 madhya[5] kari Bhagavatīpū(pu)ra-śāsanara Gōpīnāthapū(pu)ra-śāsanara ti-muṇḍi-gōpathara adha nai-uta(tta)ra-ka(kū)la-paryantēkē sīmā | gō(gā) chatuḥ-

20 sīmā-samākrānta-grām-ēka | ē-vishaya-madhyē Rāḍasaō[6] vri(vṛi)ddhi-saikā-avadāna madhya kari majhi-ghaḍa(ra)ra Puruō(shō)ttama-prasāda-navara-bhā-

21 ga saē-satāisa-māḍha 127 kai [|*] ē sīmā-kalā-pramāṇē ē-grāmara pūrva-sīmā [|*] Sāisō-grāmara paśchima-[Vā]iṅgaṇā-nadī-adhā-

22 sōi ādi kari dēuli-bhūmira dakshiṇa Raktapaṭā-daṇḍā-ardha-paryantēkē sīmā | uta(tta)ra-sīmā dēuli-bhūmira dakshiṇa Raktapaṭā-daṇḍā-

23 ra adha ādi kari Vārōgō-nai-adhā-sōi paryantēkē sīmā | paśchima-sīmā [|*] Vijayalakshmīpura-śāsanara puvē Vāragō-nai-adhā-sōi

24 ādi kari Gōpīnāthapura-śāsana Sudunāghāi-va(baṁ)dha-tala-gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē sīmā | dakshiṇa-sīmā | Gōpīnāthapū(pu)ra-śāsanara uta(tta)-

25 ra...[7]nai-kūlē Āmvatōṭāra paśchima gōpathara adha[8] Vāiṅgaṇā-naira adhā-sōi-paryantēkē sīmā|| gā chatru(tu)ḥ-sī-

26 mā-samākrānta-grām-ēka | ē-vishaya-madhyē Ugrēśvara-dēvakaṁ(ṅka)ra dēuli avadharita-mudala-pramāṇē bhūmi triśa vāṭi 30 kai [|*] ē-sīmā-

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[1] Better read *dēuli-bhūmi* | ; cf. line 22 below. But the text as it is may also be justified ; cf. line 26 below.

[2] The letter *thē* is redundant.

[3] I prefer *hijala* to *dvi-jala* at the suggestion of Mr. K. B. Tripathi.

[4] The name of the river is unnecessarily repeated.

[5] Possibly *ādi kari* is intended.

[6] I.e., *Dakshiṇa-Rāḍamāgrāma*.

[7] The space expected to be covered by the name of the river referred to is left blank with the only exception of small stroke. Apparently it was intended to supply the name later.

[8] Possibly we have to add the expression *ādi kari* after *adha*.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

R. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'38-499'52.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

27 kalā-pramāṇē ē-grāma-pūrva-sīmā Vāgaṁ(ṅga)riaō-grāmara paśchima Vāiṅgaṇ yā-nai ādi kari Vāliā-grāmara pava nai-ku(kū)la-

28 gōpatha adha-paryantēkē sīmā | u a(tta)ra-sīmā [|*] Vāliā-grāma-dakshiṇa khōta-muṇḍara Vōhāla-daṇḍā ādi kari Vāṙagō-nadī-

Seventh[1] *Plate*

1 ra arddha-payō(rya)ntēkē sīmā | pakshi(śchi)ma-sīmā | Vi[ja*]yalakshmīpū(pu)ra-śāsana|[2] ra pūva Vāṙagō-nadira adhā-sōi ādi[3] [kē] sīmā |

2 dakshiṇa-sīmā [|*] Rāḍhasāō-grāmara utara Rakatapaṭā-daṇḍā-arddha-paryantē[kē]* sīmā| gā chatuḥ-sīmā-samākrā[nta]-grām-aika|

3 gāmrā(grāma) tiniki jita chiāri-sa-ṛā(chā)lisa-na-mā[ḍ]ha 449/5 bhu(bhū)mī tirisa-vāṭiki chatuḥ-sīm-ākrānta[4] va ja)la-stha[la*]-

4 machchha kachchhapa-pādā(da)p-ā ṛaya madhya kari ā-chandr ārka thāi kari Dēvaratha-āchāryaku dēuli Ugrēśva[ra*] de[u*]la madhya kari

5 chatuḥ-sīmā-sā(samā)krānta- āsana data paṭāka || Ātra(trē)ya sagōtā(trā)ya Ya a(ju)rvēvrā-(d-ā)ntargata Kāṇva-śākh-aika-dēśa(ś-ā)dhyāyinē Dēvaratha-

6 śammu(rma)ṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya Ātrēya-sagōtraḥ śrīmāna(mān) śrī-Narasi[ṁha*]dēva-varmmā Odamōlō-Madanakhaṇḍa-vishaya-madhyam-adhyā-

7 sī[na*] yathā-likhita-chatuḥsīmā-samākrānta sa-[ja*]la-sthala-machchha-ka[chchha*]pa-pādap-ā[ra*]ṇya-vālukā-bhiṭā-sahitaṁ Sāisō-grāma-Da-

8 kshiṇa-Rāḍasaō-grāma ētat(d) grāma-dvayaṁ ā-chandr-ārkam=akarā(rī)kṛitya prādāta(dāt)|| śubham=astu||ō|| asya śāsanasy=āṅgatayā

9 tāmr-ādhikāriṇō Narahari-sanimigrahikasya||[5] ēta(d*)-grāma-sahāja(na*)-bhāga-vyavasthayā ēkāga[6]

10 ē[ta*]|[7] tāmra-lēkhaka-Gurudāsa-sēnāpatēḥ ētad-arddha | Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-artha[ṁ*] tad-rakshā-phala-siddhayē [|*]

11 mad-dha maḥ paripālō(lyō)=yaṁ bhu(bhū)mēr=ā-chandra-taraka(kam)||* Mā bhu(bhū)d-a-phala-maṁ(śaṁ)kaṁ(kā) tē para-datt-ēti pārthiva | sva-da-

12 ttād-adhika[ṁ*] puṇya[ṁ*] para-datt-ānupālaṁ(lanē) [||*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*] para-dattāṁ va(vā) yatnād-raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahi(hīṁ) mati-

13 matā[ṁ*] śrē-hṭha dānāta[8] śrēyō=nupālanam(nam) [||]* Sva-dattā[ṁ* para-dattā[ṁ*] vā yō harēśē(ta) vasu[ṁ*]dharā(rām) | sa vishṭhāyā[ṁ*] kṛi-

14 mi[r=*] bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ sa(ha) pachyatē [||*] Nirjanē prā[ṁ*]tarē dēśē śushka-kāṭēra-[9] lāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-sarpā hi jāyantē

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[1] The difference in the forms of some letters on this plate from those of the previous lines may suggest that this plate was engraved by a different person. There are numerous errors in the writing on this plate.

[2] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[3] It seems that the reading intended was *ādi kari . . . paryantēkē sīmā*. Thus some further indications regarding this boundary appear to have been inadvertently omitted. In *adhā*, *dh* looks like *ḍdh* which is the form of *dh* in the Kalinga script. As to *kshi* (*chi*), it may be pointed out that *ksh* is often written for *chh* in Oriyā inscriptions.

[4] Possibly *sīmā-samākrānta* was intended as in other places.

[5] Read *sāndhivigrahikasya*. The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[6] Possibly the reading intended is *ēk-āṁśaḥ* or *ēkā aṁśa*.

[7] The metre of this verse and the following four verses is *Anushṭubh*.

[8] Read *dānāch=chhrēyō*.

[9] Read *kōṭara-vāsinaḥ*.

15 yē haratti(nti) vasundharāṁ(rāṁ|) Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkaṁ cha [1] bhu(bhū)mēr=apy=arddham=a[ṅgu]laṁ(laṁ) | haran=narakam=āpn[ō]ti yāvad=āhu(bhū)ta-

16 sā(saṁ)plavaṁ |(vaṁ||) Śatruṇ=āpī(pi) ka(kri)ta(tō) dharmmaḥ pālanīyō mahīpatiḥ(tē) | śatrur=ēva hi śatruḥ syād-dharmma[ḥ*] śatu(tru)r=na kasyachit |[|*]

17 Mad-vaṁśajāḥ para mahīpati[2]-va[ṁ*]śajā vā pāpō(pā)d=apēta-manasō bhuvi bhāvi-bhūpāḥ | yē pālayanti mama dhamma(rma)m=imaṁ sama[sta][m*] tēshā[ṁ*] mayē(yā) vi-

18 rachitō=[m*]jalir=ēsha mūrddhni ||[3] Mad-vaṁśā para-va[ṁ*]śā rā(vā) yaḥ kaśchi(śchi)n=nṛipatir=bhavēta(vēt) | tasy=āha[ṁ*] kara-lagnaḥ sā(syā)ṁ yō mat-kīrtti[r=*] na lu[mpa]ti [o][4] Kshīrā-

19 mvu(mbu)dhi[r=*]jagati maṅgalama(m=ā)tanōtu yata(tra) śriyī(yā) kanaka-kōna(ta)ka-patrakānyā(kanyā) | si(śi)shṭaḥ svapan=Muraripur=mri(r=ma)ditā(tō=m)janābhas=tōyaṁ piva(ba)nta(n=na)va-gha-

20 nas=taḍit=ēva bhāti |[|*][5] Jātaḥ Śattu(mbhu)-śirō-dhṛita-ti(tri)pathagā-vārishu[6] ha[ṁ*]sa-śriyā(yaṁ) va(bi)bhra(bhra)t-tasya kil=ādara(rē) tri-jagati-nētr-ā(tr-ō)chchha(tsa)vaś=chandramāḥ | yō-

21 cha(yaṁ) kāsti(nti)-ri(vi)tāna-ra(va)rṇṇana-nibhā dāsī paraṁ sōḍravā kī[r*]tti[r*]-dikshu ri(vi)nuji(rja)yann=iva niśā(śā) vō(vyō)m-ā[ṅ*]gana(naṁ) gāhatō |[|*][7] Bhāda(dō)ra(va)-

22 ra(sva)sti-vādaśi(s=ta)-rayatu durita[ṁ*] mijō(rja)na(nāḥ) santu santaḥ santu pr[au]ḍh-āri-vīra-vraja-vijaya-ka[lā-śāli]naḥ kshōṇipālāḥ | āsrā(stāṁ) vid[v]ach-chakōra-śrama-hara-

23 na-chamatkāri kāvya[ṁ*] kavīnām=astu vyāmōha-śāntiḥ sra(sṛi)jatu hṛidi mudaṁ viśvavalas[8]=chandrachūḍaḥ |[|*][9] śubham=a[s]tu bhava[10]-jagataḥ ||o||

No. 49—METHI INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KRISHNA; SAKA 1176

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Sri. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, officiating Government Epigraphist for India, copied this inscription[11] in the course of his official tour in November 1949 at the village of **Mēthi** which is about 30 miles from Dhulia, the headquarters of the West Khandesh District, Bombay State. As a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had an opportunity of studying the epigraph and I edit it here[12] with the kind permission of the above authority.

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] The letter *sa* is imperfectly formed.

[3] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[6] Read *vikshu* for the metre's sake.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. The language of the third foot of this verse is faulty.

[8] Read *viśvaṁ*.

[9] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[10] The intended reading seems to be *astu* or *bhūta*.

[11] It is registered as A. R. No. 226 of 1949-50 of the Government Epigraphist's office collection.

[12] The inscription has been published in the Marāṭhī journal *Saṁśōdhaka*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (1937, October), pp. 214-17. But the published text contains misreadings and the study lacks scientific treatment.

The **inscription** comprising 13 lines is engraved on the lintel of the entrance to the central hall of the Vishṇu temple near Haribā's well, popularly known as the Anantaśayana temple. The inscribed area measures 59" long and 12" broad. The record is in a good state of preservation. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 13th century A.C., being normal for the period. The average height of the letters is ¾".

The *prishṭhamātrās* are used to denote the medial *ai* and *au* in general. The occasional use of *v* for *b* and *vice versa* may be noted ; *e.g.*, *Vrahmā* for *Brahmā* in line 1 and *sarbē* for *sarvē* in line 2. Noteworthy also is the substitution of *sh* for *kh*, as in *Viśāsha* for *Viśākha* in line 2 ; and *vice versa* as in *ikhā* for *ishā* in line 13. The **orthographical** convention of doubling the consonant after *r* is not generally followed except in a few cases, *e.g.*, *varṇṇanaṁ* in line 7 and *utkīrṇṇā* in line 13. There are a large number of clerical errors, the majority of which constitute the improper use of the *visarga* : *e.g.*, the *visarga* is used superfluously in the following cases, *namaḥ-stribhu* in line 1 and *athaḥ* in line 7 ; the same is wrongly omitted in the following instances, *Rudrā* for *Rudrāḥ* in line 1 and *viśvarūpa* for *viśvarūpaḥ* in line 2. *Nṛisiṁha* is written as *Nṛisiṁgha* in line 8.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition is faulty in many places. The words *muni* and *bhūmi* are spelt as *munī* and *bhūmī* for the sake of metre in lines 2 and 4. The expression *chārima* in the compound *chitra-charitra-chārima-chamatkārāḥ*(l.5) is obscure. The form *yaśaḥsya-* is incorrectly used for *yaśasya-* (l.7). Metrical flaws may be detected in the use of the proper names Dhāḍipaka and Vēsugi in line 4. Such defects have been corrected in the body of the text and in the foot-notes. The major part of the record comprising lines 1-8 and 12-13 is composed in verse and the rest in prose. The verses are duly numbered and each half is denoted by a *daṇḍa*. The poetry is not of high order.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god Vāsudēva. God Vishṇu and his universal form (*viśvarūpa*) are praised in the next two verses (vv. 1-2). Then comes the date and a brief statement of the gift (v. 3). The genealogy of the princes who were born in the lineage of Kṛishṇa, *i.e.*, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, is summarised in the two following verses (vv. 4-5). Verse 6 is devoted to the eulogy of Kṛishṇa, the reigning king of this family, who is said to be brave, diplomatic and handsome. This ruler made a free gift of the village Kurukavāṭaka. Half the income derived from this was to be utilised for the daily worship and offerings, etc., of the god Bhadrahari and the remaining half to be bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇas engaged in the performance of sacrifices (vv. 7-8). In the next verse is described the temple of Bhadrahari who appears to be identical with god Nṛisiṁha (v. 9). Then follows a list of particular Brāhmaṇas who were beneficiaries of the endowment (lines 8-11). A person named Gaṅgādhara is said to have made over houses, land and money, possibly for the convenience of the Brāhmaṇas (v. 11). Verses 12-13 are imprecatory. Verse 10 contains a reference to a person named Siddha Sārasvata of the Kāśyapa family who appears to have cut the stone suitably for inscribing the record. In the last verse which is however left unnumbered, it is stated that the god's image was fashioned with due dimensions according to the prescribed code and that the record (*praśasti*) was incised by the sculptor Hēmadēva[1] (v. 14).

The **date** expressed in chronogram is stated thus : **Śaka 1176, Ānanda, Viśākha (i.e., Vaiśākha), śu. Jayanī, Sōma.** Jayanī appears to be the name of the Ēkādaśī or the eleventh day of the fortnight. As such if we equate Jayanī with the 11th *tithi*, the date would regularly correspond to **1254 A.C., April 29**, Wednesday, if we treat *Sōma* of the original as a mistake for *Saumya*. It is to be noted in this connection that all the twenty-four Ēkādaśīs of the Hindu

[1] This Hēmadēva has been identified with the famous minister and scholar Hēmādri by Mr. Kulkarni, *ibid.* This is ridiculous.

calendar are given specific names, such as Kāmadā (Chaitra śu. 11), Varūthinī (Chaitra ba. 11), etc., though this particular name is not found in the list given by Swamikannu Pillai.[1]

The genealogy of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri is recounted in a cursory fashion and mutual relationship of the princes enumerated in the series is not explained. There is a remark, however, at the end of the account to the effect that they were born in succession. These names are as follows : Dṛiḍhaprahāra, Sēūnna I, Dhāḍipaka, Bhillama I, Rāja I, Vādugi, Bhillama II, Vēsugi, Bhillama III, Sēūnna II, Rāja II, Mālugi, Kṛishṇa I, Bhillama IV, Jaitra I, Siṁghaṇa, Jaitra II, Kṛishṇa II. Dṛiḍhaprahāra is prefixed by the expression *vajra*, obviously for the necessity of metre. Sēūnna again is a metrical modification for Sēūṇa.

A comparison of the above genealogy with the genealogical accounts of this family as compiled by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar[2] and Dr. Fleet,[3] reveals the following facts. The three generations of Vādugi II, Vēsugi II and Bhillama IV, that intervened between Bhillama III and Sēūṇachandra II in the account of Bhandarkar are omitted in our list. Rāja II of our list, which appears to be a new name, has perhaps to be identified with Siṅghaṇa of Bhandarkar. Further, Kṛishṇa I of our epigraph may reasonably be equated with Karṇa[4] of Fleet's statement. It has however to be noted that neither of these names figure in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. Mālugi and Mallugi are identical. Some more names in Bhandarkar's account are omitted in our list.

We may briefly notice here a few historical facts about some of these Yādava princes in the light of epigraphical discoveries made during the past decades. Firstly we have the Āsvi plates[5] from the Ahmadnagar District, dated in Śaka 1020 or 1098 A.C. This record gives the genealogy of the Yādava family and introduces Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Irammadēva as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI. The epigraph contains errors committed by the engraver, which seem to have been increased by its unscientific editing.[6] We may equate this Irammadēva with Parammadēva,[7] elder son of Sēūṇachandra II, figuring in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. The Āsvi inscription further states that this Yādava prince vanquished the invincible Bhuvanaikamalla, who must be Sōmēśvara II of the Western Chālukya family, and secured the kingdom for Paramardhin, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI. A similar achievement, *viz.*, helping Vikramāditya VI against his enemies and establishing him in the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa, is attributed to Sēūṇachandra II.[8] From this it is gathered that both Sēūṇachandra II and his son Parammadēva were staunch supporters of the Chālukya prince and played a prominent role in his struggles for kingship.

The disclosure made by the present epigraph by furnishing the name of Kṛishṇa I as the father of Bhillama IV (Bhillama V of Bhandarkar) and his identity with Karṇa of the Gadag inscription

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[1] *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 59-65. It may be noted that Vaiśākha śu. 11 is called Mōhinī according to this authority. If the above assumption be correct, different names appear to have been in vogue for these *tithis* at different times.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 236.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 519.

[4] The confusion between Kṛishṇa and Karṇa may be noticed in other cases also. For instance, among the Southern Kalachuris, Jōgama's father is referred to both as Kṛishṇa and Karṇa ; above, pp. 24-25. This confusion must be due to the influence of Prakrit, particularly the southern speeches, wherein both Kṛishṇa and Karṇa yield the common form Kanna or Kaṇṇa and Kannara ; cf. above, Vol. XV, p. 318.

[5] *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1.

[6] In regard to the defects in editing the following may be pointed out : i) No facsimiles of the plates are published. ii) The name of the Yādava feudatory is read as Iramma in line 30 and Āirama in line 42. iii) This Iramma is regarded as the successor of Bhillama , whereas it is clear from lines 25-30 that he was the son and successor of Sēūṇenu or Sēūṇachandra.

[7] I am inclined to believe that the original name is Paramma and that it is incorrectly read as Iramma and Āirama ; for the latter would be a strange name for a prince.

[8] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 515.

are important ; for it is thus established beyond doubt that Bhillama was the grandson of Mallugi or Mālugi and not his son as described by Hēmādri. The reason for this omission by Hēmādri might be due to the fact that Kṛishṇa or Karṇa died young and did not rule.[1]

It would be worth while to make an attempt to identify some of the historical personages mentioned in the introductory verses (5-10) of Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali*,[2] which may be summarised as follows. Dādā, a commander of the elephants under Mallugi, overawed the troops of Vijjaṇa. After the demise of Dādā, his four sons, Mahīdhara, Jalha, Sāmba and Gaṅgādhara, upheld the authority of Mallugi. Mahīdhara harassed Bijjaṇa's forces with the prowess of his mighty arms. He appears to have encountered Bijjaṇa's army for a second time and lost his life on the field of battle. Mahīdhara was succeeded by Jalha who helped Bhillama in attaining undiminished royalty.

These events, it may be noted, refer to a period of about a generation prior to the age of Bhillama, the virtual founder of Yādava sovereignty. As we shall see presently, Bhillama commenced his reign from 1185-86 A.C. Hence we may place the above incidents approximately between 1160 and 1180 A.C. Now it was during these years that the Kalachuris rose to power in Karnāṭaka under Bijjala and set up their independent rule. Hence we are justified in identifying Vijjaṇa and Bijjaṇa of the above account with the Kalachuri usurper.

Coming to the reign of Bhillama, a good many points deserve consideration. Firstly, we may consider the commencement of his reign. Different records yield different dates for the initial year of his reign, which varies from 1185-86 to 1187-88 A.C. But two epigraphs, one from Nimbāḷ[3] and another from Muttigi[4] in the Bijāpur District, citing the cyclic years Plavaṅga and Paridhāvi as the 3rd and the 8th year respectively, prove that the initial year was Viśvāvasu which may be equated with 1185-86 A.C. Secondly, we may examine the early stronghold of Bhillama and of the Yādava family. This seems to have been in the Bijapur District, although, according to Hēmādri,[5] he founded the town of Dēvagiri which became the capital of his family. The Nimbāḷ inscription mentioned above states that Bhillama was ruling the kingdom in 1187 A.C. from a place called Taḍavalage which is the same as modern Tadvalgā in the Iṇḍi taluk of the Bijapur district.[6] Two years later, *i.e.*, in 1189 A.C., he figures as ruling from another place in the same district, by name Tenevalage[7] which may be identified with the present day Teligi in the Bāgalkōṭ taluk. No inscription connecting Bhillama with Dēvagiri has been discovered so far. But we have the evidence of at least three inscriptions[8] of the reign of Jaitugi showing that he was in the capital of Dēvagiri in the years 1192 and 1196 A.C. The earliest epigraphical allusion to Dēvagiri as the Yādava capital was noticed by Fleet in an inscription of 1210 A.C. of the reign of Siṅghaṇa.[9] But this statement now requires revision as pointed out above. The fact appears to be that though Bhillama selected Dēvagiri as his capital and started new constructions, he could hardly settle therein and the work was completed in his son's time by 1192 A.C.

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[1] At this point Hēmādri simply passes over and observes that the fortune of the Yādava family discarded the king's sons and courted the arms of Bhillama, enamoured by his excellence ; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 271, verse 37. It may be gathered from this that Bhillama, being the son of a junior prince , was not the rightful claimant and that he rose to eminence from obscurity by dint of his ability.

[2] Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXXII, 1938.

[3] Bombay Karnāṭak collection, No. 49 of 1937-38 Above, p. 94.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 108 of 1929-30.

[5] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 272, verse 39.

[6] Above, pp. 96-97.

[7] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 520. This place has not been identified by Fleet.

[8] B. K. collection, Nos. 43 of 1936-37, and 137 of 1933-34 ; *Arch. Sur. An. Rep.* for 1929-30, p. 175.

[9] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 520.

The third point that requires scrutiny is the end of Bhillama's reign. According to Bhandarkar,[1] Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi in Śaka 1113 or 1191 A.C. and it has been suggested by Fleet[2] that Bhillama lost his life in the decisive encounter against Vīra-Ballāḷa that took place in the latter part of that year. But epigraphic evidence is now precise to show that neither of these views is accurate. The above noted inscription from Muttigi[3] in the Bāgewāḍi taluk of the Bijāpur District refers itself to the 8th regnal year of Bhillama and cites the date Paridhāvi, Śrāvaṇa *śu.* 15, Thursday. In another epigraph from Hipparagi[4] in the Sindagi taluk of the same district, dated Śaka 1115, Paridhāvi, Bhādrapada *ba.* madhyāshṭakī, Monday, Kanyāsaṅkramaṇa, Bhillama figures as making the gift of a village to a local temple. A third epigraph from Kaḍlēvāḍ[5] in the same taluk refers itself to the reign of Jaitugi and is dated Śaka 1114, Paridhāvi, Pushya *ba.* 10, Sunday, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti. The dates of these three inscriptions are not quite regular; however we may approximately[6] equate them with July 26, September 1 and December 31 of 1192 A.C. respectively. Now it is easy to see that Bhillama was alive and active on the first two of these dates and that he must have died and was succeeded by Jaitugi between the last two dates.[7]

The fourth point worth examination is in regard to the identification of some of the adversaries of Bhillama. In verse 12 of Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali*, which praises the prowess of Bhillama, it is said that he frightened the forces of Mailugi. This Mailugi was in all probability a little known son of the Kalachuri usurper Bijjala. He is also called Mallugi and Mallikārjuna. He figures in three inscriptions of his father's reign[8] and three more refer to his own reign.[9] It is gathered from the latter that he ruled for two years, 1175-76 A.C., in between the reigns of his brothers, Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva and Saṅkama, from his headquarters at Māsanūr[10] in the Shōlāpur District. It is quite likely that the two ambitious chiefs, Bhillama and Mailugi operating in the continguous regions of the Bijāpur and Shōlāpur Districts, came into conflict with each other.

The last two lines of verse 38 in the Introduction to Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*,[11] containing allusions to Bhillama's exploits, read thus :

Yō vā Maṅgalavēshṭakaṁ kshitipatiṁ Śrī-Billaṇaṁ jaghnivān |
Kalyāṇa-śriyam-apy=avāpya vidadhē yō Hōsalēśaṁ vyasum ||

The text of the first of these lines appears to be faulty in the light of the following facts which also help us to suggest suitable correction. Maṅgalavēshṭaka is no doubt identical with the modern town Maṅgaḷavēḍhe near Paṇḍharpur. No king bearing the name Billaṇa is known to have ruled from this place. On the contrary considerable epigraphic evidence is available[12] to show that this

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 504 and 519-20.

[3] B. K. coll., No. 108 of 1929-30.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 30 of 1936-37.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 43.

[6] I have considered the cyclic year, the month and the *tithi* as the substantial parts of the dates, ignoring the other details. I have assumed *madhyashṭakī* of the second record as equivalent of *ashṭamī*.

[7] Compare *Arch. Sur. An. Rep.* for 1929-30, p. 172 and 1936-37, p. 109.

[8] B. K. coll., Nos. 50 of 1928-29, 63 of 1936-37 and 120 of 1933-34.

[9] B. K. coll., Nos. 96 of 1936-37 and 81 of 1937-38; *Arch. Sur. An. Rep.* for 1929-30, p. 175. This prince's rule is also referred to in the following three epigraphs of subsequent reigns: *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44; *Sources of Med. His. of Dakhan*, Vol. II, p. 50.

[10] B. K. coll., No. 96 of 1936-37. I have discussed at length the identity of this place in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karṇāṭaka delivered in February 1951 under the auspices of the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar. Māsanūr figures prominently in the literary work *Rēvaṇasiddhēśvararagaḷe Ragaḷe*. These lectures are under publication in the Journal of the Kannaḍa Literary Academy, Bangalore.

[11] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 271.

[12] Compare above, p. 27, n. 8. I have dealt with this subject exhaustively in my lectures on the Kalachuris referred to above.

place, the ancient name of which was Maṅgaḷivēḍa or Maṅgaḷavāḍa, was the ancestral seat and an important stronghold of the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka right from the beginning until their last days. It was the secondary capital of the Kalachuri rulers even during the period of their usurpation and the later members appear to have resorted to this place after the overthrow of the Kalachuri regime. Now among the Kalachuris more than one prince is known to have borne the name Bijjala and an epigraph from Saṅkh,[1] in the Jath taluk of the Southern Satara District, discovered recently, reveals that a prince by name Vira-Bijjala, son of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva, was administering this area at least till 1192 A.C., November 20. It was very probably this Vira-Bijjala who was worsted by Bhillama. In this connection a word of explanation seems necessary in regard to the interpretation of the word *jaghnivān* in the above citation. It may be taken to mean 'struck' and not 'killed'; for it is seen from the epigraphic evidence adduced above that Bhillama and Vira-Bijjala were both alive until the latter part of the year 1192 A.C. and that the former might have predeceased the latter by a few days. This interpretation is further justified by another word occurring in the above passage, *viz.*, *vyasu*, which cannot be interpreted in its literal sense as 'lifeless'; for the fact that no Hoysaḷa king[2] was slain by Bhillama would go contrary to such an interpretation. In the light of the above discussion the text of the first line in the above citation with its suggested correction will be as follows :—

Yō vā Maṅgalavēshṭaka-kshitipatiṁ Śrī-Bijjaṇaṁ[3] *jaghnivān* |

Proceeding to the reign of Siṅghaṇa a very large number of epigraphs has come to light. It is seen from these that a great amount of divergency prevails in regard to the reckoning of the initial year of his reign which varies from 1197 to 1210 A.C. We have therefore to conclude that Siṅghaṇa was actively associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom long before the latter's demise, although he must have assumed sovereignty independently in 1210 A.C. only after the event.[4]

Siṅghaṇa is known to have been succeeded by his grandson Kṛishṇa actually in 1247 A.C.; but there are inscriptions which show that he was associated with his predecessor's rule one or two years prior to this date.[5] Inscriptions of Kṛishṇa are found in the Districts of Belgaum, Bijāpur, Dhārwār and Bellāry and further south in the Mysore State. It is seen from this that he held under his control major part of the regions conquered by his grandfather in the course of his triumphant southern expedition. Kṛishṇa himself, as known from other sources,[6] directed military expeditions against his enemies though the present epigraph is silent about them.

We may incidently note that besides the four major dynasties of Yādava extraction that ruled over the areas of Karnāṭaka, *viz.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭas[7], the Hoysaḷas, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri

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[1] B. K. coll., No. 108 of 1940-41. The date of this inscription is irregular and its approximate Christian equivalent only is used here.

[2] Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that the Hoysala king Narasiṁha was put to death by Bhillama. This suggestion is unjustified as Narasiṁha was dead as early as 1173 A.C. ; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 228 and *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 351. One more instance requiring similar interpretation would be the expression *uchchhidya* occurring in the Gadag inscription of Vira-Ballāḷa. It has to be translated as 'having defeated' and not literally as 'having destroyed.' Compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 300 and 303 and above, Vol. III, p. 218.

[3] According to another reading Billaṇam would be substituted by Vajriṇam. In this case Vajrin may be taken to be the Sanskritisation of Bijjaṇa. Compare above, p. 28, n. 1.

[4] The following inscriptions among others would yield 1197 A.C. as the initial year of Siṅghaṇa's reign : B. K. coll., Nos. 68 of 1928-29, 89 of 1929-30 ; also compare *Arch. Surv. An. Rep.* for 1929-30, p. 172. B. K. Nos. 181-82 of 1933-34 yield 1198 A.C. as his initial year.

[5] A. R. No. 426 of 1926 and B. K. No. 50 of 1933-34 mention Kīlaka as the third year of Kṛishṇa's reign. This shows that Parābhava or 1246 A.C. was the first year.

[6] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 527 ; above, Vol. XXV, p. 204.

[7] The following inscriptions among others refer to the Yādava lineage of the Rāshṭrakūṭas : *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 68 ; Vol. XI, part 1, No. 9.

and the Mahārājas of Mysore, there flourished a few more minor chiefs of the same lineage, though they never rose to eminence. Some of them deserve brief notice here. One was *Mahāsāmanta* Kuppeyarasa of the Yādava family[1] who was administering in the area of the Gadag taluk and the Muṇḍargi *pēṭhā* of the Dhārwār District as a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch Amōghavarsha I in 865-68 A.C. He bore the title *Āhavāditya*. Another chief named Kuppadēva who apparently belonged to the family of Kuppeyarasa, bearing the designation *Mahāsāmanta* and claiming descent in the Yādava family, figures as a subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II about thirty years later. A part of the Bellāry District was also under the rule of this chief who had his capital at modern Mēvuṇḍi in the Muṇḍargi *pēṭhā*.[2] From Kakkūru in the same *pēṭhā* comes an inscription[3] of 1113 A.C., which introduces Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Permāḍiyarasa of the Yādava family, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. It is easy to surmise that his chief was a later scion of the family of Kuppeyarasa. This Permāḍiyarasa who was administering the tract of Māsavāḍi, bore the title *Dvārāvatipuravarādhīśvara* which is met with in the *praśasti* of the Hoysaḷas and that of the Yādavas. Another family of feudatory chiefs of the Yādava extraction appears to have functioned in the area of the Bijāpur District. This is gathered from an inscription at Bidarkundi[4] in the Muddebihāḷ taluk of the district, which is dated in 1032 A.C. and mentions Nāgavarmarasa bearing the title *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* as a subordinate of Jagadēkamalla I of the Western Chālukya dynasty. It is noteworthy that the title *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* occurs conspicuously in the *praśasti* of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.

The Brāhmaṇas who were beneficiaries of the endowment are twentyfive in number as mentioned in the present record. They belonged to the following fifteen *gōtras*: Agasti, Bhāradvāja, Bhārgava, Kāḍva, Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinya, Kauravya, Kauśika, Kṛishṇātra (Kṛishṇātrēya), Lōhita, Śāṇḍilya, Śāṅkara, Vachchhapurōdha, Vachchhi, and Vātsyāyana. Some of these names are not given in their proper forms in the original and they have been corrected here. But still there are certain discrepancies. For instance, Kāḍva appears to be a mistake for Kāṁḍva, *i.e.*, Kāṇva; Vachchhapurōdha and Vachchhi seem to bear connection with Vatsa or Vaksha.[5] The gift village Kurukavāṭaka may be identified with modern Kurukavāḍē, a village not far away from Mēthi.

TEXT[6]

[Metres: Verses 1, 7-8 and 11-14 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 3-5 and 9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2 and 6 *Sragdharā*.]

1 ॥[8] ॥ ॐ[7] नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमःस्त्रि(मस्त्वि)भुवनोत्पत्तिस्थिति-
संहृतिहेतवे । विष्णवे(वे ऽ)पारसंसारपारोत्तारणसेतवे ॥१॥ ब(ब्र)ह्मा
दत्तः कुबेरो यमवरुणमरुद्वह्निचंद्रे(न्द्रे)द्रख्रा(द्रा:) शैला नद्यः समुद्रा
ग्रहगणम-

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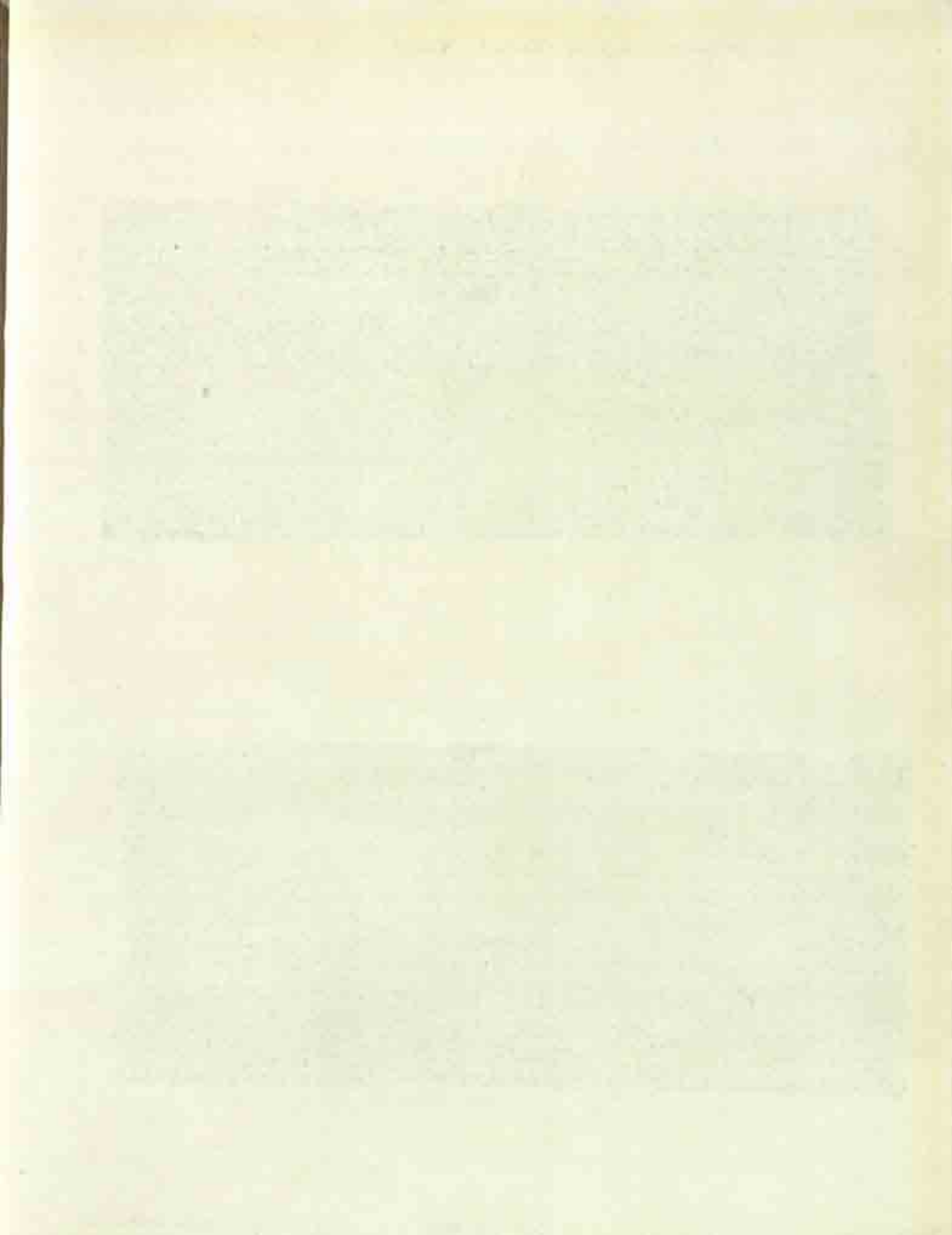
[1] *Bom. Karn. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part I, Nos. 11-12; above, Vol. XIII, pp. 177-8.
[2] *Bom. Karn. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part I, Nos. 22 and 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part II, No. 165.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part I, No. 66.
[5] *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, list at the end, p. 63.
[6] From ink-impressions.
[7] This letter looks like the Nāgarī numeral three with three *anusvāras* on the top.

METHI INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KRISHNA, SAKA 1176

LEFT HALF

RIGHT HALF

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 624 HE (C)'52-499.

Scale: One-fifth

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

2 भुजा दैत्यनागेंद्रनागाः । द्वीपा नक्षत्रतारा रविवसुमुनयो व्योम भूरश्विनौ च संलीना यस्य सर्वे(र्वे) वपुषि स भगवान्पातु वो विश्वरूप(पः) ॥२॥ स्वस्ति श्रीशकवत्सरे रसमुनीसंख्या[च][1] रुद्रे(द्रैः) गते(तैः) आनंदे सविनाय(ख)-

3 शुक्लजयनीसोमे सुधासुंदरे । पूजाचंदनधूपदीपवसनै नै(नै)वेद्यनृत्यः(त्य)क्रमैः भु(मैर्भु)वाभोगविवर्धनाय नगरं भद्रेश्वर[ा](र)स्यार्पितं(तम्) ॥३॥ वंशे-स्मिन्वसुदेवनंदनरतिः(ति)प्राणेशकामात्मजा(जाः) ख्याता

4 वज्रदृढप्रहारनृपति(तिः) सेउणधाडिपकौ[3] । उर्व्वीभिल्लमराजवादुगिनृपा जाता(ताः) क्षितेर्भूषणं क्षोणींद्रो वरभिल्लम(मः) समभवद्वेसुगि[4]देवाभिधः ॥४॥ [5]भूमीभृम-(भृन्मृ)गभिल्लमः क्षितिपते(तिः) सेउणराजाभिधो जातो(तौ)

5 मालुगिकृष्णभिल्लमनृपा जैत्रो नृप(पः) सिंघण(णः) । जैत्र(त्रः) कृष्ण इ[व][6] प्रतीतमहसा(सो) जाता(ताः) क्रमादी(द्ये) नृपा ते(षास्ते)षां चित्रचरित्र-चारिमचमत्कारा(रो) बुधा(धैः) श्रूयतां(ताम्) ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसौ(शौ)-यसूर्यंस्नपितरिपुवधूवक्त्रशीतांसु(शु)बिंबः संप-

6 द्विश्रामसिंधुज(जं)यति नयवतामग्रणीः कृष्णभूप(पः) । यस्मि(स्मिञ्)-श्रि(शृं)ग्गा(गा)रकेलीसरसि वरयशा(शः)श्रेणिहंसे विलासं स्फीतं लीलावतीनां नयनकुवलयान्याप्नुरामोदवन्ति ॥६॥ स कृष्णभूपति ग्रा(ग्रां)मं ददौ धर्म-परायण(णः) ।

7 अर्द्धं भद्रहूरेर्द्धं द्विजानां यज्ञयाजिनां(नाम्) ॥७॥ शुद्धाभ्यन्तरमश्रोत्रं[7] नाम्ना कुरुकवाटकं । सदंड्दोषसोद्रंगसवृक्षं सपरिच्छदं(दम्) ॥८॥ अथ:(थ) प्रासादवर्ण्णनं(नम्) ॥ किं वा नंदमहोदयो गुणनिधि(धिः) किं वा य[8]शःस्याय-

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[1] The composition of this chronogram is incorrect and the inaccuracy is evidently due to the exigency of metre. The correct form should be *rasa-muni-saṁkhyāke-rudraiḥ*.

[2] *Sandhi* is necessary here and as such the expression should read [illegible].

[3] Read धाडीपकौ or धाडिप्पकौ if the metre is to be honoured.

[4] Read वेसुगि to honour the metre.

[5] Read भूमिभृ- correctly though it violates the metre. [भूमी, though uncommon, is not wrong.—Ed.]

[6] Read इति. There appears to be some correction about the letter *va* in the original.

[7] The expression अश्रोत्रं appears to denote here, 'not owned by a *śrōtriya*, i.e., Brāhmaṇa, learned in the Vedas.'

[8] Read यशस्यायतनं.

8 नं कीर्तिर्मूलमिदं फलं वृपत्त(त)रोल्कि(रोः कि) वा सुधासागर(रः) । श्रीम[द्*]भद्रहरेरगाधमहसः प्रासादमुद्राविधौ मन्येयं भुवनत्रयीसुतिलकः कर्ता नृसिंघ(ह:) स्वयं(यम्)[1] ॥६॥ ग्रयः(थ) वृत्तिवत्ता ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां(नाम्) ॥ [2]कौंड(डि)न्यगोत्र लोलिग अग्निहो-

9 त्री । भारद्वाजगोत्र माता पाठक । कृष्णात्रगोत्र सोमनाथ पाठक । अगस्तिगोत्र नागदेव पाठक । सांकृ[स]गोत्र नारायणभट्ट । काइसगोत्र राम उपाध्या । कौंड(डि)न्यगोत्र महेस्व(श्व)र ज्योतिषी । सां(शां)डिल्यगोत्र सारंग पाठक । कौंड(डि)न्यगोत्र वासुदेव

10 पाठक । भार्गवगोत्र सूल्हण पाठक । कौंड(डि)न्यगोत्र हरदेवभट्ट । कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र केस(श)व अवस्थी । वच्छीसगोत्र कृष्णभट्ट । वच्छपुरोध महादेव शुक्ल । कौसि(शि)कगोत्र महादेव पाठक । कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र सार(रं)ग पाठक । कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र कृष्णपंडित । कौसि(शि)कगो-

11 त्र जगधर पाठक । लोहितगोत्र रामदेव पाठक । वात्स्या(स्या)[य*]नगोत्र गांगैया पाठक । कौरव्यगोत्र विष्णु पाठक । भारद्वाजगोत्र दामोदर भट्ट । भारद्वाजगोत्र बील्हण पाठक । कास्य(श्य)पगोत्र सारंग[3] उपाध्या । . . . . [4]महादेव पाठक ॥

12 पौराणिकवृत्तिमवाप्य शाश्वतीत्रकार लक्ष्मीधरपंडितोत्तमः । श्रीसिद्धसारस्वतकाव्यपान्वयी भद्रेश्वरे शास(स)नपट्टिकाकृति[5] ॥१०॥ गंगाधरेण वै दत्तं गृहाणि वसुधा धनं । आचंद्रतारकं यावन्नंद(दं)तु द्विजसत्तमा(माः) ॥११॥ व(ब)हु-

13 भि[ः](भि)व(र्व)सुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूक्ति त(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥१२॥ महतामपि पापानां दृष्टा शास्त्रेषु निःकृ(ष्कृ)ति(तिः) । व(ब्र)ह्मदेयापहत्री(र्तॄ)णां न दृष्टा निःकृ(ष्कृ)तिः क्वचित् ॥१३॥ तालमानसुपूर्णयुक्ता प्रतिमा घटितामिमा[6] । एता(षा) प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्णा हेमदेवेन सि(शि)ल्पिना ॥ [१४॥*]

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[1] The construction of this verse is faulty.

[2] The names of the donees are mentioned without the Sanskrit case-endings and in such forms as were in vogue, *e.g.*, Upādhyā, Gāṁgaiyā, Ātā (probably a corruption of Ananta). Some of the *gōtra* names also are not properly spelt.

[3] There is an *anusvāra* above this letter, which may be ignored.

[4] A blank space for about 9 letters is left out before this name. This should have contained the name of the *gōtra* of the individual.

[5] The metre of this verse is corrupt. Perhaps it was intended to be in the *Upajāti* metre. The sense also is not quite clear.

[6] Better read घटिता त्वियम्.

No. 50—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KELGA

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The late Mr. B. C. Mazumdar published in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff., a paper entitled 'Sōnpur Plates of Kumāra Sōmēśvaradēva'. The plates were found buried in a field in the village of Kelgā in the Uttara-tīra division (*i.e.*, the 'Northern Bank' division lying to the north or left of the Mahānadī) in the old Sonepur State in Orissa. There were altogether four copper plates strung on a copper ring to which a brass seal of the shape of a double-petalled lotus was found soldered. The ring was, however, found cut out and Mazumdar believed that two of the four plates were forged and substituted in the original document at a later date. Three of the plates, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, were found to be of the same size and were supposed to bear fragments of a partially forged charter of the Sōmavaṁśī prince Sōmēśvara, while the fourth plate, slightly smaller in size than the other three plates and marked D by Mazumdar, was supposed to record a forged supplementary grant in favour of the son of the donee of Sōmēśvara's charter. Mazumdar suggested that Sōmēśvara's charter consisted originally of four plates engraved on one side only, but in the place of the second and the fourth plates—now missing, two plates engraved on both sides were substituted, and one concluding line was attempted unsuccessfully to be engraved on the reverse side of the plate which was originally the third plate. He further observed, "When the original grant was first tampered with, the ring was cut open, and the plate C and another new forged plate (subsequently removed) must have been put in." The reasons for these changes or forgery are not of course now apparent. In a note on the above observations of Mazumdar, the late Dr. Sten Konow, the then editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, suggested that probably the original charter was written on three plates of which one, inscribed on both the sides, was missing. This was because Mazumdar's suggestion regarding all the four plates being originally written on the obverse only was palpably improbable.

The said plates are now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta, and I had an opportunity of examining them through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the plates, it is found that the observations on them, referred to above, are mostly wrong. It was an unfortunate mistake to believe that Sōmēśvara's charter is incomplete and partially forged. There is absolutely no doubt that the three plates of equal size, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, form a complete charter issued by the Sōmavaṁśī Sōmēśvara, although they were wrongly arranged. Mazumdar's C is actually the second or middle one of the three plates on which the whole document was engraved. Both Mazumdar and Sten Konow failed to realise that the inscription on the obverse of Plate B (really Plate III) is a continuation of that on the reverse of Plate C (actually Plate II). This is because the last word of the last line on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) was read as *pratimantavyam* and the first three letters of the first line on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) as *vibhiś-cha*, without noticing that, after *pratimantavyam*, the letter *bhā* was really engraved so that the last letter on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) and the first three *aksharas* on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) have to be read continuously as *bhāvibhiś-cha*. In other records of the Sōmavaṁśī kings also the word *pratimantavyam* is found to be followed by the expression *bhāvibhiś-cha*, although the word *iti* was usually put between them.[1] The suggestion that the original document was written on one side each of four plates is therefore entirely wrong. The charter is a three-plate record, called *tri-phalī-śāsana* in Sōmavaṁśī documents. The first plate is engraved only on the inner side. The second and third plates have writing on both the sides, although the reverse of the third plate contains only one line of inscription.

[1] See above, Vol. III, p. 343 (text, line 23), p. 348 (text, line 16), p. 353 (text, lines 40-41), p. 357 (text, line 46), Vol. XI, p. 94 (text, line 17), p. 97 (text, line 21); *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 247 (text, line 24), p. 248 (text, lines 17-18), etc., etc.

The smaller plate, marked D by Mazumdar, is obviously the second or middle plate of another *tri-phali-tāmra-śāsana*. This part of the incomplete inscription records a grant in favour of the son of the donee of Sōmēśvara's charter. There is no evidence in support of Mazumdar's contention that this incomplete charter is a forgery. As the donee of this grant was the son of that of Sōmēśvara's charter, it is possible to think that, for some reason unknown to us, the son took out the plate recording a genuine grant in his favour from a *tri-phalī* charter and kept it in another similar document by the side of the latter's second or middle plate recording a grant in favour of his father. The third plate of the record may have been considered unnecessary as it no doubt contained only some imprecatory and benedictory verses with or without the date. If the grant was received from the same ruler, *viz.*, Sōmēśvara of the Sōma-*vaṁśa*, the first plate must have contained matter similar to that on the first plate of the father's grant and may have been considered unnecessary, wrongly of course, on that account. The nature of the draft, which is not exactly the same as in other similar records, as well as the fact that it is part of a different record and is neither complete in itself nor fits in Sōmēśvara's grant in the father's favour would suggest that the document is genuine. The large number of mistakes in the language need not be taken as an evidence of the spurious nature of the grant, as many other early-medieval Orissan records including Sōmēśvara's charter itself are by no means free from errors.

Among other errors of Mazumdar, reference may be made to his reading *Kōsalī-rā[jya*]-khaṇḍiya* (believed to speak of the Kōsala country) in line 9 of the inscription. The correct reading of the passage is no doubt *Kēsalōgī-khaṇḍiya*. The name of this Kēsalōgī *khaṇḍa* is apparently preserved in that of modern Kelgā, the find-spot of our record. Sten Konow's suggestion that modern Kelgā represents the ancient Kamalapura seems to be wrong. As regards the emblem on the seal attached to the charter, no photograph of which was published, Mazumdar says: "On the top surface there is a seated figure with the right arm outstretched to the knee, within the enclosure of a blossoming creeper. The figure seems to represent a goddess, and, if so, she is the representation of Lakshmi. I may state, however, that the posture indicating peaceful meditation is hardly consistent with the figure of any goddess." The representation is, however, of the seated Gaja-Lakshmi as on the seals attached to other charters of the Sōmavaṁśi kings. The two figures of elephants were wrongly regarded by Mazumdar as the representation of creepers. In view of the numerous errors that crept into Mazumdar's article on these plates, they are re-edited in the following pages.

A. *Plates of Sōmēśvaradēva*

The plates on which the charter is incised have been described by Mazumdar. The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other Orissan epigraphs of about the twelfth century A. C. and does not call for special notice. The medial signs of *u*, *ū*, and *ṛi* are often undistinguishable. The language is Sanskrit; but it is full of errors and is greatly influenced by the local dialect.

The charter was issued from Suvarṇapura, *i.e.*, modern Sonepur. The inscription records a grant of the village of Attēṇḍā in the Kēsalōgā *khaṇḍa* (sub-division) of the Uttaravalli *vishaya* (district), made by the Sōmavaṁśi prince Sōmēśvara in favour of the Brāhmaṇa, *Bhaṭṭaputra* Udayakaraśarman, who was the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Vidyākara, grandson of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Lakshmīdhara, and great-grandson of *Bhaṭṭa*[1] Jayakara and belonged to the Kumārahārita *gōtra* having five *pravaras*. I have not been able to trace the Kumārahārita *gōtra* elsewhere. *Bhaṭṭa* was a Brāhmaṇa who was himself learned, while his son who was not himself learned may have been called *Bhaṭṭaputra*. The Brāhmaṇa donee was a student of the Mādhyandina-Kāṇva branch of the

[1] Jayakara is called *Bhaṭṭaputra* in the fragmentary grant edited below.

Yajur-vēda. He was an inhabitant of Kamalapura, although his family hailed from Mahuvāli in the Sāvatha (Śrāvasti) *maṇḍala*. The grant was made on the occasion of an auspicious day in the month of Māgha in the first regnal year of Sōmēśvara at the request of *Vāpaka* Mahīpati and *Bhaṭṭa* Aniruddha, both of whom appear to have been called *Mahāsandhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) and *Rāṇaka* (title of a subordinate ruler). The king's order regarding the grant was addressed to the village folk including Brāhmaṇas, *Bhōgins* and *Bhōgi-rūpas* as well as to the officials including the *vishaya-pati* (ruler of a district), *khaṇḍa-pati* (ruler of a sub-division of a district) and *dāṇḍapāśika* (police inspector). The word *bhōgin* may indicate 'a village headman' or 'an *ināmdār*'; but the expression *bhōgi-rūpa*, which seems to mean 'one who is a *bhōgin* partially or outwardly', possibly supports the second of the two meanings of *bhōgin* suggested above. A *bhōgi-rūpa* may indicate one who is a mere title-holder but is not in actual possession of the land in question.

The list of privileges to be enjoyed by the donee included, besides the ordinary ones noticed in many charters, the *suvarṇa-daṇḍa*, *ahi-daṇḍa*, *carma-daṇḍa*, *maṇḍapanā*, *vijayavandāpanā*, *triṇ-ōdaka*, *kāsa-ārdhika*, *chara-balivarda*, *ārthāruvā*, *pratyarthāruvā*, *padāti-jīvya*, *ādattā*, *sturī-vaḍḍi*, *gō-gauḍa* and *khaṇḍapāliya*. Although some of the expressions are not entirely unintelligible, the real significance of the privileges indicated by all these expressions is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. Many of these are also known from some other inscriptions.[1]

Sōmēśvaradēva, the donor of the grant, is described as belonging to the Sōma-kula and as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). Although he enjoyed the imperial titles, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Paramēśvara*, he calls himself *Kumārādhirāja* (also *Kumāra*) instead of the expected *Mahārājādhirāja*. The epithet *Paśchima-Laṅk-ādhipati* indicates that Sōmēśvaradēva was originally the governor of *Paśchima-Laṅkā* (literally, 'the western island'), situated somewhere in South Kōsala, under the Sōmavaṁśī king of that country. The title *Kumārādhirāja* reminds us of the similar title *Mahākumāra* adopted by some rulers of the Paramāra family.[2] The uncertain political condition which necessitated the adoption of the title *Mahākumāra* by some Paramāra rulers is hinted at in epigraphic passages like *śrīmaj-Jayavarmadēva-rājyē vyatītē nija-kara-dhṛita-karavāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatya.... mahākumāra-śrīmal-Lakshmīvarmadēva*, "the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Lakshmīvarmadēva, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he carried in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmadēva had passed away", *śrī-Jayavarmadēva ity-ētasmāt prishṭhatama-prabhōḥ prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatya... mahākumāra-śrī-Hariśchandradēvaḥ*, "the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Hariśchandradēva, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmadēva", etc. It is very interesting to note that the Sōmavaṁśī *Kumāra* or *Kumārādhirāja* Sōmēśvara is similarly said to have issued the charter after the end of the rule of Abhimanyu who had been installed in the Kōsala kingdom that is said to have been presented to him by Uddyōtakēsarin. The Sōmavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyōtakēsarin, who was the son of Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti Chaṇḍihara and grandson of Abhimanyu (who did not rule), is known from his Balijhari plates.[3] Our inscription represents Uddyōtakēsarin as *Mahābhavagupta-pād-ānudhyāta*. It is apparently a mistake for *Mahāśivagupta-pād-ānudhyāta* which is used in the same context in the Balijhari plates (cf. lines 29-33). While discussing the history of the Sōmavaṁśīs of Kōsala (South Kōsala) and Utkala, we have suggested

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[1] Cf. Balijhari plates, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcript of this inscription. *Triṇōdaka* and *Maṇḍapikā* are mentioned in some Orissan records in connection with land that was declared as a rent free gift but was subject to payment of certain taxes. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff., line 29; Vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff., lines 33-34; *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol., XII, pp. 292 ff., lines 32-33; *J. R. A. S.*, 1952, pp. 6 ff. *Gauḍa* is the same as *gōḍaja* meaning 'a cowherd'.

[2] Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 880 ff.; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 304-05.

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

elsewhere[1] that Uddyōtakēsarin, who ruled about 1060-85 A.C., possibly during the later part of his reign, made Abhimanyu, apparently a prince of his own family, a sub-king of that part of his dominions that lay in Kōsala, while he himself ruled in Utkala where we have his records at Bhubaneswar and the neighbourhood. This arrangement may have been made to check the Kalachuri as well as Chhindaka-Nāga and Telugu-Chōḍa encroachment in Kōsala and Gaṅga encroachment in Utkala.[2] As to the extirpation of Sōmavaṁśī rule (especially of Abhimanyu's reign) from Kōsala, it may be pointed out that the Chhindaka-Nāga king Sōmēśvara (circa 1020-1110 A. C.) of Bastar and Yaśōrāja I, a Telugu-Chōḍa feudatory of the Chhindaka-Nāgas, claim to have conquered Kōsala. Yaśōrāja's great-grandson Sōmēśvara II, called 'lord of the whole of Kōsala', actually issued his Kumārisiṁhā[3] and Patna Museum plates[4] from Suvarṇapura. The position of Sōmēśvara and Abhimanyu, mentioned in our record, in the genealogy of the Sōmavaṁśīs cannot be determined; but the latter may have been a grandson of Abhimanyu (grandfather of Uddyōtakēsarin) and a brother or cousin of Uddyōtakēsarin. Like the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II who issued charters from Sonepur, the Sōmavaṁśī Sōmēśvara who issued the charter under discussion from the same city, seems to have flourished about the early years of the twelfth century. That the Sōmavaṁśī Sōmēśvara was a contemporary of his Telugu-Chōḍa namesake may be suggested by the influence of the latter's records on passages like *Sōma-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāsa-bhāskara* and *śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-pādāḥ kuśalinaḥ*. In the Sōmavaṁśī style, the passages would have been *Sōmakula-tilaka* and *śrī-Sōmēśvaradēvaḥ kuśalī*. It is possible to suggest that the Sōmavaṁśī Sōmēśvara of our record struggled with and was overthrown by the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II. The greatest achievement of Kalachuri Jājalladēva (1114 A. C.) is described as a victory over a certain Sōmēśvara in one record and as a victory over Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura in another.[5] This seems to suggest that Bhujabala or Bhujabalamalla was a *viruda* of Sōmēśvara who was a ruler of Suvarṇapura (Sonepur). This Sōmēśvara, defeated by the Kalachuris established in the western part of South Kōsala, may be either the Sōmavaṁśī Sōmēśvara of our record or the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II of the Kumārisiṁhā and Patna Museum plates. But his identification with the former seems preferable. From the record under review we learn that, like the Imperial Gaṅgas, the Sōmavaṁśīs claimed to have belonged to the Ātrēya *gōtra*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kōsalōgā and Suvarṇapura are of course modern Kelgā and Sonepur respectively. The district called Uttaravalli seems to be what is now called Uttara-tira referred to above. The village of Attōṇḍā must have stood in the vicinity of Kelgā. The donee's family hailed from the village of Mahuvālī in Śrāvastī which was the area round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The village of Kamalapura, where the donee was settled, seems to have been a locality in South Kōsala.

TEXT[6]

First Plate

1 [Siddham[||]][7] Svasti [||[8]] Śrī-Suvarṇṇapurāta(rāt) |[9] || paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-paramabha-

2 ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-||[10] Sōma-kula-tilaka-Tri-

[1] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 204 ff.

[2] *Loc. cit.* See also above (article on the Mahadā plates).

[3] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 229 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.

[5] Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 806-07.

[6] From the original plates as well as impressions and the facsimile published above, Vol. XII.

[7] Expressed by symbol.

[8] One of the *daṇḍas* stands on the left of the ring-hole and two of them are on the right. They are unnecessary.

[9] There is a small *daṇḍa* after this letter. It is superfluous.

[10] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

3 kaliṅg-ādhipati-śrī-Mahābhavatapta[1] rājadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-[śri(ta-śrī)]-
4 mad-Udyō(ddyō)takēsarirājadēva-prasādi(dī)krita-Kōsala-rājy-ābhisi(shi)-
5 kta-śrī-[2]Abhimatyu(nyu)di(dē)vasy-ātīta rājyē ||[3] paramamāhēśvara-pa-
6 ramabhaṭā(ṭṭā)raka-kuma(mā)rādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-Paśchima-Laṅk-ādhi-
7 pati-Sōma-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāsa-bhājya(ska)ra-kumāra-śrī-
8 Sōmēśvaradēvapādāḥ kusa(śa)linaḥ ||[3] Uttaravalli-vishaya-sam[4]-
9 Kēsalōgā-khaṇḍiya- ||[5] [6]Attēṇḍā-grāmē ||[3] prativāsinō Vrā(Brā)hma-
10 ṇa-puḥ(pu)raḥsarāna(rān) ||[3] bhōgi-bhōgirūpa-pramukha-samas[t]a-

Second Plate : First Side

11 janapadāna(dān) yathā-kāl-ādhyāyi(si)naś=cha maṇḍalapati- ||[3] vishaya-
12 pati- ||[3] khaṇḍapati- ||[3] dāṇḍapāsi(śi)kādina(dīn) samasta-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō
13 yath-ārhaṁ ||[3] mānayanti ||[3] vō(bō)dhayanti ||[3] samā[jñā]payanti [cha*] ||[3] viditam=astu
14 bhavatā[m*] ||[3] upari-likhita-grāmō=yaṁ ||[3] prasiddha-chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhina(nnaḥ)
15 sa-jala-sthalaḥ ||[3] sa-matsya-kachchhapaḥ ||[3] sa-viṭap-āraṇyaḥ ||[3] sa-
16 nidhiḥ ||[3] s-ōpanidhiś=cha ||[3] s-āmvra(mra)-madhu-van-ākīrṇṇaḥ ||[3] Suvarṇṇadaṇḍa-[3]
17 ahidaṇḍa- ||[3] vartmadaṇḍa- ||[3] vandāpanā- ||[3] vijayavandāpanā- ||[3] tṛiṇ-ōdaka-
18 sā(śā)san-ārddhika- ||[3] chara-va(ba)livada(rda)- ||[3] [5]arthāruvā- ||[3] pratyarthāruvā-padātiji-
19 vya-[5]ādattā- ||[3] [5]āturāvaḍḍi ||[3] bhavishyata(shyat)-kar-ādi-sahitaḥ ||[3] gō-gauḍa-
20 samētaḥ ||[3] sa-khaṇḍapālīyaḥ ||[3] sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-vivarjita[ḥ*] ||[3] tāmvra(mra)-sā(śā)-

Second Plate : Second Side

21 sanēn=ākarīkṛitya ||[3] salila-dhārā-pura[ḥ]saraṁ(ram) ||[3] ā-chandr-ārka-[kshi]ti-[kā]la-
22 sama-bhōg-ārthaṁ ||[3] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddhayē ||[3] bhagava-
23 ntaṁ Mahēsva(śva)ra-bhaṭṭārakam=uddisya(śya) ||[3] mahāsandhivigraḍi(hi)-ra(rā)ṇaka-nāyaka-śrī-
24 Mahīpati-bhaṭṭa-śrī[5]-Aniruddha ||[3] anayōḥ[6] pari[jñatvya][7] ||[3] pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rā-
25 jyē ||[3] prathama-samva(saṁva)tsarē ||[3] Māgha-māsīya- ||[3] pu(ḥ)(pu)ṇya-tithau ||[3] Kuvmā(mā)ra-[ha(hā)]ritra(ta)-gō-
26 trāya ||[3] pañch-ārsha-pravarāya ||[3] Mādhyandina-Ka(Kā)ṇṇa(ṇva)-sā(śā)kh-ādhyāyinē ||[3] Sāvattha[8]-maṇḍa-
27 līya- ||[3] Mahuvāli-vi(vi)nirggatāya ||[3] Kamalapura-vāstavyāya ||[3] bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-La-
28 kshmīdhara-prapautrāya ||[3] bhaṭṭa-Jayakara-pautrāya ||[3] bhaṭṭa-Vidyākara-putrāya
29 bhaṭṭaputra[5]-Udayakarasa(śa)mma(rmma)ṇē sampradattō=’smābhiḥ ||[3] [5]Ātrēya-gōtraiḥ ||[3]
30 [5]ā(try-ā)rsha(rshē)ya-pravaraiḥ | atō=sya vidhēyībhūya yathā-dīyamāna-bhōga-bhāga-
31 kara-nikar-ādikaṁ samupanayadbhiḥ bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavyam [bhā]-

[1] Read °gupta-rāja°. The intended reading seems to be *Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*.
[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[3] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.
[4] *Sam* is a contraction for *sambaddha*.
[5] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
[6] Read °*vaddhayōḥ*.
[7] Read *parijñāpya*.
[8] The intended reading seems to be *Śrāvasti*.

Third Plate : First Side

32 vibhiś=cha bhūpatibhiḥ dānam=idam=as[ma*]dīya[ṁ] ||[1] dharmma-gauravād=asmad-anurō-

33 dhāch=cha ||[1] sva-dānam=iv=ānupālanīyaṁ(yam) || tathā ch=ōktaṁ dharmma-sā(śā)stē(strē) [|*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ

34 pratigṛih[ṇ]āti ||[1] yas=va(ś=cha) bhūmiṁ prayachchhati [|*] ubhau tau puṇya-kamā(rmā)-ṇau niyataṁ svargga-

35 gāminau || Āsphōṭayanti pitarō valka(lga)yanti pitāmahāḥ || ( ) bhūmi-dātā ku-

36 lē jātaḥ sa nas=tā(s=trā)tā bhavishyati || Va(Ba)huti(bhi)r=vvasudhā da[ttā] rājabhiḥ Sagar-āditi(bhi)ḥ ||(|) Ya-

37 sya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Mā bhūd=a-phala-sa(śa)ṅkā vaḥ para-da-

38 tt=ēti kīrttanāta||(nāt |) sva-dattāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ paradatt-ānupālanāta(nāt) || Sva-dattāṁ pa-

39 ra-dattāṁ=vā(ttāṁ vā] yō harē[ta*] dva(va)sundharāṁ ||(rām |) sa vishṭā(shṭhā)yāṁ krimir=bhūthā(tvā) pitṛibhiḥ saha

40 pachyatē || Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkañ=cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam |) haran=narakam=āyā-

41 ti yāvad=ābhūti(ta)-sa(saṁ)plavaṁ(vam) || Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-va(bi)nda(ndu)-lōlāṁ śrī(śri)yam=anu-

42 chintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha [|*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ [cha*] vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi sata-puru-[2]

Third Plate : Second Side

43 shaiḥ para-kīrttayō vi[lōpyāḥ] ||[3]

B. *Stray Plate of a Second Grant*

The stray plate inserted in Sōmēśvara's charter, as already noticed, forms part of an incomplete charter in favour of the son of the Brāhmaṇa Udayakara, donee of the previous grant. It abruptly begins with a reference to the village folk living on the four sides apparently of the gift land, to whom the royal order seems to have passed through a person named Shashṭhī-gābhura. The gift land is next mentioned as Paviśagrāma together with two *khaṇḍa-kshētras* (plots of land) called Gudhvamāla and Kahapura belonging to Vuravuṇā-grāma situated in the Rōṅgaḍā *maṇḍala*. The land was apparently situated in a forest, as the privileges of the donee included his right to enjoy *hasti-danta* (ivory), *vyāghra-charma* (tiger's skin) and various animals (*nānā-vanachara*). Among trees specified in this connection are tamarind and palmyra.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa, *Bhaṭṭaputra* Ābhābhakaraśarman, who was the son of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Udayakara (donee of Sōmēśvara's charter edited above), grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* Vidyākara and great-grandson of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Jayakara. As in Sōmēśvara's charter, the donee is said to have belonged to the Kumāra-hārīta *gōtra* having five *pravaras* and to have been a student of the Mādhyandina-Kāṇva Śākhā. His family is likewise described as having hailed from Mahuvālī in the Sāvatha (Śrāvasti) *maṇḍala*, although he was, like his father, an inhabitant of Kamalapura.

[1] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[2] Instead of *sata-puru°* (*i.e.*, *sat-puru°*) read *puru°* for the sake of the metre.

[3] This line has suffered from corrosion. There appear to be traces of a few letters after this; but I am unable to decipher them. The details of the date of the grant are possibly given here.

The above grant portion of the record is followed by a passage introducing the imprecatory and benedictory verses. This part closely resembles the corresponding portion of such other Orissan epigraphs as the two Baudh plates[1] of the Bhañja king Raṇabhañja of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala*, who flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century.

The charter may have been granted by the Sōmavaṁśī Sōmēśvara or by his Telugu-Chōḍa namesake who ousted him from Suvarṇapura. The villages Paviśa and Vuravuḍā and the district called Rōṅgaḍā-*maṇḍala* cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT[2]

Obverse

1 pramukhaḥ[3] chatvāri sīmanta-janapadāḥ |[4] Shashṭhī-gābhura-pramukha-

2 taḥ |[4] yath-ārha[ṁ*] mānayati |[4] samādi(di)śati (cha*] || viditam=as[tu] bhava-

3 tā[ṁ*] Rōṅgaḍā-maṇḍala-Vuravuḍā[5]-grāma-Gudhvamāla-khaṇḍakshētra-Kaha-

4 pura-khaṇḍakshētra-Paviśa-gra(grā)mē(maḥ) chatu[ḥ*]-sīmā-yāvaḥ(vat) |[6] nidhy-ō(dhy-u)-janidhi-hasti-

5 danta-vā(vyā)ghra-charma-nānā-vanachara-[samētaḥ*] sa-jala-sthala[ḥ*] sa-machchha(tsya)-kachchhapa[ḥ*]

6 sa-kha(khō)ṭa-viṭapa[ḥ*] sa-khalla-u(ll-ō)na(nna)ta[ḥ*] sa-padr-āraṇyaka[ḥ*] |[6] sa-gulma-lla(la)-

7 tā[kaḥ*] |[6] sa-a(s-ā)mvra(mra)-madha(dhu)ka[ḥ*] |[6] sa-tantalika[ḥ*][7] sa-tālakaiḥ(kaḥ) nānā-vṛikala-[samētaḥ*] śā-

8 saṁkṛitya pratipādita[ḥ*] |[6] Kumārahāritra(ta)-gōtrāya pañcha-risha(ñch-ārshē)-

9 ya-pravarāya |[6] Mādhyandina-Ka(Kā)ṇṇa(ṇva)-śākh-ādhyāya(yi)nē Sāvatha[8]-maṇḍala-

10 |[6] Mahuvālī-vini(ni)rgatāya |[6] Kamalapura-vāstavyāya |[6] bhaṭa(ṭṭa)pu-

11 tra-Jayakara-prapautrāya |[6] bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-Vidyākara-pautrāya |[6] bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-

12 U(tr-ō)dayakara-putrāya |[6] bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putr-Ābhāṭhakaraśa(śa)ma(rma)ṇē |[6] Vidhi-va(vi)-dhāu[ē]-

13 na sa(saṁ)vidhāya |[6] tāmvra(mra)-śāsanēna pratipāditō=yaṁ |[9] pāraṁparya-ka(kra)-m-āga-

14 ta-sarva-vachanēna || ya-

Reverse

15 thā kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍa(ṇḍā)t-prarōhanti [?] yā sa(śa)tēna pratanōshi[10] || ēvaṁ rācha(ja)-śāsa-

16 nēna pratapāditaṁ(taḥ) | ēvam [11]vadhāḥ parā vahma paratō vaṁśa-kārinaḥ

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[1] See above, Vol. XII, pp. 324, 327.

[2] From the original plate as well as its impressions and the facsimile published above, Vol. XII.

[3] The reading intended may be *pramukha-chatuḥ-sīmānta-janapadān*.

[4] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[5] *Vuravuḍā* seems to have been originally engraved. The idea is: *Vuravuḍāgrāma-sthita-Gudhvamāla-Kahapura-khaṇḍakshētra-dvaya-sahitaḥ Paviśagrāmaḥ*.

[6] The *daṇḍas* are not required.

[7] Sanskrit *sa-tintiḍīkaḥ*.

[8] The intended reading may be *Śrāvasti*.

[9] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[10] Usually we have here additionally *sahasrēṇa virōhati*. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 324, 327. See also *Vājasanēyi Saṁhitā*, 13, 20 f.

[11] Read *ēvam bahubhiḥ purāṇikair=uktaḥ paratō* [illegible] *dharma-gauravāch=cha na* [illegible] *kartavyaḥ* |

17 ṭha yāyasmād=anurādharmma || [gau]rava na tāsa vi || anyē=parādhaḥ ka-
18 raṇāya || [1]tasy=āgē(grē) kō=si dhamma(rma)vita(vit) || Sāsa dṛishā dhamahi nada ||
19 tā sa-vijaṁ sasya-mēdini || Yāvat=sūya-kathā llōkē tāvat=sagē māda-
20 yata || [3]Vēda-vāka-mayā jāhvā vadanti || shā dēvatāḥ || bhami-hattā tath-ā-
21 nyē cha | ahō mōhana mā hara [||*] [4]Yath=āyaṁ patitaḥ Śakra | tēna-vinda ti-
22 sapati | ēvaṁ bhūmi-kṛita dāna | saśē saśē prarōhiti || Ādityā(tyō)
23 Varuṇō Vishṇu | Vra(shṇur=Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāśanaḥ [|*] Śa(Śū)lapāṇis=tu bhagavāna-(vān) |[5] a-
24 bhinandanti bhūmidaṁ(dam) || A(Ā)sō(sphō)tayamti pitaraḥ |[5] pa(pra)valsa(lga)nti pitā-mahāḥ ||( )
25 bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā[6] || sa tē dātā bhavishyati || Va(Ba)hubhi[r*]=vasudhā datta(ttā)
26 [5]rājāna(jabhiḥ) Sagar-ādibhiḥ[7] || [8]Mā rōdhaḥ pala tatkaya para-dattashu pāṇita
27 | yasya yasya [ya*]dā bha(bū)mi | ta(sis=ta)sya [tasya*] tadā pa(pha)laṁ |(lam ||) tasma-(smāt) tvayā na hata(rta)vya[m*] |[5] sā(śā)-
28 śvatīṁ=gatim=āpnuyāta(yāt) || Sva-dattā[ṁ*] para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō hara(rē)ti(ta) vasu-mdhara(rām |)[9]

No. 51—TWO PLATES FROM KANAS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The village of **Kanās** lies about ten miles away from the Delang station of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. The village is celebrated for an ancient Maṭha or monastery under a Mahant Mahārāj. Some time ago Pandit Sadāśiva Ratha Śarmā of Puri, who is a Research Assistant of the Utkal University, Cuttack, secured on loan two copper-plate inscriptions in the possession of the Kanās Maṭha and gave them for decipherment to Pandit Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru who was formerly Research Assistant of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir, and is now Assistant Curator of the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneswar. Pandit Rājaguru made an attempt to decipher one of the two records and published the results of his study in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vols. II, No. 4 and III, Nos. 1-3, January 1950, pp. 261-66. As the text of the inscription published by Pandit Rājaguru appeared to me inaccurate and unsatisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plate. Both the plates in the possession of the Kanās Maṭha were secured on loan by the Government Epigraphist for India through the Collector of the Puri District in December 1950. The results of my study of the two inscriptions, one of which is as yet unknown to scholars, are published in the following pages.

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[1] In this place usually we have *tathā cha uktaṁ dharma-śāstrē* |. The passage *tasy=āgrē*, etc., is only a part of an incomplete verse.

[2] Read *Phāla-krishṭāṁ mahīṁ dadyāt sa-bīja-śasya-mēdinīṁ* | *yāvat sūrya-kṛitā lōkās=tāvat svargē mahīyatē* ||

[3] Read *Vēda-vāk-amṛitāṁ jihvāṁ vadanti rishi-dēvatāḥ* | *bhūmi-hartā tath=ānyō cha ahō mōhena mā hara* ||

[4] Read *Yath=āyaṁ patitaḥ Śakra taila-bindur=visarpati* | *ēvaṁ bhūmi-kṛitaṁ dānaṁ sasyē sasyē prarōhati* ||

[5] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[6] Read *jātaḥ sa mōchitāḥ*.

[7] The second half of this verse is omitted.

[8] Read *Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vē para-datt=ēti pārthivā* |

[9] The second half of the verse seems to have been engraved on another plate.

A. Plate of Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka; Gupta year 280

This is a **single plate** measuring 4.85 inches by 2.5 inches and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There is a projection in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a **seal** was originally soldered. Of this seal, however, nothing but a small lump of bronze protruding through a hidden hole on both the obverse and reverse of the projection now remains. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse of the plate and ten lines on the reverse. The size of the letters is small. The preservation of the writing, especially on the obverse of the plate, is extremely unsatisfactory as some of the letters have completely peeled off. The weight of the plate, together with the lump representing the original seal, is 15 *tolas* only.

In point of **palaeography** and **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles the Sumaṇḍala plate of Pṛithivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka edited by me in the pages of this journal,[1] and hardly anything calls for special mention. The tail of letters like *k* and *r* is short and not lengthened considerably downwards as is usually the case. The sign of interpunctuation is usually a short horizontal or slightly curved stroke. Full-stop is sometimes indicated by two such strokes (cf. line 19), not differing much from the sign for the *visarga*; but often the usual double *daṇḍa* has been employed, although the head of the first of the two *daṇḍas* is considerably curved towards the left (cf. lines 15, 21). The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the record is entirely written in prose.

The **date** of the charter engraved on the plate as given in words in lines 2-3 reads: *pravarttamānē Gupta-kāla-samva(saṁva)tsarē aśīty-uttara-śata-dvayē.* It is quoted in line 15 as *Samvat 200 80 Phālguna(na)-di 5.* Thus the **date of our record is the fifth day of the month of Phālguna in the year 280 of the Gupta era corresponding to 599-600 A.C.**

The inscription records the grant of a village called **Ūrddhvaśṛiṅga** situated in the **Uṭida** or **Muṭida** *vishaya* (district) in **Dakshiṇa-Tōsali.** The grant was made by the royal officers (*saṁyuktakāḥ*) of the said *vishaya*, including such officers as the *vaiśvāsika*, *vishayapati* and *aṁśa-bṛihadbhōgika*, when *parama-daivat-ādhidaivata-śrī*-**Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka** was ruling in **Tōsali** comprising eighteen forest states (*Tōsalyāṁ s-āsh(āda)ś-āṭavi-rājyāyām*). The declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the present and future enjoyers of the share of the produce (*bhāga-bhujaḥ*) such as the officers of the *mahāsāmanta-mahārāja*, *rājaputra*, *kumārāmātya*, *uparika*, *tad-āyuktaka*, *vaiśvāsika*, *vishayapati* and *aṁśa-bṛihadbhōgika*. Of the officials, *aṁśa-bṛihadbhōgika* seems to be the same as *bhōgika* or *bṛihad-bhōgika* of other inscriptions, and *vaiśvāsika*, not usually found in charters,[2] may indicate a privy councillor or one in charge of secret and confidential communications. Having ascertained that the village in question had in it no land uncultivated for a long time (*chira-khila-śūnya*) and that its land possessed many qualities (*anēka-guṇa*), the officers granted it, with a view to gaining *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, with the permission of the *paramadaivatādhidaivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka*, no doubt referring to Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka. The grant was made according to the principle governing permanent endowments to last as long as the moon and sun endure (*ā-chandr-ārkka-sama-kālīy-ākshaya-nīvī-dharmmēṇa*) with the determination of the four boundaries. The purpose of the grant was the institution of *bali*, *charu* and *sattra* at the *maṭha* of the illustrious Maṇināgēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka of Chaikāmbaka or Ēkāmbaka and the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtras*, who were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the Yajurvēda. It is interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇa students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school, associated with the *maṭha* of Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka, are also mentioned in the other charter edited below. The word *maṭha* seems to indicate here 'a temple endowed with a monastery or college'. The grant under

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

[2] The designation *pañchakaraṇōpari[ka*]-vaiśvāsika-bṛihadbhōgia* is found in lines 53-54 of the Bāppur plates of Dharmarāja to be edited by me in this journal. Cf. also Lüders' List, Nos. 125(Q), 127, 128, 141.

review was *anusṛita* (possibly meaning 'endorsed') among others by the *Vaiśvāsika* Bhavanāga, *Vishayapati* Śrīdatta, *Aṁśa-bṛihadbhōgika* Sujumāka and *Karaṇika* Nāgadatta.

It seems that Pṛithivīvigraha who, according to the Sumaṇḍala inscription, was governing the Kaliṅga *rāshṭra* as a viceroy of the imperial Guptas in the Gupta year 250 and Lōkavigraha who was ruling independently over the Tōsalī country (comprising the northern part of ancient Kaliṅga and also Utkala) in the Gupta year 280, belonged to the same family which may be called the Vigraha dynasty of Orissa. It is clear that all vestiges of imperial Gupta influence in Orissa disappeared before the date of our record. It is also clear now that the history of Orissa in the second half of the sixth century was characterised by the rivalry between the Vigrahas and the royal house of the Mānas represented by king Śambhuyaśas of the Mudgala or Maudgalya *gōtra*, who is known to have been ruling over Uttara-Tōsalī in the Gupta year 260[1] and Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī in the year 283,[2] side by side with the Vigrahas. The expansion of the rule of Śambhuyaśas over South Tōsalī before the year 283 suggests the discomfiture of the Vigrahas at the hands of the Mānas. This struggle between the Vigrahas and Mānas seems to have facilitated the conquest of Orissa probably from the Mānas by king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa sometime before the Gupta year 300.[3]

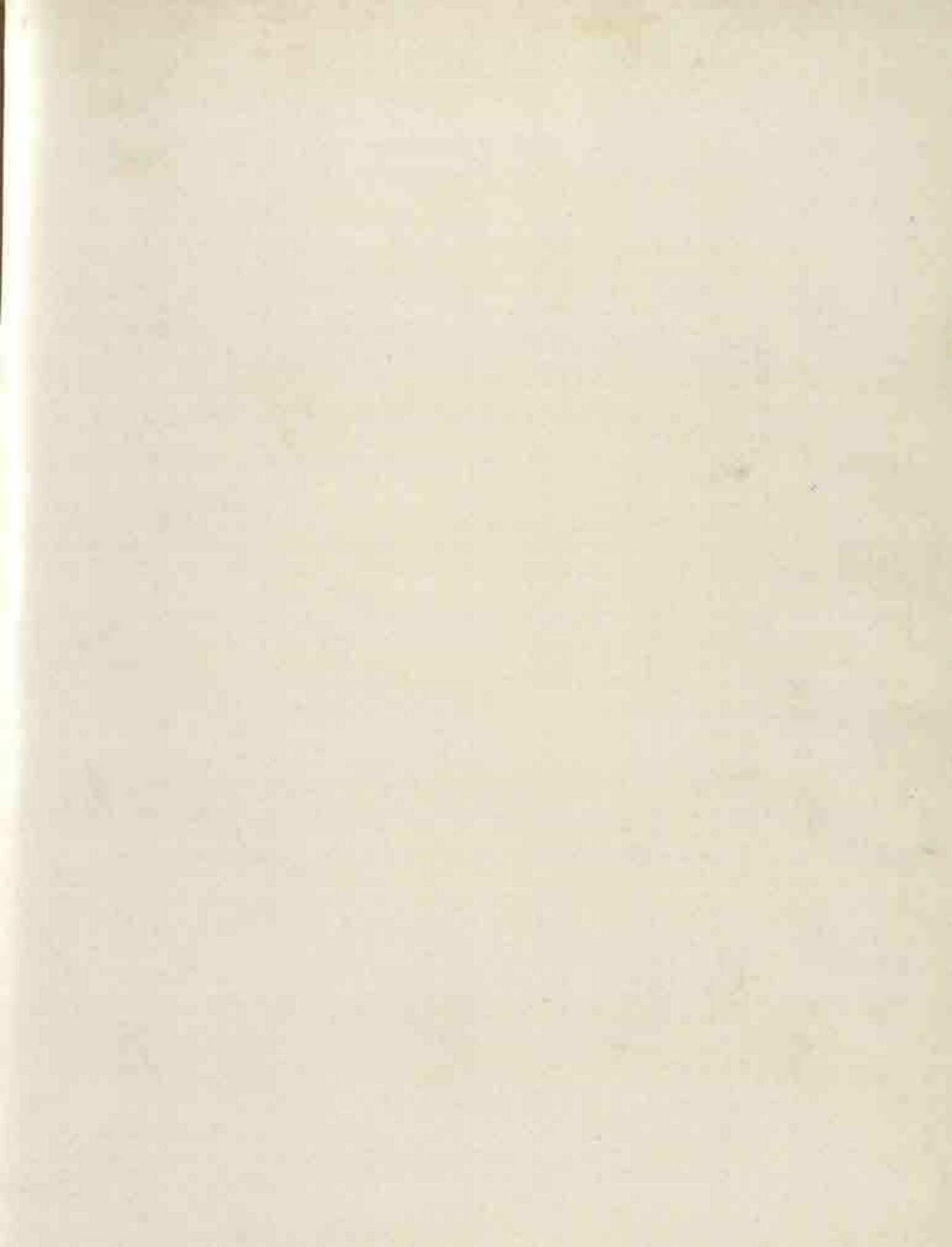
Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, **Tōsalī** was originally the name of the chief city of Kaliṅga identified with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District. It seems that with the foundation of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas who claimed the title "lord of Kaliṅga or Trikaliṅga" with their capital at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Chicacole or Śrīkākulam District), the rulers of northern Kaliṅga felt the necessity of applying the new name to their dominions. The country of Tōsalī comprised not only northern Kaliṅga but also ancient Utkala and thus often included the western part of the Midnapur District in the north-east and the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District in the south-west. Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī or South Tōsalī roughly corresponded to nothern Kalinga (modern Puri District with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam) and Uttara-Tōsalī or North Tōsalī to the Utkala country (modern Balasore District with parts of Cuttack and Midnapur). The description of Tōsalī as comprising eighteen forest states in our record seems to be the earliest reference to the tradition of the so-called Aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta of Orissa.[4] The *vishaya* of **Uṭida** or **Muṭida** and the village of **Ūrdhvaśṛiṅga** cannot be satisfactorily identified. **Chaikāmbaka** or **Ēkāmbaka**, where the *maṭha* of the deity Maṇināgēśvara was situated, is also difficult to locate. I am not sure if the *maṭha* can be identified with the present Kanās Maṭha. If, however, the name is really Ēkāmbaka, it may possibly be regarded as a variant of Ēkāmra (or Ēkāmraka) which is an old name of modern Bhubaneswar. The name of Maṇināga, son of Kadrū, is famous in the Puranic literature.[5] That the Maṇināga cult was popular in Orissa is proved by the existence of the Maṇināga hill at Raṇpur in Orissa as well as of the goddess Maṇināga-Durgā worshipped there. Whether, however, the Maṇināga-maṭha was situated at Raṇpur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Maṇināgēśvara may also indicate a *śiva-liṅga* installed

[1] See the Patiakella plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 287 f.).

[2] Cf. the Soro plate A (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-02).

[3] See the Ganjam plate (above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.). Mr. S. N. Rajaguru's views regarding Śaśāṅka (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 119 ff.) are not worthy of serious consideration.

[4] For another early tradition regarding the eighteen forest kingdoms including the Dabhālā kingdom, see the Khoh plate of Saṁkshōbha (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 375). For the traditions regarding countries or kingdoms comprising eighteen forts, see P. Acharya in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1949, pp. 282-84. For the use of 'eighteen' vaguely indicating a multitude, see *Pali Dictionary*, P.T.S., *s.v. aṭṭha*. Cf. the epithet 'lord of all the Gōndramas or of 18 Gōndramas' in many early records of Orissa.

[5] Vide *Skanda Purāṇa*, Āvantyakhaṇḍa, Rēvākhaṇḍa, chapter 72. The cult of Maṇināga was popular in various other parts of India. For the Maṇināga-tīrtha at Rājagṛiha, see *Mahābhārata*, III, 84, 106 ff. Maṇināga seems to have been identical with the Yaksha Maṇibhadra widely worshipped in ancient India. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159; *A. S. R.*, 1915-16, Part II, p. 106; *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff., etc.

TWO PLATES FROM KANAS

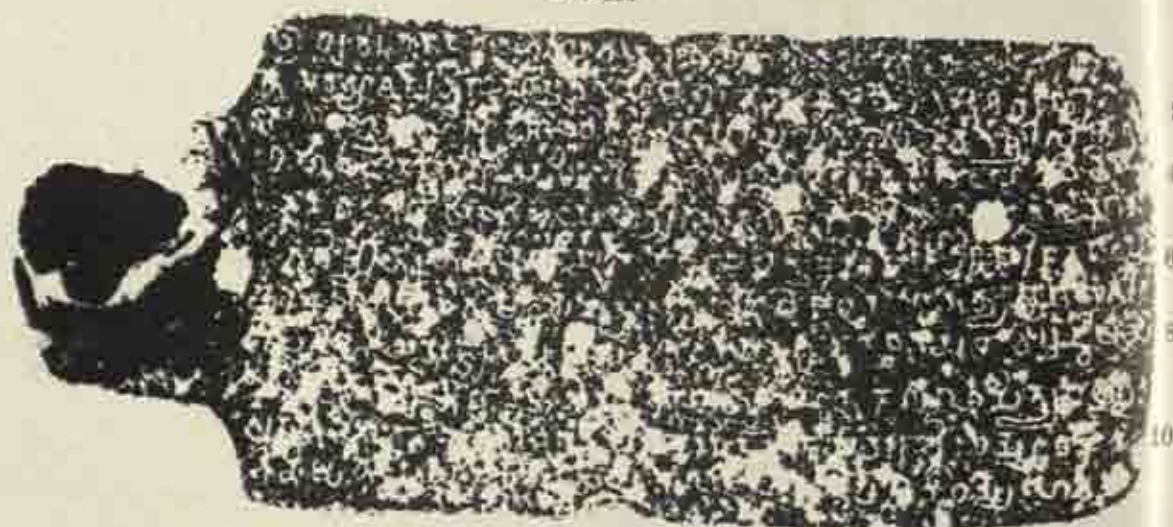
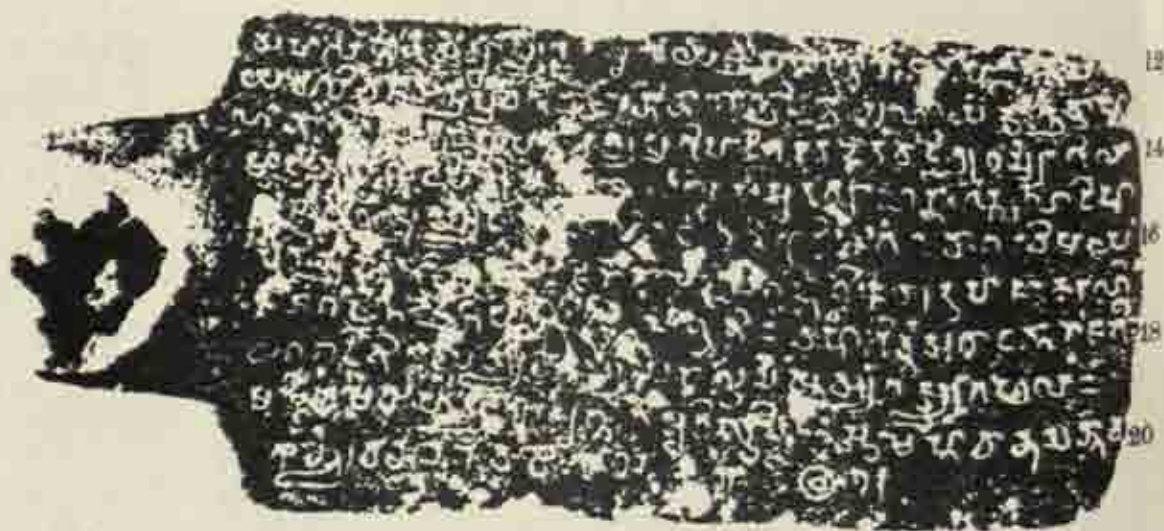
A. PLATE OF LOKAVIGRAHA-BHATTARAKA: GUPTA YEAR 280

Obverse

Reverse

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 627 HE (C)'52-499.

Scale: Actual Size

Survey of India, DehraDun

by a person named Maṇināga ; but the mention of the same deity as Maṇimāga-bhaṭṭāraka in the Kanās plate of Bhānudatta, edited here, seems to go against such a conjecture. It is also not quite clear why only Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇiya school were associated with the *maṭha* of the said deity.

TEXT[1]

Obverse

1 [Siddham||][2] Svasti [||*] Chatu[r-u*]dadhi-salila-vīchi-[mēkhalā-nilī]nāyāṁ sa-dvīpa-[giri-pa]-

2 ttanavatyāṁ vasundharāyāṁ **pravarttamānē Gupta-[kā]la-[samva(saṁva)tsa]rē a[śī]ty-u[tta]ra-śata-[dva*]-**

3 **y[ē] Tō[sa]lyāṁ s-āshṭādaś-ā[ṭṭa(ṭa)]vī-rājyāyāṁ** parama-[dē]va[t-ā]dhidaivata-śrī-**Lōkavi-**

4 **graha-bhaṭṭāra[kē** pra]śāsati **[Da]kshi[ṇa-Tō]salyām=[3] Uṭida**-vishayā[t] vini[yu]-

5 [kta]kā[ḥ*] sa-vaiśvāsika-vishayapaty-aṁ[sa]vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgik-ādhikara[ṇā] varttamāna-

6 bhavishyan-mahāsāma[n]ta-ma[hā]rāja-rājap[u]ttra-kumā[rā]māty-ōparika-[ta]d-āyu-

7 k[ta]ka-[vaiśvāsika]-vishayapa[ty-aṁsa]vṛi(bṛi)[hadbhōgi]k-ādhikaraṇān=anyāṁś=cha [bhāga]-bhuj[ō]

8 ya[th-ā]rhaṁ [saṁ]pūjya vijñā[pa]yanti[||*] viditam=a[s]tu bhō bhavat[āṁ] yath=āsmad-vishaya-

9 [samva(mba)]ddha **Ū[rddhvaśṛi]ṅga-grā[maḥ]** chi[ra-khila-śū]nyam=anēka-guṇam=ity=avadhṛitya

10 pa[rama-dē]vat-ādhi[daivata]-śrī-pa[rama-bhaṭṭāra]ka-pād-[ānujña]y-āsmābhiḥ dharmm-ārtha-kāma-

11 viniṣhpatta[yē] [ā-chandr-ārkka]-sama[kāly-ākshaya-nī]vī-dharmmēṇa cha[tuḥ]-

Reverse

12 sīmā-liṅgāni saṁsthāpya [Chai[4]]k[ā]mva(mba)[kī]ya-śrī-Ma[ṇi]nāgēś[v]ara-bhaṭṭāraka-ma[ṭhī]-

13 ya-va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttanāya nānā-gōttra-Maittrāyaṇīya-chhātra-Vrā(Brā)hma-

14 ṇānāṁ s[th]i[ta]y[ē] tāmra-pa[ṭṭī]kritya pratipādita[ḥ] [||*] ta[d=ē]va[ṁ] viditya(tvā) dharmm-ābhilā-

15 shād=an[upā]layi[tum=arha]th=ēti || Samva(Saṁva)t 200 80 Phālguṇa(na)-di 5 [||*]

16 [a]nus[ri]taṁ Sūrya .... libhaṭai[ḥ] |[5] vaiśvāsika-Bhavanāga |[6]vishaya-

17 pati-[Śrīdatta |] .... jirōd=āṁ[sa]vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgika-Suḍumāka | karaṇi-

18 ka-Nāgadatta [| draṅgapā][7] .... kaiś=ch=ēti || Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ

19 Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ] [| *] yasya ya[sya] yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya ta[dā*] phalaṁ[lam]||

20 Shashṭiṁ varsha-saha[srā]ṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ [| *] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha

21 tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || o || o ||

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[1] From the original plate.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Or, °lyāṁ Muṭida°.
[4] Or, ch-Aikāmvakīya.
[5] The daṇḍa is unnecessary.
[6] This daṇḍa and the following ones in the next two lines are used as the hyphen is done in English.
[7] The word may be draṅga-pāla, the same as drāṅgika of some inscriptions.

B. *Plate of Bhānudatta*; *Regnal Year 5*

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a **single plate** measuring 5.8 inches by 4.1 inches. There is a projection, with a hole in it, in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a **seal** must have been originally fixed. The seal is now lost. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse and eight lines on the reverse. The preservation of the writing is very poor as both sides of the plate have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. The plate weighs 43¼ *tolas*.

As regards **palaeography, language** and **orthography**, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Soro (D)[1] and Balasore[2] plates, as all the three charters were issued by the same ruler. Very little in these respects, therefore, calls for any special remark. The medial *i* is sometimes joined with the following mark of interpunctuation (cf. lines 13, 19) as in the Sumaṇḍala plate[3] and some other inscriptions. The charter is dated in the fifth regnal year of a subordinate ruler named **Bhānudatta** who, as will be seen below, **flourished sometime between 619 and 643 A.C.** The actual date given is **the 24th day of Āśva (i.e., Āśvayuj or Āśvina).**

The charter was issued from a locality called **Andhasubhiksha** by the *mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahāsāmanta śrī*-Bhānudatta whose feudatory position is further indicated by the epithet *parama-daivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*. Bhānudatta's reverential declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the *mahāsāmanta- mahārāja*, *rājaputra*, *kumārāmātya*, *uparika*, *vishayapati*, *tad-āyuktaka*, *dāṇḍavāsika* (i.e. *dāṇḍapāśika*), *sthānāntarika* and other officers and also persons like the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, both of the time being and of the future, who were or would be associated (*samupāgata*) with the *vishaya* or district called **Uttamālōka.** The village, granted by Bhānudatta by the *tāmra-paṭṭa* for so long as the moon and sun endure and described as *chira-khila-śūnya*, was **Kumvukirikshilāka** in the said *vishaya*. The grant was made for the increase of the merits of the *śrī-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda*, i.e., the unnamed overlord of Bhānudatta. It was made theoretically in favour of the deity Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka of Chaikāmvakā or Ēkāmvakā,[4] but actually in that of the Brāhmaṇas who resided in the *maṭha* of the god and were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school of the Yajurvēda. People are requested not to stand in the way of the donees enjoying the gift land, but to protect the grant owing to respect for the religious merit of Bhānudatta's overlord. The charter was written (i.e., its draft was prepared) by the *sāndhivigrahika* Gōvinda. The plate was heated (for the purpose of fixing the seal) by the *pīḍāpāla* Pratishṭhita. The designation *pīḍāpāla* is found sometimes in the form *pīṭakapāla* and apparently means an officer who was in-charge of the boxes containing documents like the one under notice. He was therefore associated with the records office and was possibly under the officer called *pusta-pāla* or *pustaka-pāla* in some inscriptions.[5] *Pīḍāpāla* Pratishṭhita of our record is apparently no other than the *pīḍāpāla* Pratishṭhitachandra mentioned in the two other charters of the same ruler, referred to above. The plate was engraved by a person named Śivanandana.

All the three charters of Bhānudatta so far discovered are couched in similar language. Like the Balasore plate, which, however, calls its issuer Bhānu instead of Bhānudatta, our record describes the ruler as a *mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahāsāmanta*, although the Soro plate (D) uses the designation *mahāpratihāra-mahārāja*. All the three charters are dated in the fifth regnal year of Bhānu or Bhānudatta and were heated by the *pīḍāpāla* Pratishṭhita or Pratishṭhitachandra. They refer to the overlord of Bhānudatta without specifically mentioning his name. This seems to

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 238-40; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 611 ff.

[3] See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

[4] The name seems to have been spelt also as ending in *ka*.

[5] In the records of the Bhauma-Karas, *pusta-pāla* and *pīḍā-pāla* are often separately mentioned, the latter apparently as a small official.

suggest that Bhānudatta's status as a ruler was gradually approaching that of a semi-independent feudatory of an imperial personage.

The four copper plates[1] from Soro in the Balasore District belonging to Śambhuyaśas, Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta, as well as the Balasore plate of Bhānu referred to above, suggest that the Sarōpha or Sarōph-āhāra district (i.e., the region round modern Soro in the Balasore District), said to be in Uttara-Tōsalī or in the Ōḍra *vishaya* as well as in Uttara-Tōsalī, was under the independent king Śambhuyaśas of the Mudgala or Maudgalya *gōtra* and possibly of the Māna family in the Gupta year 260 (579 A.C.), then under a feudatory ruler named Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year and lastly under Bhānudatta in his fifth regnal year. The village of Vahirvāṭaka in the Soro district, granted by Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year to the Brāhmaṇas Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin of the Vātsya *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *charaṇa*, was regranted by Bhānudatta in his fifth regnal year to the above two Brāhmaṇas as well as to two others of the same family, viz., Priyamitrasvāmin and Vāṭamitrasvāmin, apparently on the latter's representation and not long after the date of Sōmadatta's grant. Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta very probably belonged to the same family of the feudatory Dattas who were, however, not subordinate to the ruling dynasty represented by Śambhuyaśas. The two Midnapur plates[2] show that Daṇḍabhukti in the western part of the Midnapur District of West Bengal was being ruled in the eighth regnal year of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, by *Mahāpratihāra* Śubhakīrtti, but that the same *maṇḍala* together with the *dēśa* or territory of Utkala was under the rule of the *sāmanta-mahārāja* Sōmadatta in the nineteenth regnal year of the same monarch. Thus Sōmadatta was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who is known to have been ruling in the first quarter of the seventh century at least from 605 to 619 A.C. In 619 A.C. Śaśāṅka's suzerainty was acknowledged by the Śailōdbhavas in the Kōṅgōda country about the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District. This points to the expansion of Gauḍa rule over both North and South Tōsalī. The rule of Sōmadatta in Utkala or Uttara-Tōsalī as a vassal of Śaśāṅka points to the extirpation of the supremacy of the Mānas at least from that region before the nineteenth regnal year of the Gauḍa monarch. But the two Soro inscriptions of Sōmadatta, unlike the Midnapur plate of his time, are dated in the fifteenth year of his own reign and not in the regnal reckoning of his overlord Śaśāṅka. The same is the case with the charters issued by Bhānudatta who was probably Sōmadatta's successor in Utkala, Ōḍra-vishaya or Uttara-Tōsalī. The dating of these charters in the regnal reckoning of the feudatories with a rather vague mention of the *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* or overlord seems to suggest that they were issued after the defeat of Śaśāṅka or his successor at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj and his friend Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa between 619 and 643 A.C.,[3] when the hold of the Gauḍa emperor on the feudatories must have begun to decline. The Dattas of Uttara-Tōsalī, who then became rather nominal feudatories of the emperor of Gauḍa, appear to have been extirpated by Harshavardhana who led an expedition in Orissa about 643 A.C. and probably put the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Jajpur to power in the above region. Thus after the decline of imperial Gupta rule in Orissa, we find the Vigrahas and Mānas struggling for power with each other before they were swept away by the Gauḍas. It is probable that the Vigrahas were ousted by the Mānas who were themselves extirpated by the Gauḍas. The defeat of the Gauḍa monarch by the Kanauj-Kāmarūpa confederacy led to the weakening of his hold on Orissa. Harshavardhana, who now considered the Gauḍa king as one of his subordinate allies, may have subdued Orissa ostensibly on the latter's behalf. But his death in 647 A.C. led to the emergence of the Bhauma-Karas as an imperial power in that country. The rulers on the throne of Karṇasuvarṇa, capital of Gauḍa, were apparently unable to regain their hold on Orissa.

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-03.

[2] *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 7-9; *Prabāsī* (Bengali), B. S. 1350, pp. 291 ff.

[3] The later limit may be 637 A.C. About this time, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited Eastern India. His accounts appear to suggest that Śaśāṅka was dead and Gauḍa was humbled before his visit to that region.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present record, Chaikāmvakā or Ēkāmvakā has already been dealt with in connection with the Kanās plate of Lōkavigraha. Andhasubhiksha, whence the charter was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the village of Kumvukīrikshilāka and the district of Uttamālōka. The name of the village looks like a compound of the names of two localities.

TEXT[1]

Obverse

1 [Siddham||][2] Svasti [||*] **Andhasubhikshataḥ** paramad[ai]vata-śrī-parama[bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ā]-

2 nudhyātō mahā[pra]ti[hā]ra-ma[hā]rā[ja-ma]hāsāmanta-śrī-[**Bhānudattaḥ**]

3 kuśalī **U[tta]mā[l]ōka-vishayē** samupāgatān=vartam[ā]na-[bhavishya]-

4 n-ma[hāsāma]nta-mahārāja-[rā]japu[ttra-ku]mārāmāty-ōpa[rika]-

5 vishayapat[i]-tadāyuktaka-dā[ṇḍa]v[ā]s[i]ka-sthā[nānta]rikān=anyāṁś=cha

6 chāṭa-bha[ṭ-ā]d[ī]n=a[dhika]raṇ[āṁś=cha] pūjayati | astu vaḥ [sa]mvi(saṁvi)dita[m]

7 yath=ā[smā]bhir=ētad-vishaya-samva(samba)ddha-chi[ra-khila]-śūnya-**Ku-**

8 **m[vu]kīrikshilāka-grāmaḥ**[3] śr[ī]-paramabhaṭṭā[raka]-pādā[nā]-

9 m=puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē tāmra-paṭṭēn=ā-chandr-ā[rkka]-sama-kāla[ṁ Chai][4]-

10 kāmvakā-Maṇināga-bhaṭṭārakāya Maittrāyaṇ[ī]ya-chchhāttra-[maṭha]-Vrā(Brā)-

11 [hma]ṇānām=pratip[ā*]ditas=tad=amishām=uchitaṁ tāmra-pa[ṭṭa-dānaṁ

Reverse

12 datvā(ttvā)[5] bhuñjānānām=vā(m=bā)dhā na kēnachit=kāryā śrī-parama-bhaṭṭā[ra*]ka-pā

13 dīya-dharma-gauravāch=cha dattir=ēshā paripālayitavy=ēti ||

14 **Samva(Saṁva)t 5 Āśva-di 20 4** [||*] Uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hu[bhi]r=vvasu[dhā]

15 dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=[tasya] ta-

16 sya tadā [pha]laṁ(lam)|| Sva-dattām=para-dattām=va(ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasundharā(rām|) [sa vi]-

17 sh[ṭh]āyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē [||*] likhitaṁ sā[ndhi]-

18 vigrahika-Gōvindē[na] [|*] tāpitaṁ pōḍāpāla-Pratishṭhitēna [|*]

19 utkirṇṇaṁ Śivanandanēn=ēti || ||[6] ||

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[1] From the original plate.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] A letter seems to have been cancelled by the engraver between grā and maḥ.

[4] Or, chaṇḍi°.

[5] Better read dṛishṭvā, although we have the same expression elsewhere also.

[6] There are two short slanting strokes placed between the two double daṇḍas here.

Two Plates from Kanas

B. Plate of Bhanudatta; Regnal Year 5

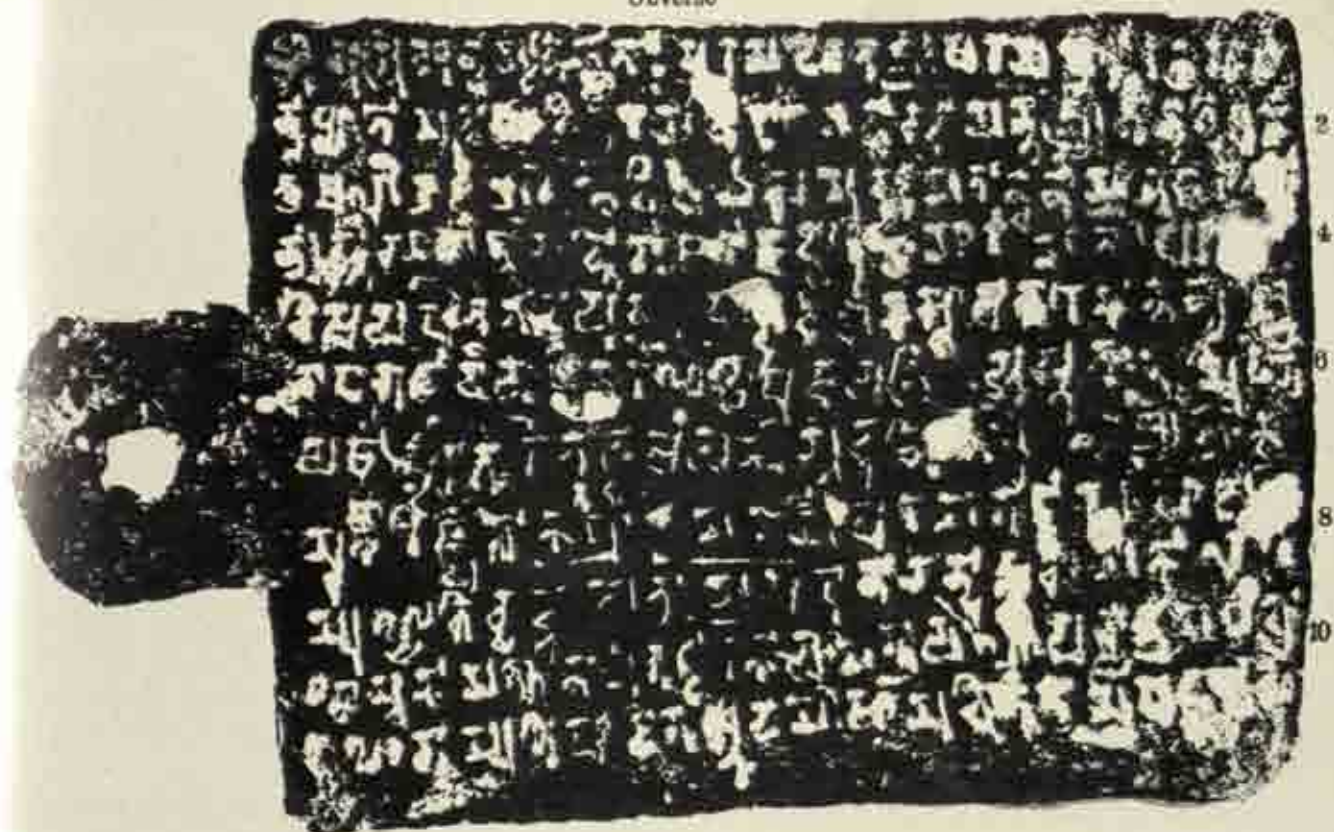
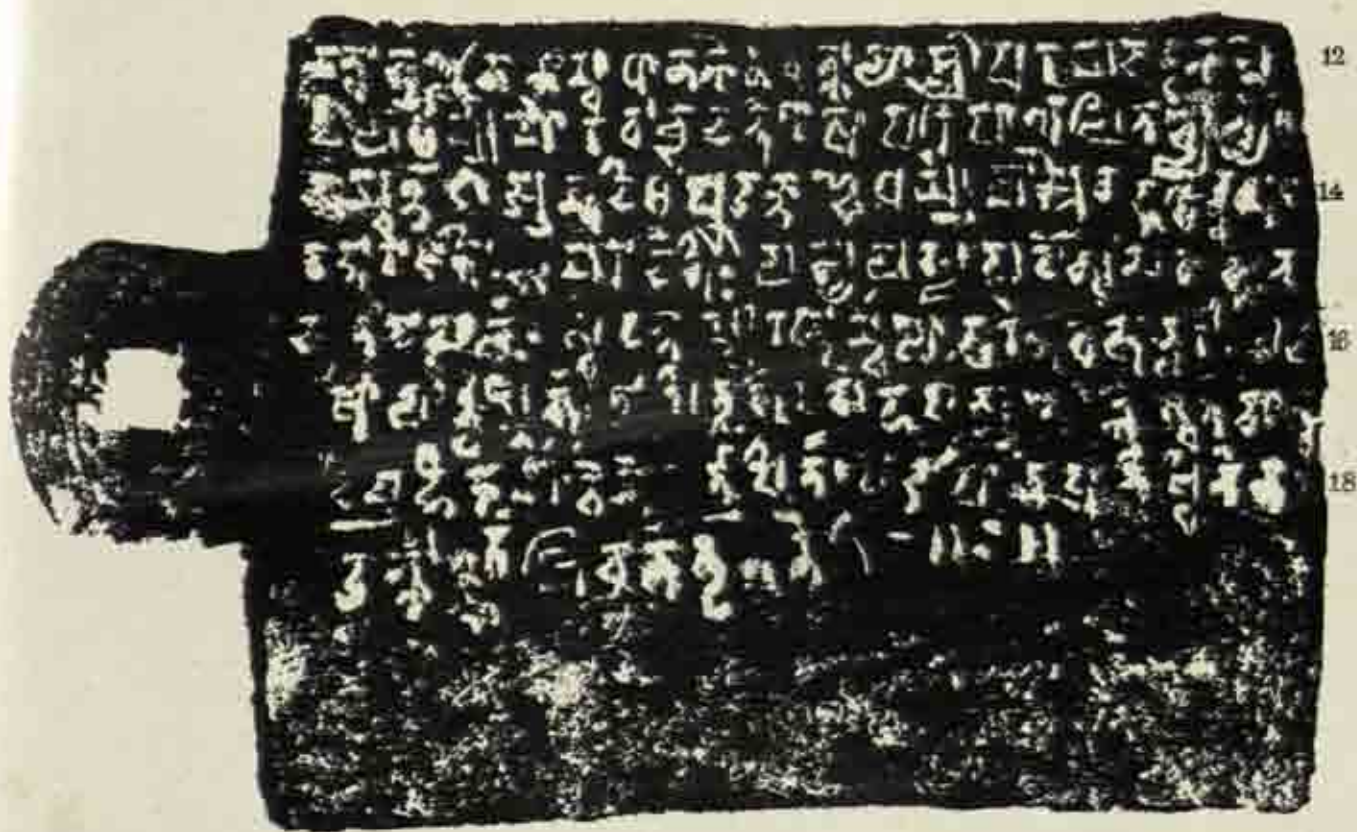
Obverse

Reverse

B. Ch. Chhabra

Scale: Actual Size

Survey of India, DehraDun

Reg. No. 627 HE (C)'52-499.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

1. *Phērava Grant of Sāmantavarman*

The above copper-plate inscription, dated in the Gaṅga year 185 (681-83 A. C.), has been edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.[1] The Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman who issued the charter belonged to a branch line of the Gaṅga house, which ruled from a city variously called Śvētaka, Śchētaka, Śvēta, Śvētka and Śēta. Dr. Majumdar places the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka " in the northern part of the Ganjam District."[2]

Another member of the same branch of the Gaṅga family was Rāṇaka Jayavarman, known from one of his copper-plate charters,[3] which was found somewhere in the northern part of the Ganjam District. This grant of Jayavarman is known to have been registered with a seal by a lady styled Trikaliṅga-mahādēvī. On this point Dr. Majumdar says, "It is significant that the grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarman was registered (*lāñchhita*) by the Trikaliṅga-Mahādēvī. This shows that Trikaliṅga was included in the kingdom, and may even be taken to indicate that the kingdom was also sometimes known by that name. As I have suggested elsewhere,[4] Trikaliṅga probably designates the hilly tracts, lying to the west of Kaliṅga and separating it from the Central Provinces."[5] Dr. Majumdar seems to take *Trikaliṅgamahādēvī* as a designation. To me, however, it appears to have been the personal name or a secondary name of one of the queens of Rāṇaka Jayavarman, who was endowed by the king with an amount of administrative power. This seems to be suggested by some records of the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala, who originally ruled from Dhṛitipura and later from the city of Vañjulvaka in the northern part of the Ganjam District, as well as by some of the Śvētaka Gaṅgas themselves.

The Ghumsur plates[6] of Nēttabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa were *lāñchhita* or registered by the *Vārgulika* Vāchchhika. Two other charters of the same king[7] were similarly *lāñchhita* respectively by Māmmā and Jachchhikā, who appear to have been female officials of the Bhañja ruler. It is extremely interesting to note in this connection that two charters of another member of the same ruling family,[8] called Vidyādharabhañja surnamed Amōghakalaśa and Dharmakalaśa, are said to have been *lāñchhita* by Trikaliṅga-mahādēvī together with the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Kēśavadēva and the *Vārgulika* Chāchika in one case and by the same Trikaliṅga-mahādēvī together with Tējadika and the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva in the other. Since, however, these records come from the northern part of the Ganjam District, like those of the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka, Dr. Majumdar may be inclined to explain the mention of Trikaliṅga-mahādēvī in the above two records in the same way as he has done in connection with the inscription of Rāṇaka Jayavarman. But some other inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka seem clearly to go against his suggestion.

The Chakradharpur plates[9] of Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa are known to have been *lāñchhita* by Śrījayamahādēvī or śrī-Jayamahādēvī together with the *Vārgulika* Paṇḍarika and the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Bāpuka. There is hardly any doubt that Śrījayamahādēvī or śrī-Jayamahādēvī was the personal name of one of the queens of Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa, who was endowed with the

[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 108 ff. and plate.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 111, line 37 ; p. 112, line 12.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 263-8.
[4] *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. II, p. 19.
[5] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 111.
[6] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1497. *Vārgulika* may be Oriya *Vāguli* meaning the king's [illegible].
[7] *Ibid.*, Nos. 1498, 1499.
[8] *Ibid.*, Nos. 1500, 1501.
[9] *Ibid.*, No. 1502.

power of registering royal charters. Since the name of the registering Mahādēvī (queen) in this case cannot reasonably be associated with any geographical area like Trikaliṅga, Trikaliṅga-mahādēvī should also better be taken as the personal or secondary name of a queen of Vidyādharabhañja surnamed Amōghakalaśa and Dharmakalaśa. The same personal or secondary name was apparently also borne by one of the queens of the Gaṅga Rāṇaka Jayavarman of Śvētaka, who is known to have registered a grant of her husband.

The above suggestion is supported by some other inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka and the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka. The Svalpavelura grant[1] of Gaṅga Anantavarman of Śvētaka was registered by the Mahādēvī Śrīvāsa-bhaṭṭārikā, while the Ganjam plates[2] of the Śvētaka king Pṛithvīvarman were registered by his Mahādēvī whose name is not mentioned. A grant of king Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa of Vañjulvaka, which was recently examined by me and is being published in this journal, was similarly registered by Śrījīvalōka-mahādēvī or śrī-Jīvalōka-mahādēvī, no doubt a queen of the Bhañja ruler.

Since Trikaliṅgamahādēvī looks like personal or secondary names such as Gāndhārī, Kaikēyī, Mādrī, Pāñchālī, Vaidarbhī and Vaidēhī of the epics, it is possible to regard the queens bearing that name to have been born in the Trikaliṅga country. An exactly similar name, derived from that of the mother-land of the queen, would be Kōsaladēvī[3] who was the daughter of the Kōsala king Mahākōsala and the queen of the Magadha monarch Bimbisāra. Thus the name Trikaliṅga-mahādēvī borne by the queens of Jayavarman of Śvētaka and Vidyādharabhañja surnamed Amōghakalaśa and Dharmakalaśa of Vañjulvaka does not appear to help us in locating the Trikaliṅga country in the land comprising the northern part of the Ganjam District of Orissa.

2. Koni Inscription of Prithvīdēva II

The Koni inscription of king Prithvidēva II (*circa* 1138-58 A. C.) of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratnapura has been published by Professor V. V. Mirashi.[4] The record is dated in the Kalachuri year 900 (1148 A. C.). The object of the inscription is to record, along with certain grants of land, the construction of a *pañchāyatana* temple of Śiva by one Purushōttama who was the *Sarvādhikārin* of Prithvidēva's father and predecessor Ratnadēva II (*circa* 1120-38 A. C.).

Verse 26 of the above record, as read by Professor Mirashi, describes the achievements of Purushōttama in the following words:

Khimmiṇḍi-maṇḍala-harat-Ta(=Tu)lahāri-kāri kartā='tha Daṇḍapura-daṇḍana-chaṇḍa-vā(bā)huḥ.

Khijjiṅga-bhaṅga-chaturō Haravōhu-hantā yō Daṇḍabhukti-pati-tarjjana-durjjaya-śrīḥ.

Professor Mirashi translates the verse as follows: "He (i.e. Purushōttama) captured the Khimmiṇḍi *maṇḍala* and made the Talahāri (*maṇḍala*) attractive. He had a fierce arm in subduing Daṇḍapura and was clever in overcoming Khijjiṅga. He killed Haravōhu (*and*) his valour was invincible in threatening the lord of Daṇḍabhukti." In the introductory remarks also the Professor says in regard to the verse in question that Purushōttama "conquered the Khimmiṇḍi Maṇḍala, made the Talahāri Maṇḍala attractive, punished Daṇḍapura, subjugated Khijjiṅga, killed Haravōhu and threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti." It will, however, be seen that the verse is designed to enumerate certain victorious achievements of Purushōttama. Therefore, "making the Talahāri *maṇḍala* attractive" can hardly be regarded quite in line with the conquests enumerated in the verse. In my opinion, *Talahāri-kāri* apparently means "one who plundered, subdued or captured Talahāri."

[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 136.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 201.
[3] Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s. v.
[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 276 ff. and plate.

MGIPC—S1—6 DGA—27-7-53—450.

It is known from the Ratanpur inscription[1] of the Kalachuri year 866 (1114 A.C.) that Kalachuri Jājalladēva I, grandfather of Pṛithvīdēva II, levied annual tribute from a number of countries including Khimiḍi (Khimmiṇḍi), Talahāri and Daṇḍakapura (Daṇḍapura). It is thus possible to think that in his youth Purushōttama served as a general of Jājalladēva I and helped the latter in conquering the countries in question. In Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*,[2] Talahāri has been located about the northern part of the Janjgir Tahsil to the south of Ratanpur. The rulers of this tract are mentioned in several records.

There is again a mistake in Professor Mirashi's reading of verse 26 quoted above. As Pandit L. P. Pandeya has rightly pointed out,[3] what Professor Mirashi reads as *Haravōhu-hantā* is actually *Haravōṅga-hantā*. The correctness of Pandit Pandeya's reading is clear from a comparison of the fourth *akshara* in the above expression with the form of *ṅga* in *Khējjiṅga-bhaṅga* as well as with that of *hu* in *vā(bā)hu*, both occurring in the same verse. It may also profitably be compared with other uses of *ṅga* and *hu* in the record, *e.g.* in *Khaṭvāṅg-ō* (line 1), *tuṅgaraṅgat* (line 2), *vā(bā)hu* (line 22), etc. Moreover, *Haravōhu* as a name is unknown in the Indian languages, while *Harava(bō)ṅga* is not only a recognised Hindi word, but is also known to be used as the name of a royal personage in a Hindi literary work. According to Hindi lexicons[4], the word *harabōṅga* (*harbōṅg*) means *gaṁvār*, *akkhaṛ*, *mūrkh*, *i.e.* a rustic or a fool. As a personal name, it can very well be compared with Bengali *Bōkā* or *Bakkēśvar* (from Dēśī *vōkkaḍa*, 'a goat') meaning 'a fool'. In this connection, Pandit Pandeya refers to the manuscript of a Hindi work, entitled *Khaṛībōlī Gadyamē Chār Kahāniyā*, preserved in the India Office Library, London. The title of one of the four *kahānīs* in the above work is *Insāf Rājā Harbōṅgkā* (literally 'king Harbōṅg's justice').[5] There is thus little doubt that Purushōttama, who was an officer of the Kalachuri kings of Ratnapura, claims to have killed in battle a warrior or ruler named Harabōṅga (Harbōṅg), not Haravōhu as Professor Mirashi reads, although it is difficult to identify the person in the present state of our knowledge.

3. *Madanpur Plate of Śrīchandra, Year 46*

Dr. R. G. Basak has edited the above inscription of king Śrīchandra belonging to the Chandra dynasty of Bengal.[6] He has assigned the record to the 44th regnal year of the Chandra king. But what has been read as *44* in line 42 of the inscription is really *46*.

As regards verse 5 of the copper-plate grants of Śrīchandra, which describes his father Trailōkyachandra, Dr. Basak observes, "The most important epithet of Trailōkyachandra, as we find in this verse, *ādhārō Harikēla-rāja-kakuda-chchhatra-smitānāṁ śriyām*, read along with *yaś=chandr-ōpapadē babhūva nṛipatir=dvīpē*, conveys the fact that at first he was a king of Chandradvīpa and later became 'the repository of the Fortune (*goddesses*) whose smile was the (*white*) umbrella, the symbol (*of royalty*) of the king of Harikēla'. Bereft of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailōkyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikēla kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the Dacca University *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny."[7]

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[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 35, verse 23.

[2] See 2nd edition, pp. 127, 128.

[3] Cf. *Mādhurī* (Hindi), Lucknow, August, 1949, p. 5.

[4] Cf. *Bhārgava Ādarśa Hindī Śabda-Kōsha*, Banaras, s.v.

[5] A tradition regarding a crazy king named Harbōṅg who ruled over the *Jhusi* region near Allahabad is recorded in the Bengali work *Tripurār Smṛiti* (Calcutta, 1927-28, p. 41) by S. C. Devavarman of the Tripurā royal family. Like a similar madcap of Bengali folklore, named Rājā Bhavachandra or Habuchandra, king Harbōṅg of Jhusi is said to have ordered throughout his kingdom the sale of all articles of merchandise according to the same measurement and price.

[6] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff. and Plate.

[7] Ibid. p. 54.

The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar explained the passage, *ādhārō*, etc., as 'the support of the Fortune goddesses of other kings smiling at (*i.e.* joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of Harikēla'.[1] Dr. R. C. Majumdar, observes on the above views of Dr. Basak and the late Mr. Majumdar, "According to the first interpretation, Trailōkyachandra was the *de facto* if not *de jure*, ruler of Harikēla, while, according to the second, he was both *de facto* and *de jure* king of Harikēla, with a number of other rulers subordinate to him. The latter view seems preferable. Thus Trailōkyachandra added Chandradvīpa and Harikēla to his paternal dominions'.[2] In my opinion, the real import of the passage in question has escaped the notice of all the three scholars referred to above.

I am inclined to interpret the passage *ādhārō Harikēla-rāja-kakuda-chchatra-smitānāṁ śriyām* as 'the mainstay of the Fortune goddesses whose smiles are represented by the white umbrella that is the symbol of royalty of the Harikēla king'. The passage thus says that Trailōkyachandra was the support of the royal fortune of the king of Harikēla. Its real import is apparently that the Chandra king Trailōkyachandra of Chandradvīpa was a feudatory or ally of the king of the Harikēla country. There are instances in epigraphic literature of a feudatory's representation as the mainstay of the overlord's kingdom or fortune. Thus the rulers of the Parichchhēdin family, who were feudatories of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs, are mentioned in inscriptions as *Vēṅgī-Chālukya-rājya-mūla-stambha*, *i.e.*, 'the main support of the kingdom or royalty of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī'.[3] In my opinion therefore Trailōkyachandra was not a king of Harikēla, but was the ruler of Chandradvīpa, *i.e.*, Bāklā-Chandradvīpa in the present Buckergunje District, owing allegiance to or allied with the king of the country called Harikēla.

As pointed out by Basak, the lexicographer Hēmachandra identifies the Harikēla or Harikēli country with Vaṅga in the passage *Vaṅgās=tu Harikēlayaḥ* (or *°kēliyāḥ*) in his *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*. But undoubtedly an earlier tradition regarding the location of that country is preserved in Kēśava's *Kalpadrukōśa* which says *Śrīhaṭṭō Harikēlīḥ syāch=Chhrīhaṭō=pi kvachid=bhavēt*.[4] This shows that Harikēli or Harikēla was originally the name of the Śrīhaṭṭa (modern Sylhet) region but that the name was later applied in a wider sense to Vaṅga apparently as a result of the expansion of a kingdom that had its headquarters in the Sylhet area. The expansion of the Harikēli kingdom is actually suggested by the Chittagong plate of Kāntidēva[5] who was a ruler of Harikēlā-maṇḍala in the eight or ninth century A.C. Kāntidēva seems to have been originally a petty ruler of Harikēlā, or Harikēla Harikēli in the Sylhet region; but he appers to have later acquired a wide kingdom which had its capital at Dēvaparvata near modern Comilla in the Tippera District.[6] Trailōkyachandra who flourished about the middle of the tenth century seems to have owed allegiance to the line of Harikēla kings represented by Kāntidēva.[7] Śrīchandra, son of Trailōkyachandra, was the first independent monarch of the Chandra dynasty. He appears to have thrown off the yoke of Harikēla and extended Chandra power over wide areas of south-east Bengal at the expense of the erstwhile overlords of his family. The rise of Śrīchandra as an independent monarch may have been facilitated by a possible struggle between the Pālas and the kings of Harikēla as suggested by the discovery of an image inscription dated in the first regnal year of Gōpāla II(*circa* 940-60A.C.) at Mandhuk within the Chāndinā Police Station of the Tippera District.[8] That Śrīchandra, who ruled about the second half of the tenth century, had himself

[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 7.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 198.

[3] See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 131; above Vol. VI, p. 224; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 980, 1127, etc. cf. below, Vol. XXIX, p. 232.

[4] Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. 42, I, 26.

[5] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff.

[6] See *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 83 ff.

[7] His comparison with Dilīpa in the stanza in question scarcely proves his independent status Cf. *I.H.Q.*, XXIV, p. 73.

[8] Varendra Research Society's Monograph, No. 8, 1930, pp. 4-6; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.

to struggle with the Pālas is possibly indicated by the discovery of the Bāghāurā[1] and Nārayanpur[2] inscriptions, dated respectively in the third and fourth regnal years of Mahīpāla I (*circa* 988-1038 A.C.) in the same District. Verse 12 of the Bāṇgaṛh plate[3] of Mahīpāla I also says that he recovered his paternal dominions that had passed to usurpers. The temporary nature of Mahīpāla's success against the Chandras in East Bengal is, however, demonstrated by the Kulkuḍi (regnal year 12)[4] and Betkā or Pāikpāṛā (regnal year 23)[5] inscriptions of Gōvindachandra who was probably the successor of Śrīchandra. He is no doubt the king Gōvindachandra of Vaṅgāladēśa (originally the name of Chandradvīpa, which was later applied to the extensive dominions of the Chandras in south-east Bengal), who came into conflict with the generals of Rājēndra-chōḷa shortly before 1023 A.C.[6] Another later member of the same family was Layahachandra or Laḍahachandra.[7]

The designation *Mahātantrādhyaksha* occurs in the list of officials and subordinates to whom the king's order regarding the grant recorded on the Madanpur plate was addressed. Dr. Basak says, "The term *Mahātantrādhyaksha* undoubtedly refers to the highest priest in charge of the religious rites which were performed on the king's behalf in accordance with the injunctions of the *śrutis* and the *smṛitis*." But the *Tantrādhyaksha* may be the same as the *Tantrapāla* of other inscriptions, who had apparently nothing to do with the office of the *Tāntrika* or priest. The Partabgarh inscriptions[8] refer to a *Tantrapāla-Mahāsāmanta-Daṇḍanāyaka* who served the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperor Mahēndrapāla II. The official designation *Tantrapati*, literally the same as *Tantrādhyaksha*, is also known from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII. 2422) and Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭha-charita* (III, 50). Maṅkha says that his brother received 'the garland of the office of the *Bṛihattantrapati*' from king Sussala of Kashmir. Jōnarāja in his commentary on the above verse explains *Bṛihattantrapati* as *Dharmādhikārin*, *i.e.*, 'a judge'.[9] It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Tantrins*, so often mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[10] were also absolutely unconnected with *tāntrika* or priestly rites and represented a military tribe or tribal caste. Dr. Basak's interpretation of the designation *Mahātantrādhyaksha* therefore appears to be doubtful.

The few lost *aksharas* at the beginning of line 21 of the Madanpur plate may be restored as *gaṇḍā'*. The area of land granted by the charter thus seems to be *gaṇḍ-āshṭ-ādhik-āshṭa-drōṇa*, *i.e.*, eight *drōṇas* (*drōṇavāpas*) and eight *gaṇḍās*.[11]

4. *Kulkuḍi and Betkā Inscriptions of Gōvindachandra*

The above inscriptions have been edited by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff., and Plates. The author quotes only partially my views on both the inscriptions published in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarsha* and is totally silent about my articles in English on the former epigraph in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. X, 1943, pp. 63 ff., and on the latter in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, 1941, pp. 405 ff. It is gratifying to me

[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1624.

[2] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

[3] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 326 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff.

[5] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 26 ff.

[6] See above, Vol. IX, pp. 229-33.

[7] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1519. The correct form of this king's name seems to be Laḍahachandra and, considering the peculiarity of the name, he may be taken to be none other than the homonymous poet known from the Sanskrit anthologies (see Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 204).

[8] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-88.

[9] See Stein, *Rāj. tar.* (translation), Vol. II, p. 188.

[10] *Ibid.*, note on Chapter V, verse 248.

[11] See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff.

to find that the Government Epigraphist for India has supported my reading and interpretation of the Kulkuḍi inscription against those of the late Dr. Bhattasali.[1] If, however, my views were fully quoted, it would have been clear that the interesting points raised in the editorial notes on the Kulkuḍi inscription had already been offered by me. "The correct reading of the passage", I observed in this connection, "is, in my opinion, '*Lakshmi(kshmī)dina-kāri(ri)te-Bhaṭ(ṭā)rakaḥ[ḥ*]*, 'the Sun-god caused to be made by Lakshmīdina.' .... the word '*dina* may be the same as Sanskrit *dina* or Prakrit *dinna*=Sanskrit *datta*. Attention has also been drawn to such North Indian personal names as Rāmdīn."[2]

The first word of line 2 of the Betkā (or Pāikpāṛā) inscription has been read by Dr. Bhattasali as *Bālajika* which he equates with *Bārajika* supposed to be the original of the name of the modern Bārai (betel-leaf grower) caste of Bengal. I read the word as *Rālajika* which was explained as indicating an inhabitant of a locality called Ralaja. Considering, however, the similar forms of *v(b)* and *r* in some cases in the epigraph in question[3] the reading *Bālajika* seems equally possible. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the form *Bālajika* may be expected in an eleventh century record of East Bengal as standing for *Bārajika* and modern *Bārai*. The Prakritic feature substituting *r* by *l* is never met with in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bengal. It is also not a regular feature of Bengali phonetics. The word *Bārai*, as well as *baraj* (betel-leaf plantation) with which it is associated, is never used in Bengali with *l* in the place of *r*.[4] This is also clear from the attitude of some philologists who derive Bengali *baraj* from Arabic *burz*.[5] That *r* of the word *baraj* as well as its derivations was pronounced in early-medieval Bengal is moreover clearly indicated by the repeated use of the same word as *baraja* in the Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna,[6] as well as the word *bārayi* (*i.e.*, *bārai*) in the village name *Bārayipaḍā* (literally, 'the habitation of the *Bārayis* or *Bārais*) in line 42 of the Madanpāṛā copper-plate inscription of the same king.[7] I therefore think that the expression *Rālajika* or *Bālajika* in Gōvindachandra's Betkā (Pāikpāṛā) inscription is actually derived from a locality and has nothing to do with the Bārai or Bārui caste.

5. *Tekkali Plates of Anantavarman, Gaṅga Year 358*

Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has edited the above inscription in this journal, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff. In my opinion there are several errors in Mr. Ghoshal's transcript of the record. An archaic form of Telugu *dh* has been read as *dhā* or *dhe* in all the cases. This form of *dh*, however, occurs in inscriptions like C. P. No. 7 of 1918-19 published in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.; cf. *nagarādhi°* in line 2, *°dhārasya* in line 3, *rājādhi°* in line 7, *vuddhvā* in line 21, *rasadhā* in line 22 and *dharā* in line 24. This particular form of the letter may be compared with the later form of it found in epigraphs like C. P. No. 8 of the same year (*op. cit.*, pp. 188 ff.; cf. *nagarādhi°* in line 2, *°dhārasya* in line 4, *°dhāra* in line 11, etc.). What have therefore been read by Mr. Ghoshal in the Tekkali plates as *nagarādhdhi°* (line 2), *dhaāta* (line 11), *dhāguṇa* (line 13) and *dheāta* (line 15) should actually be read as *nagarādhi°*, *dhāta*, *dhiguṇa* and *dhāta* respectively. Similarly, what

[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 25, note 2.

[2] *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. X, pp. 63-4. It may also be pointed out that Dr. Bhattasali was at first not inclined to agree with my reading of the date of the Betkā (Pāikpāṛā) inscription as the year 23 which, however, he ultimately accepted (without any remarks) in his article published above.

[3] Cf. *v* in *Pārvatīśa* (line 2) and the first *r* in *Vārendrea* (line 3).

[4] Cf. J. M. Das, *Bāngālā Bhāshār Abhidhān*, s. v., quoting Mukundarāma's *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala* (sixteenth century).

[5] *Loc. cit.*; but the derivation is no doubt wrong as the word is found in an inscription of a Sēna king who flourished about the first quarter of the thirteenth century (see below, note 6).

[6] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 142-8 (lines 45, 46, 59, 68 of the text). The word *bārujika*, probably in the sense of modern *Bārai* occurs in the Sobhārampur plate) of Dāmōdaradēva (see below, Vol. XXX, p. 188).

[7] *Ins. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

Mr. Ghoshal had read, without noticing the peculiarity of the letters of the later Kaliṅga alphabet, as *chuḍā* (line 5), *sakhōbha*, *sanda* (line 8), *chuḍḍaṇi-prabha* (line 9), *dāñcha* (line 12), *tyōga* (line 13), *gaṅgā* (line 15), *gagēya* (line 22), *acham*, *bbavati* (apparently a misprint for *bhavati*, line 26) and *dachyatē* (corrected to *pachyatē*, line 29) should be read in my opinion respectively as *chuḍhā*, *sakhōbha*, *savda*, *chuḍḍhaṇiprabhā*, *datra*, *tyaga*, *yāṅgā*, *yāgeya*, *akhaṭha*, *bhavati* and *pachyati*. *Svasty* for *Svastya* (line 1), *śād* for *śāda* (line 24 ; see the same also at p. 174, note 5) and *sadata* for *śadata* (line 27) may, however, be due to misprints.

Medial *u* has often been wrongly read by Mr. Ghoshal as *ū* ; cf. *sūtra* (line 4), *bhūtō* (lines 13-14), *sūnu* (lines 16 and 18-19), *pūrvva*, *sūrjya* (line 17), *bhūmi* (line 27), etc. In line 13 *sa[ṁ*]pad-ādhāra* has been unnecessarily corrected to *sampadām=ādhāra*. The correction of *adhivāsaka* to *vāsaka* (cf. line 2) is equally unnecessary. In line 23, what has been read by Mr. Ghoshal as *vijutya* is clearly *vijaya*. He did not notice that the engraver had at first omitted the letter *ja* and incised the following two letters, *ya* and *ra* (of *rājya*). After having engraved *ra*, he found out the mistake and corrected *ya* to *ja* and *ra* to *ya*.

Mr. Ghoshal's reading and interpretation of the passage describing the gift land in lines 19-21 of the inscription have been considerably improved upon in an editorial note. I am, however, inclined to read the passage as *upājitaṁ Vāsaṇicharaṇa-gramā Yaroku-kuṭuvina dvai-sada-hala-bhūmi* for Sanskrit *upārjitā Vājasanēyicharaṇa-grāmē Yarōku-kuṭumbinā dvi-śata-hala-bhūmiḥ*. The donee of the grant thus acquired (probably by purchase)[1] 200 *halas* of land that had been in the possession of an agriculturist householder named Yarōku in the village called Vājasanēyi-charaṇa.

In lines 24-25, Mr. Ghoshal reads *likhitam=idaṁ Mātrisiri-ṣamatēṇa*, 'this is written by *Sāmanta* Mātṛisiri'. Since, however, the letter read as *tri* is clearly *tyē*, I am inclined to read the passage as *likhitam=ida[m=a*]mātyē[na*] siri-Śāmatēṇa* (*Śrī-Sāmantēna*), 'this is written by the *amātya* śrī-Sāmanta'. For *Sāmanta* as a personal name, we may refer to Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 344, 148, 2041, etc. The name may be compared with others such as Sāmantasēna, Sāmanta-siṁha and Sāmantavarman, found in numerous inscriptions.

[1] See *J.B.A.S.*, 1955, pp. 4 ff.

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(The figures refer to pages ; n. after a figure to foot-notes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*au.*=author ; *ca.*=capital ; *ch.*=chief : *Chron.*=Chronicle ; *ci.*=city ; *co.*=country ; *com.*=composer ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *engr.*=engraver ; *ep.*=epithet ; *f.*=family ; *fe.*=female ; *feud.*=feudatory ; *gen.*=general ; *Hist.*=Historical ; *ins.*=inscription or inscriptions ; *k.*=king ; *l.*=locality ; *l.m.*=linear measure or land measure ; *m.*=male ; *min.*=minister ; *mo.*=mountain ; *myth.*=mythological ; *n.*=name ; *N.*=Northern ; *off.*=office or officer ; *pr.*=prince or princess ; *q.*=queen ; *rel.*=religious ; *ri.*=river ; *S.*=Southern ; *s.a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *Tel.*=Telugu ; *t.d.*=territorial division ; *tit.*=title ; *tn.*=town ; *tk.*=taluk ; *vi.*=villages ; *W.*=Western ; *wk.*=work.)

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